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STUDIES IN RELIGION AND CULTURE

RELIGION IN VARIOUS CULTURES

.

RELIGION IN VARIOUS CULTURES

BY

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To

WENDELL T. BUSH

PREFACE

For about half a century the study of religion has enjoyed the fruit of work done with scientific accuracy and enlightened by a critical appreciation of religious ideas and institutions. Aided by the progress of various sciences, it has achieved a more direct and adequate understanding of religion's growth, cultural forms and social functions, as well as its bodies of belief, doctrine and ideals. The subject, as it can now be pursued, is an important contribution to any liberal study of man and society. This book is primarily a guide for those beginning the study of religion in view of this growing wealth of significant material provided by specialists in many fields but seldom collected for purposes of a general survey. Its aim is to promote a more direct and varied acquaintance with religion as a factor in the life and organization of particular cultures. While as much historical information has been introduced as seemed necessary, the main interest has been to explore the significance which various religions have had in particular times and places where they have achieved conspicuous power, dignity or beauty.

In the interest of serving this objective well it seemed better for the present volume to stress the relatively full study of several religions than to deal with all religions in even more summary fashion. From the domain of primitive culture we have selected several groups whose religions illustrate different emphases; of the religions indigenous to Far-Eastern civilizations we describe Shintoism, Hinduism and Buddhism; and of the religions which have been intimately related in the Western world, the Greek, Jewish and Christian. In the future we hope to treat in similar fashion Islam, the native religions of China and those of the Near-Eastern civilizations here omitted.

A guide, we think, should suggest opportunities for inquiry and reflection, not conclusions based on them. Consequently we have refrained as far as possible from passing judgment on religious beliefs and institutions. We have sought also to avoid the odious com-

parisons which still haunt the comparative study of religions. Our aim here has not been to compare religions with one another, but to understand each in its own cultural settings.

✓ In *The varieties of religious experience*, William James offered a case-book of individual religious experience, describing, to use his own words, "experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine." His book, written from the point of view of individual psychology and approaching a clinical description, is of the greatest value, but James is at pains to say that he omits from his discussion that great portion of the subject which involves an analysis of the social scene in which religion participates. The aim of this guide is to facilitate the study of the varieties of religious traditions, institutions and arts, describing what groups of men do in expressing and cultivating what they together hold sacred.

The book is so organized that the several religions can be studied separately and independently. Furthermore, the chief aim of the book is to provide a context that will enable the student to turn with profit to the primary sources and detailed studies which might bewilder the uninitiated reader. The illustrations and the bibliography selected for each section are intended to suggest the resources offered by libraries and museums in the pursuit of this study. In selecting illustrations we have been guided by the desire to acquaint American students with cultures which are relatively unfamiliar to them. For this reason the last two sections of the book are practically without pictorial illustration. The bibliography is composed, for the most part, of selections from the relatively recent literature in the field, and no systematic attempt has been made to include source material or older standard works to which references can be found readily in encyclopedias and histories. Since the bibliography is intended to be useful for those who do not have ready access to works in foreign languages, it consists largely of books in the English language; but exceptions to this rule are made in those cases in which no adequate literature exists in English or in which certain foreign works are of special importance. In the index is included a key to the pronunciation of unfamiliar foreign words.

Detailed acknowledgments to publishers and other owners of the

sources from which illustrations have been taken are made on pages 557 ff.

We are indebted to many friends and colleagues for their valuable aid in the preparation of this book. We have profited especially by the scholarly criticisms of Salo Baron, Ruth F. Benedict, George W. Briggs, Frank Gavin, Louis H. Gray, Moses Hadas, Ernest Kraeling, Clarence Manning, Reinhold H. Niebuhr, John H. Randall, Jr., Ernst Riess and Ryusaku Tsunoda. In giving the courses out of which this book has grown we have been associated with Irwin Edman and Wendell T. Bush, and consequently we are indebted to them in a most intimate way. Many of our students in these courses have made contributions of substantial value for this work.

In the selection of illustrations we are fortunate to have had at our disposal the valuable materials collected by Wendell T. Bush, whose interest in this field has been contagious and stimulating. From Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Hervey D. Griswold we have obtained first-hand materials on Hinduism and Buddhism. From the library and museum of the Jewish Theological Seminary we have received valuable aid through the kindness of Alexander Marx. We appreciate also the expert help of Marguerite Baudains and Meyer Schapiro.

The extensive technical and bibliographical work has been carried out in large measure through the assistance of Marguerite Block, Hannah Kahn, Eiichi Kiyooka, Beryl Levy, Marian W. Smith and Iris W. Wilder. To these, as well as to other students and associates, we are especially grateful for their patient coöperation and intelligent assistance.

In the preparation of the manuscript and of the illustrations we have been continually dependent on the work and judgment of Ruth A. Friess and Carol S. Schneider.

H. L. F.

H. W. S.

Columbia University,
August, 1932.

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RELIGION IN VARIOUS CULTURES

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE AND ORIGINS OF RELIGION

I. THEORIES OF THE NATURE AND ORIGINS OF RELIGION. Religion is continually being defined for particular purposes. It is obvious that no sharp definition is adequate for all religions, since the ideas and practices denoted by the term are too varied to fit into a single formula. Those theories of religion which are associated with propaganda for particular religions, or which attempt on the basis of philosophical considerations to distinguish between true and false, pure and corrupt, inner and outer forms of religion, will be discussed later in connection with the religious movements to which such theories belong. We are here concerned only with those theories which aim directly to throw light on the origin or evolution of religion in human history. That these various theories are associated with certain more general scientific movements and methods of interpretation is evident, and they are outlined here not in order to point out the true one, but in order to acquaint the reader with the various points of view from which the scientific study of religion has received its general directions. These theories are now seldom regarded as adequate accounts of the origin and evolution of religion in general, but usually as successive emphases on new or neglected aspects of the subject, intended, perhaps, to be universal laws but serving rather to exhibit and interpret the various aspects of religion in new contexts.

A. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Max Müller, called the "founder of comparative religion," formulated a general theory of religion on the basis of his studies in comparative philology. Influenced, on the one hand, by the Enlightenment and its interest in "natural religion," and, on the other, by the work of the classicists on the origins of classical mythology, he developed the theory that the earliest religions were "physical," that is, cults and myths based on the poetic personification of natural objects. He emphasized especially the worship of the sun,

but he recognized also the cults of sky, mountains, stones, trees and natural objects generally. Man's attempt to make nature intelligible leads him to hypostasize natural forces into living agents and to build up creation-myths; and from these, mythology in general arises. Such nature-worship gave rise, according to Müller, to later stages of religion, ancestor-worship or "anthropological" religion and theistic or "psychological" religion. This theory was supported largely by philological considerations, especially by Müller's own extensive work in Sanskrit and Vedic literature.

B. One of the first attempts based on sociological evidence to explain the origin of religion was made by Herbert Spencer, who emphasized the prevalence of the fear of ghosts. From this fear, he believed, ancestor-worship developed, and from ancestor-worship all other forms of worship, the gods being derived from especially distinguished or heroic ancestors.

C. Practically contemporaneous with Spencer's theory came E. B. Tylor's work, *Primitive culture*, which emphasized animism. Partly because of its much greater array of facts and partly because of its more comprehensive theory, which made room for Spencer's theory of ancestor-worship as only one stage (a later stage) in the evolution of religion, Tylor's theory soon eclipsed Spencer's and has exerted a pervasive influence to this day. It made the belief in souls or spirits primary. The origin of this belief was accounted for by the phenomena of dreams, hallucinations, visions, sleep and death. The belief in spirits was then extended to so-called inanimate objects and to nature in general, leading man finally to the conception of an all-inclusive spirit.

D. In modification of this theory came another, which emphasized "pre-animistic religion." Codrington, in his work on the Melanesians, discovered the belief in a universal force or potency, called *mana*, inherent in all things and underlying both magic and the belief in personal spirits. The idea of *mana*, or its equivalent, was seized upon by a number of anthropologists, notably by Marett and Preuss, to explain many of the religious practices and even the belief in a supreme god which had previously been given an animistic explanation.

E. Meanwhile, during the first decades of the twentieth century, Sir James G. Frazer popularized the theory, in *The golden*

bough, that the attempt of man to obtain direct control over objects and persons by magical practices is more primitive than the attempt at indirect control by the religious propitiation of spirits.

F. Contemporaneously another type of approach led to a radically different emphasis. The discovery of the importance of totemism in many primitive cultures by J. F. McLennan, J. G. Frazer, and Robertson Smith served not only to explain many types of so-called animal-worship but threw much new light on mythology, sacrifice and other aspects of religion. Under the leadership of the positivists, notably Jane Harrison, Émile Durkheim, Hubert and Mauss, the totemic and other rites making for social solidarity were given the primary place in the development of religion. The theory developed into the thesis that the totemic representations of the social group were gradually refined into spirits or gods, and that the interests of the group were the controlling forces as well as the subjects symbolized in religious rites. Recently Malinowski has given a new turn to this theory by insisting that practical techniques, magic and religion are three parallel but distinct institutions, and that it is the specific function of religion to maintain generally useful traditions and customs.

G. A somewhat different emphasis was given by Van Gennep, Crawley and others, who showed the extent to which religion centers about life crises or social perturbations. They regarded the emotional disturbances created by birth, puberty, marriage, death, etc., as the direct stimuli of most religious rites.

H. Sigmund Freud regards religion as an "illusion," a universal neurosis operating as an escape mechanism for our infantile jealousy, and though other psycho-analysts take different attitudes toward religion as a whole, they all interpret social rites and moral tabus as essentially wish-projections, the imaginative performance satisfying and concealing the real desire. Conscience, the super-ego, is the transference into an inner compulsion of the fear of the parents' force from the outside. Sacrifice and ritual are devices, compulsion neuroses, by which we appease the super-ego, expressing our private doubts by fanatical observance of routine detail. Religion is dominated by these unconscious mechanisms and may be a socially acceptable adjustment for persons who might otherwise become psychotic.

Animism is regarded by some as an outgrowth of narcissism, and magic of the castration phobia and other sex complexes. Religious rites center distinctively around parent-child sex relations. The belief in the divine father-king is regarded as essentially an infantile escape mechanism by which we seek a "reconciliation of our infantile jealousy with the fact of our own maturity."¹ The child's dependence on the all-caring parents who are ever present is related to the belief in an eternal divine father, and the mystic desire for immediate participation in God and complete union with him is interpreted as a form of infantile regression.

The Freudian theory of the origin of religion is avowedly a speculative extension of psycho-analysis based on the coincidence of clinical and anthropological data. Dread of animals in children is interpreted as an accompaniment of the Oedipus complex, a disguised fear of the father, who is jealously hated because of a repressed incestuous desire for the mother. From the prevalence of totemism in primitive society and the universal tabu on incest, Freud infers in the earliest stages of human history a "cyclopean" family in which the male head ruled supreme, possessing everything, including the females. His sons, held in subjection by fear, finally rose in resentment to kill and eat their father. Alone and helpless, they were attacked by remorse at the same time that unrestrained rivalry for the women set in. To mitigate and control this they were led to institute a system of tabu and set up the totem animal.

I. Among anthropologists, as well as among psychologists, there is a current emphasis on the subjective factor of religious experience. The attention of scholars has been focused on the concept of religious experience ever since the days of Schleiermacher; the researches of William James and other psychologists in this field have further stimulated interest in this subject during the twentieth century. Though these approaches to religion have been varied, they all attempt to discover a kind of experience which may be called distinctively and characteristically religious. They have explored in detail the feelings of dependence, awe or solemnity and the vague sense of being in the presence of some unseen power or reality, and they have thus supplemented the traditional intellectualistic analyses of religious belief. In view of primitive religions, anthropologists

¹ Everett D. Martin, *The mystery of religion*, p. 149.

have found further application for such concepts of religious experience. Lowie emphasizes the emotions of awe and the sense of insecurity felt by primitive man; J. W. Haupt believes that a general fear (*Welangst*) haunts primitive man and drives him to find ecstatic release in religious rites. Goldenweiser speaks of primitive religious experience as "the supernatural thrill," which accompanies the individual's active participation in the supernatural world. Lang and Leuba have explored the relations between religious experiences and psychopathic diseases, such as hysteria, epilepsy, paranoia and other abnormal behaviors, which lend themselves readily to being interpreted as super-normal revelations or powers. The German theologian Rudolf Otto, on the basis of both the psychology and anthropology of religion, has maintained that the sense of the "numinous" is a unique and ultimate quality of experience and that when this immediate sense of the uncanny, the *sacré*, is developed by moral regulation, it produces the sense of "the holy" or the sacred. Whatever differences of method and terminology characterize these theories, they all agree in attributing religion to the awareness or vision of the mysterious and supernatural.

As must be evident from the above outline, the chief value of these theories is not for the problem of the origin of religion, but for the interpretation of the motives and meanings of particular religious ideas and practices observable today, especially those of so-called primitive peoples. It may be that some of the "primitive" religions are very old and closely resemble those of our prehistoric ancestors, but it is dangerous to infer much about the earliest forms of religion from the religions of contemporary savages. They are loaded with rites and traditions which have lost their original meaning and the origins of which it is impossible to discover. What is now tradition was once invention, and there is every reason to believe that even the most basic forms of present primitive religions have had many origins and have grown gradually out of a very different, long and buried past.

II. PREHISTORIC RELIGIONS. Of the earliest forms of religion we have, of course, no written records. Little is known about so-called prehistoric cultures except through occasional cave discoveries and

tomb excavations. There are sufficient evidences to prove that as early as paleolithic times men already buried their dead, but what motives prompted them is conjectural. In some cases the dead were apparently bound and then buried with heavy stones over them; this seems to indicate that in addition to the desire to protect the bodies from marauding animals and to remove them from the sight and nostrils of the living, the fear was present that the dead might return to do harm. Better evidence, however, of a belief in some sort of life for the dead is the fact that many graves include, in addition to jewelry and votive offerings, utilitarian objects (arms, tools, food, or occasionally even human beings), intended presumably to serve some purpose for the dead. Even this belief is conjectural, however, and is plausible only because of what we know of similar beliefs and practices among later peoples.

Other indications of religious beliefs and practices have come to us from the later paleolithic age (*c.* 20,000-15,000 B.C.) in the form of paintings, carvings and sculptures found in caves. There is probably some significance in the fact that only certain caves of those which had been inhabited were decorated, and that even in these the paintings and carvings are frequently in very inaccessible parts. This fact suggests that possibly these works of art were connected with sacred rites in holy places. The drawings are for the most part representations of animals, some of them suggesting rites of hunting magic. For example, some of the carvings of animals contain holes, presumably made by shooting arrows at them, and others represent wounded animals. Of special interest are those drawings of human figures which have masks of animal heads, skins or tails (fig. 2). Some scholars thought that they might be iconographical representations of totemic beings or rudimentary deities; but they now regard them as representing masked sorcerers engaged in rites of hunting magic. Other drawings suggest fertility rites and phallic cults.

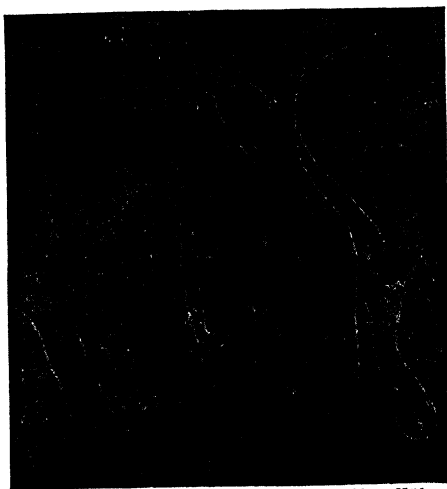
From the neolithic ages, when agriculture and the domestication of animals began to be practised, more numerous religious materials have been unearthed, but their meaning is difficult to determine. The burials were more elaborate, and massive tombs were built. Some of these contained tombstones (dolmens) arranged in circles (compare Stonehenge), others were built in the form of vaults or



1

After Pijoan*After Breuil*

2



3

After Kühn

1. Bison with magic (?) symbols: paleolithic cave painting from Marsoulas, France. 2. Sorcerer with animal mask (?): paleolithic cave drawing from Lourdes, France. 3. Hunter and wife connected by line representing sex-magic (?): paleolithic rock carving from Tiout, Algeria.



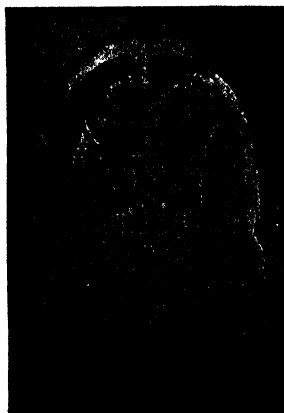
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6

After Hoernes

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4. The paleolithic "Venus of Willendorf." 5. Neolithic figure from Thrace.
 6. Prehistoric funeral vase from Troy. 7. Relief from neolithic grave in France.

chambers, some of which have small openings supposed to be doors for the spirits of the dead. The tombstones are occasionally carved in geometrical patterns or with rudimentary faces and hands. This fact is given additional interest by the discovery in graves of small votive figures (frequently referred to as "idols") similarly carved. Several female figurines have been found, some of them in paleolithic graves. They are extremely obese or otherwise distorted, and though they may have no religious significance except as votive offerings, it seems plausible that they represent a rudimentary Mother Earth or other fertility spirit. Some of the earliest pottery and bronzes were evidently designed for use at sacrifices, and stone altars can be traced back to the neolithic period. Among the symbols frequently found carved on tombs of the neolithic age, painted on rocks or pottery or executed in bronze during the bronze age are birds, horses, serpents, spoked wheels, axes, crescents, "solar" disks, etc. The fact that these symbols were usually conventionalized and the fact that they were sacred during the earliest historic times indicate that they probably had some magic or cultic significance in prehistoric times. They are supposed by some authorities to be associated with sun-worship, with rain magic or other agricultural rites. Symbols such as the swastika, the pyramid, the ankh, the T-form mark and others which were developed by the historic religions are found on prehistoric monuments.

CHAPTER II

RELIGION IN PRIMITIVE CULTURES

I. RELIGIOUS FOLK-WAYS

/| The attempt to fit all primitive religions into a single formula, or even into a single line of evolution, has been abandoned. Primitive peoples fall into too many distinct groups, and the historical relations among these are too complex to enable us to give a general description of them all. The best we can do is to describe the way in which a particular religion happens to function in a particular culture. Of the many significant types of primitive religion we shall select three for analysis. The fact that these three differ fundamentally may serve to illustrate the even greater variety which confronts us as we study the numerous distinct culture patterns. Before we do this, however, we must explain the particular traits or institutions which are usually regarded as religious and which, in varying combinations and refinements, are found among primitive peoples. The reader must not imagine that all primitive religions exhibit all these traits, or exhibit them in similar ways; for, to repeat, the greatest variety, even in fundamentals, prevails in this field.

Today the term "religion" implies a fairly separate department of life and distinct institutions, but to the mind of primitive man the term is foreign, because what we regard as his religion is to him an essential part of his hunting, agriculture, politics, science or art. In general, the ideas and practices signified by such terms as "magic," "myth," "supernatural," "soul," "ancestor," "power," etc., have such radically different meanings for primitive experience than for ours that it is practically impossible for us to conceive the world as the primitive man "sees" it. For example, he may "participate" (to use Lévy-Bruhl's term, intended to explain the matter to the modern mind) in the bear as we participate in the state; or he may eat courage as we do vitamins. And to him his participation in the bear, or his meal of courage, is far less mysterious, though possibly more

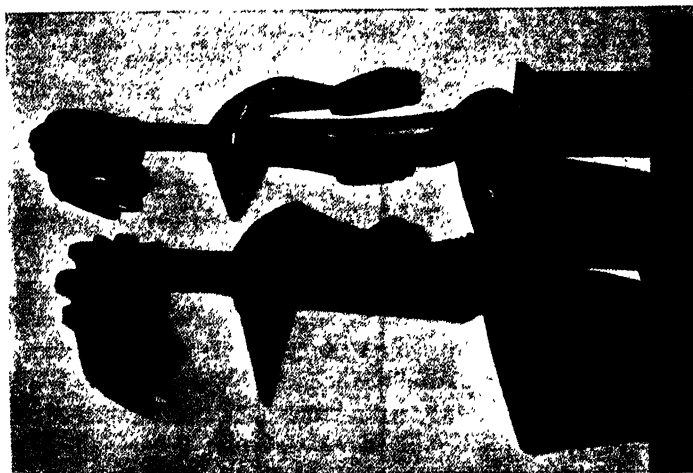
awe-inspiring, than our participation in our state, or our diet of vitamins. Such considerations make the interpretation of primitive religions very difficult and tentative, for in making them intelligible to ourselves, we may be doing them such violence as to make them absurd from the primitive point of view. Without attempting to define religion exactly for primitive cultures, we can, at least, mention those primitive folk-ways which are significantly related to the religious beliefs and practices of our own culture.

A. THE POWERS. The belief in the unity of nature as a single system of energy is a relatively recent and sophisticated idea. For the primitive mind the world is composed of many powers or beings operating in diverse ways for diverse reasons, and the techniques of dealing with these powers are as pervasive in primitive culture as the control of causes is in ours. Indeed, primitive men regard powers much as we do causes: they understand little about their inner natures but deal with them in terms of their activities or effects. Powers, therefore, are as diversified as their traits in action. The fleetness of an animal hunted, the fierceness of a warrior, the prestige of a chief, the symptom of a disease, the haunting memory of the dead, the guidance of the stars, the all-seeing light of the sun, the fruitfulness of the rain and, in general, whatever aspects of natural objects command the attention of men are conceived as being themselves objects of participation or avoidance and are clothed with appropriate attributes. Whatever is fearful, uncanny, tricky or dangerous in the behavior of these objects is especially important and consequently receives special conceptual elaboration. Primitive man must be alert to detect the unexpected, the alarming; hence the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary, or, as we say, between the natural and the supernatural, is for him of great significance. However, the way in which he makes this distinction varies greatly from culture to culture. Extraordinary powers are commonly associated with the dead, the heavenly bodies, the totem animals, snakes, frogs, ravens, bones, blood, hair, seeds, shells and gems. The powers resident in these objects are sometimes conceived as sheer, inherent potency or *mana*, to use the Melanesian name for it; sometimes as a virtue or curse imposed by a sorcerer; sometimes as an ancestral spirit, or a ground-spirit, or an underground-spirit, or a water-spirit, or a strange, hostile spirit from some other



After Seligmann

8. Skull prepared for sorcery in Melanesia. This skull is covered with roots, boar tusks, bits of cane and coral pebbles, human hair, feathers and other objects possessing magic power. The base of the skull is arranged to resemble a face. It is used with incantations to procure the death of an enemy.



9 Courtesy of the University Museum, Philadelphia 10

9. Wooden fetish from Upper Senegal, West Africa. 10. Nail fetish from the Congo.

world. More often, however, such powers have their own specific, proper names and their own mythological traits and careers.

Until recently it was customary to call the chief mythological characters of a people its gods and to regard its rites as the worship of these gods. Such terms have proved misleading, however, since they attribute to primitive cults the concepts and categories of theistic religions. It is impossible, or at least unprofitable, to draw sharp lines between gods, heroes, ancestors, animals and other spirits. It is even inaccurate to call them spirits in the sense of disembodied souls or "personifications" of natural forces and substances. Primitive animism and the mythologies by which it expresses itself are not primarily concerned with "worshiping divine beings" but with exhibiting the operation of extraordinary powers in nature and social tradition. The spirits are not literally personifications of natural agents, for these agents are to the primitive mind persons to begin with; they are simply extraordinary wielders of extraordinary power. And there is no sharp line separating the chief of spirits, where there is one, from the living chief and his tribesmen, nor divine power from the magic powers which every being possesses in lesser degree. There is no sharp separation between gods and men. The primitive cult of spirits is, therefore, not so much an act of worship as it is an act of cultivation, celebration and appropriation. /

B. SORCERY. Magic practices are among the most basic and widespread of all primitive traits. They vary from the wearing of simple, protective amulets, such as teeth, bones, hair, shells, gems or other potent substances, to the performance of elaborate rites of exorcism.

Charms are worn as protection against evil powers and diseases or as agents capable of imparting the positive *mana* resident in them. Where more powerful "medicine" is needed, fetishes are usually resorted to. These vary from bundles of miscellaneous powerful objects to highly conventionalized carved or decorated figures. Usually such figures are equipped with a box containing some potent object. Where destructive or "black" magic is practised, the fetishes serve as the objects of vengeance or anger, as, for example, in the case of nail fetishes (fig. 10). The "Bushman's revolvers" are used to shoot tiny arrows in the direction of the person or animal desired to be killed. Magic is especially prevalent in Melanesia and

among the totemistic tribes of Australia. Hunting magic is very common and consists usually of shooting at (what we would call the symbol of) the game ceremonially, of eating or avoiding the flesh of the animal hunted, or in other ways appropriating the desired qualities for the hunter and obstructing the flight of the game. Primitive agriculture abounds in magic practices; as, for example, planting stones shaped like yams with the seed yams to ensure sprouting, or swinging and jumping in the fields to promote the growth of the plants. The mimicry and symbolism of most primitive dances are believed to have magical power.

Professional sorcery is used when the relatively simple means at the disposal of the layman prove inadequate, or when serious disturbances, like drought, pestilence or war, call for serious community effort. In general, both the psychological effect of social pressure and the professional institutions fostered by the group serve to enhance the power and scope of magic. The ability and power of medicine-men and professional sorcerers vary. Among some tribes they are discredited, grudgingly supported and little more than beggars; among others they are the real rulers of the community and show great skill. They are usually sincere devotees, though on occasion they resort to conscious chicanery. They are often men who have uncanny qualities (fits, trances, visions, etc.). The elaborate techniques invented by professional shamans are a chief factor in the elaboration of medical rites, sacrifices and myths.

C. TABU AND PURIFICATION. Closely allied to magic is the idea of tabu. In many cases tabu corresponds closely in practice to our legal or moral prohibitions, but in theory, and often in practice as well, it has a decidedly religious aspect. Certain objects or persons possess a kind of *mana* which makes them sacrosanct or untouchable. Kings, totem animals, corpses, blood, holy places, sacred names—these are some of the most common objects of tabu. The violation of tabu may result in severe penalties, often death, but it may be offset by rites of purification. This is especially true of temporary tabus, as, for example, of women during child-birth, of hunters and warriors. Often the uncleanness has a physical or social significance, but in many cases it is meaningless apart from the general theory of supernatural powers.



11

After von Sydow

12

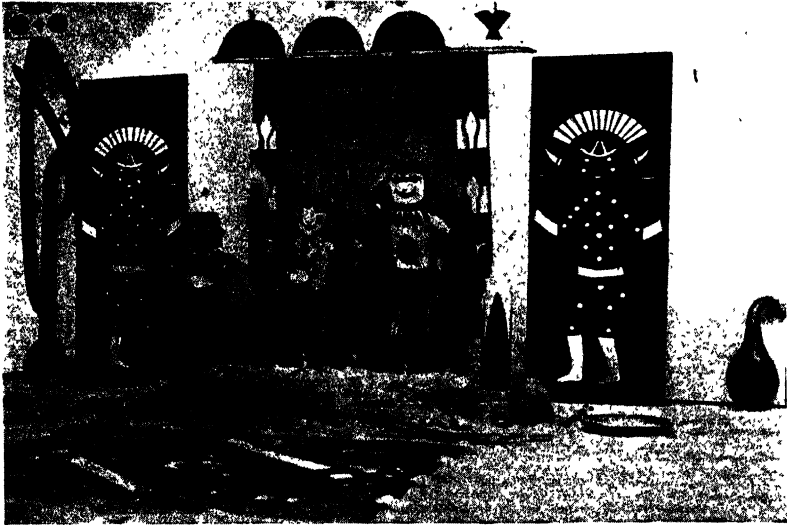
11. Bushman painting representing animal dance connected with hunting magic. 12. Ceremonial deer dance of Pueblo Indians in New Mexico, in which the animals are imitated by costume and movement. This dance marks the culmination of a protracted series of religious rites.

D. MYTHOLOGY. The point at which legend and folk-lore become religious myth is difficult to define. In some cultures (see Malinowski's account of the Melanesians) there exists a clear line of division between ordinary folk-tales and those tribal myths which receive religious celebration and in other ways are regarded as of a peculiarly sacred nature. The mythological themes commonly embodied in religious rites usually concern the explanation of origins, the activities of the heavenly bodies, the passing of the seasons, the deeds of totemic animals, ancestors or culture-heroes and the careers of the deceased. In some cases the rites which celebrate these themes originally grew out of the legends; in others the myths are attempts to explain the rites. Whatever the origin may be, the fact is that certain legends are solemnized by the manner in which they are recited or the occasions on which they are dramatized, so that they assume a greater importance and a more impressive place in the life of the group than does folk-lore in general.

Practically all the most primitive peoples believe in an "all-highest," sometimes called the "sky-god," who, because of his boundlessness and remoteness remains as vaguely conceived as he is exalted. Except in those cases where no other powers are individualized, this great spirit is not conspicuous as an object of devotion or manipulation. High gods, as the phrase goes, though they are named in the mythologies, are seldom worshiped in low cultures, because the most celebrated spirits are those most concretely and intimately related to the lives of the people: sun, moon, rain (or thunder), food animals and, in general, the dispensers of fertility, food, disease, strength or victory. Very conspicuous, however, may be what are to us purely imaginary beings, characters whose heroic deeds, tricks or other marvelous feats make them vividly supernatural beings and popular themes of ritual dramatization, dancing and chanting. Most mythological figures exist without having any religious rites attached to them, and in the more primitive cultures there are many spirits inhabiting trees, mountains, waters or heavenly bodies which exert no special influences on human life and are therefore not the objects of incantations, prayers or sacrifices. However, such mythological materials gradually become associated with traditional dances, feasts, magic rites and other types of ceremony, or they may even give rise to new rites. In this way mythology and

ceremonialism tend to enhance each other and together lead to the formation of religious rites directed to sacred beings.

Primitive mythologies contain an abundant variety of spirits only loosely interrelated. They may be vaguely subordinated to the su-



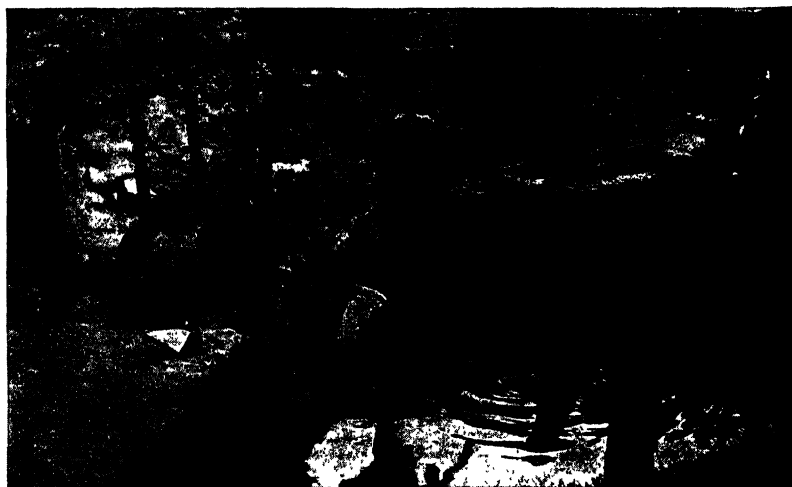
Courtesy Field Museum of Natural History

13. "Altar" erected in the *kiva* of the Powamu fraternity of the Hopi Indians at Oraibu, Arizona, in connection with the rain ceremonies. On the sides are representations of the *kachinas* which appear in the dances. In the center, from left to right, stand figures of the Protecting Deity, the Thunder-god and Chowiawu; the last-named appears as a *kachina* in the initiation ceremony. The zig-zag emblems represent lightning, and above them are cloud and rain symbols. On the ground is the sand-painting, containing similar symbols, constructed during the ceremonies, and around it are feathered "prayer sticks," rattles, corn, gourds, baskets and other ceremonial vessels and implements.

preme spirit, and occasionally they are classified as good or evil spirits, that is, beneficent or malevolent; but on the whole, such a dualism is not strictly maintained, and each spirit is endowed with at least as great a variety of moral qualities as is found in the ordinary human being. The fundamental structure and themes of primitive mythology are seldom moralistic; and the spirits are dramatic, picturesque figures exhibiting much more varied activities and qualities than would be consistent if they were mere personifications

of some natural object or moral quality. Even when their names or fundamental traits suggest, say, the sun, the coyote, the "old woman" or the corn, their deeds far outrun the natural implications of their names or characters.

E. SPIRIT COMMUNICATION. Communication with spirits is much more highly developed in some cultures than in others. Even among



14. Scene in the Flute Ceremony of the Hopi Indians of Arizona. This is the final public ceremony of a nine-day rain rite during late summer. The priests are placing prayer offerings at the bottom of a spring, accompanied by prayers, songs and flute-playing.

the most primitive peoples it takes the form of simple petitioning prayer or formal salutation. Ancestral spirits play a dominant rôle, and in the more primitive cultures, by means of skulls, bones or other relics, they continue to guide and rule the living. The guidance of the spirits is usually exercised through visions, trances, hallucinations or other extraordinary forms of personal revelation. There are usually some persons in each tribe more susceptible to such communications than others, and these are looked upon as especially sacred persons or shamans. The prestige and power of professional shamans is particularly developed in the so-called Arctic and sub-Arctic cultures, notably among the peoples of Siberia and some of the North American Indians. Many of the more violent primitive

rites and religious disciplines are intended to produce visions or ecstasies, which bring the participant into personal touch with the magic power of spirits and thus serve to initiate him into full membership in the clan, to give him special rights, or in other ways to make him feel his union with both living and dead, both the social and the spirit-ual group.

F. SACRIFICE. Sacrifice is another way in which men keep in touch with the spirits and through them seek to control their own fortunes. Among the earliest forms of sacrifice are the votive offerings to the dead, though these were usually not sacrifices, strictly speaking, but supplies for the use of the dead. The custom of making sacrifices to ancestors is very prevalent. Expiatory sacrifices to appease offended spirits are very ancient and in some cultures seem to have been the earliest. In any case, the motive of fear is undoubtedly strong among primitive peoples and is chiefly responsible for some of the excessive religious burdens which they place upon themselves in order to feel more secure. Fear is, however, not the only motive, as some theorists regard it, which prompts men to sacrifice to the spirits. The desire to acquire the powers of an animal or human being by eating it ceremonially is a very primitive accompaniment of magic. Likewise the sacrificial "communion" feast of the totem animal, which marks the culmination of some totemic rites, is found in very primitive cultures. Sacrifices of rejoicing after hunting, war or harvest are common. Human sacrifices seem to have been comparatively rare, at least during historical times, though they were carried on extensively by the Aztecs and Maori. They are indulged in occasionally where extreme measures are necessary to relieve drought, pestilence or famine, and they sometimes constitute the climax of orgiastic fertility rites. Medicine-men prescribe elaborate "sacrifices," though often these are really fees.

G. CEREMONIALISM. Sacrifice is usually only one aspect of primitive ceremonialism, and ceremony is one of the most universal forms of group expression in primitive cultures, embracing much more than religious rites. The forms of religious ceremony alone are too varied even to be mentioned here. The most common form is dancing, the masks and figures of the dance symbolizing the themes of celebration. In the most primitive cultures such celebrations are held before and after hunting, at the annual ceremonies for the totem



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

15. Ceremonial masks: (a) from New Ireland, Melanesia; (b) from the Dyaks of Borneo; (c) from Ivory Coast, West Africa; (d) from the Kwakiutl Indians, Vancouver.

animal (usually intended to safeguard the food supply) and at initiation rites. Among agricultural peoples there are seasonal rites: the spring fertility festival, usually symbolizing the marriage of heaven and earth or some similar procreative theme; the rain rituals, which are frequently prolonged over several weeks at the end of the dry season; and the harvest festivals, with the sacrifices of the first-fruits and the various ceremonies for the "spirits of the corn." Secret or sacred societies are common and cultivate all kinds of



After Boas

16. Mask representing the totemic ancestor of a clan of Kwakiutl Indians, Vancouver.

more or less mysterious rites (compare African societies of medicine-men and Crow Indian tobacco societies). Such ceremonialism encourages various forms of religious art. The designs of masks and the figures of mythologies frequently set the styles for decorative arts, which thus become a sort of iconography. Small statues are often used not only as fetishes but as images for use in processions, dances, altars, etc.

Though not all cultures have developed ceremonial forms of religion, the extent to which primitive religions are institutionalized and operate as an agency of group sentiment, expression and art can scarcely be exaggerated. This fact will be obvious in the following illustrations of particular religions functioning in various cultures.

II. SEVERAL ILLUSTRATIVE CULTURES

A. THE DOBUANS OF MELANESIA. The Melanesians of the Island of Dobu in the eastern New Guinea Archipelago are described by

Dr. R. F. Fortune in his *Sorcerers of Dobu* (New York, 1932), and from his account the following outline of the religious aspects of Dobuan culture is taken.

The island of Dobu is notorious among neighboring tribes as a center of black magic and witchcraft, and even the natives of the island are less timid when they visit the neighboring Trobriands than on their own shores. This obsession with sorcery and its continual use in all occupations constitutes the dominant trait of what might be called Dobuan religion. By means of their rituals of incantation, the Dobuans enter into communication with all the beings and powers of nature as well as with the "ancient beings" celebrated in their myths. The stars in the heavens, the yams in the gardens, the animals in forest and sea, the spirits of ancestors and the bringers of disease or death, all these are alike subject to the spells of the sorcerer's magic.

The Dobuans live in small villages, the center of which is the graveyard or "sleeping place of the mothers," containing the bones of the maternal ancestors. A Dobuan belongs to the village of his mother and inherits from his mother's brother. This basic matrilineal social structure is supplemented by the usual family groups, which live alternately in the wife's village and in the husband's. The growing of yams and nut palms is the chief occupation and means of subsistence, though the men also engage in sea commerce. The totemic clans are of minor importance but serve to distinguish the various systems of garden magic. Each totem claims its special yam seed and keeps it strictly within the totem. Moreover the men and the women inherit their own lines of seed, and though the garden is cultivated by the family, husband and wife have their separate plots and keep their seed yams distinct. The yams are, strictly speaking, members of the family, since they are believed to be descended from the same ancestors as the human members of the family. Men, according to Dobuan legend, are metamorphosed yams. The religious care of the family garden and the complicated systems of garden magic, therefore, combine, so to speak, the elements of ancestor-worship, fertility magic and totemic tradition. Except for the communal clearing of garden patches and the occasional village ceremonies before the men set out in their canoes on trading expeditions, social life is restricted almost exclusively to the

family. The women never go out alone and are jealously guarded by their husbands. The members of the family cultivate their gardens and gather their crops in strict privacy. Even the knowledge of incantations and witchcraft is guarded with the utmost secrecy and is inherited as the most valuable private property. Though every man knows at least a few *tabus*, there are many professional sorcerers, each claiming a monopoly on a special secret incantation and boasting of his skill. The women, on the other hand, never admit that they practise witchcraft and are almost universally suspected of practising it. A person who achieves an outstanding success in the use of his ritual power and can defy the spells cast by others enjoys considerable social prestige and uses his skill to govern the village. A *tabu* in Dobu is an incantation or charm bearing the power to cause disease or other calamity to anyone who touches the object on which it is placed. The *tabu* is symbolized in the case of palm trees by a dried palm leaf tied around the tree trunk. The knowledge of the *tabu* which causes a specific disease is therefore a valuable asset, for seldom has a thief enough confidence in his own magic power of exorcism to embolden him to touch a *tabu* object. Even the owner must protect himself against his own *tabu* by exorcising it when he touches the object.

The protection and cultivation of the garden involves an elaborate ritual. After the ground is cleared, it is divided off into small squares, two of which are used for ceremonial planting of the first yams. The ground in these squares is dug up ceremonially with the fingers and not with the usual digging sticks; magic pegs are driven into the ground and vines twined about them, while the sorcerer murmurs an incantation and breathes a spell into the vines, signifying the growing yam vines. The slicing of the seed yams is accompanied by apologies to the yam and by an incantation recalling the myth of Samuela, who became a red yam when the inhabitants cut her throat and whose blood is supposed to flow into the soil from the cutting of the seed yam.

i-oi!

samu, samuela

samu, samuela.

I disembark at walibua

at the head of the garden
 I cut and her blood
 flows as a stream flows
 spurts as flung sea spray.
 ya!
 samu, samuela,
 samu, samuela
 i-oi!
 samuela.
 kwatea gomanumusa (the variety of yam sliced)
 rises, stands erect.¹

Then follows a ritual of pouring salt-water on the seed yams to symbolize the myth that "the seed we of the Green Parrot totem use today—and it is indeed no ordinary seed—descends from the sea garden of Murua Octopus."² When the vines are ready to be twined about the stakes another series of incantations is performed, accompanied by the burning of leaves—the curling smoke signifying the twining vines. Then the sorcerer breathes spells into his hands and places them on the leaves of the vines. When the plants are ready to be hilled there is another incantation, followed by throwing the "grandmother yams," the half-rotted seeds, into the sea. Then there are incantations to prevent the yams from wandering in the woods at night and to entice yams from neighboring gardens into one's own. An unusually good crop is attributed to good magic stealing from neighbors' gardens.

Similar magic rituals are practised in connection with making love, with the treatment of disease, with the black art of inflicting disease or death, with divination of the guilty in cases of crime or misfortune and with the rites for the success of sea expeditions for barter and exchange of gifts. In addition the women practise witchcraft, which is distinct from sorcery, for instead of producing their effects by charms, the women work by means of their own spirits, which leave their sleeping bodies or "empty skins" at night and roam about doing mischief. The men when on their sea expeditions are especially fearful of their wives' witchcraft, and some of their sacred prohibitions (*bomama*) and *tabus* enforced during the expedi-

¹ R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, pp. 116-7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

tions are due to this fear. The spirits of the dead are comparatively harmless. For several days after death, it is believed, the spirit comes to its corpse, makes marks upon it, tastes the cooked yams beside it and then leaves for Mt. Bwebweso, the home of spirits. The spirits of deformed (bad) persons may not gain entrance to Bwebweso, but assume the shape of a monstrous fish and inhabit a swamp at the foot of the mountain./

The most sacred part of an incantation is usually the name of some ancient spirit or supernatural being who is associated by legend with the particular work of magic for which the incantation is used. These names are guarded as especially valuable private possessions. For example, in the case of the incantation for a disease, the person who knows the name of the being mentioned in the incantation must be careful not to take the name in vain or even permit anyone to discover that he knows the name, since the mere mention of the name out of context may produce the disease. For this reason, uncles or fathers in passing on their knowledge to the youths impress them with the danger of making even the slightest verbal mistake in learning the incantations. In some cases the being involved is a common animal or plant, but usually it is a mythological hero or ancestor, whose deeds are referred to in the incantation and who is regarded as still alive and resident in a particular region.

In addition to their use of mythical beings in the secret formulas of sorcery, the Dobuans occasionally call upon such beings publicly. For example, the following cry is raised repeatedly during a calm at sea:

O, north-west wind, native of Gilibwai, native of Kibu, native of Siko-kolo, native of Nubiam, clutch *lamusi*, the sail new woven of fine pandanus leaf, the misbehaving child of your husband.

ge! ge! ge! ge! ge! ge! ge! ge! ge! ge!

O, north-west wind, native of Gilibwai, native of Kibu, native of Siko-kolo, native of Nubiam, our yams are done, our water is done. Come, O, north-west wind, the sail *lamusi* new woven of fine pandanus leaf, take him in wedlock.²

The north-west wind when it blows gently is the woman, Yarata; when it blows up a squall it is her daughter, Bwarakwaiyoyo. The

² R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu*, p. 211.

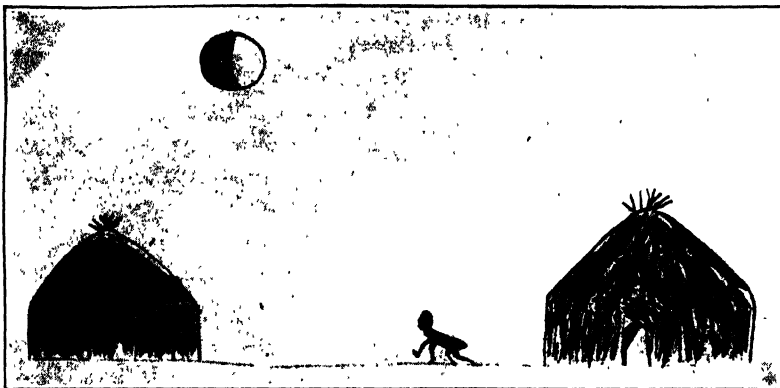
latter blows in anger because once her jealous companions marooned her on a reef while they sailed away. Her mother finally found her by "blowing over the ocean in search of her."

The advantage of secret incantations over such public cries or prayers is that they are more effective in controlling the spirits or powers. The yams, for example, literally hear the charm and, if it is a good one, are compelled to obey it. Failure on their part to do so is attributed either to some imperfection in the charm or to some stronger sorcery wielded by some other person, for seeds have power to grow only in so far as this power is imparted to them by incantation.⁴ Not all beings can be controlled by magic, and frequently these beings, for whom no charms are known, are accused of interfering with the sorcery. Thus it is always possible for the Dobuans to defend the logic of magic, and they cling to the belief that their incantations are absolutely essential to the production of the desired effects.

B. THE CHUKCHEES OF SIBERIA. The Chukchees are an Arctic people inhabiting the northeastern corner of Siberia. They number over ten thousand and are divided into two groups: the Maritime Chukchees are fishermen; the Reindeer Chukchees live by hunting and herding reindeer. The following description applies chiefly to the Reindeer Chukchees. They live in camps containing, on the average, about a dozen persons, more or less organized as families, and these are loosely organized into paternal clans. Each camp has its master or "strong one," and each family (as far as possible) its shaman or "one possessing a spirit or voice."

1. Shamans are the dominant figures in the religious life of the Chukchees. Not only are the shamanistic performances the culmination of the family rites, but shamans are called upon continually in cases of sickness, crime, misfortune or trouble of any sort. Shamans usually receive "the call" of the spirits during adolescence; highly sensitive or hysterical persons of either sex are subject to the call. After the call a shaman spends several years in severe discipline, "gathering shamanistic power"; he spends much time in isolation in

⁴ Dr. Fortune reports: "In Tewara Island, where the Mission has not been, I asked how it came about that the Mission whites and their introduced Polynesian teachers grew yam gardens without the incantations. I was met with the retort that, while it was true the Polynesian teachers did not use Dobuan magic, it was not true that they grew good yam crops." (p.106.)



17



18

17. Chukchee shaman invoking the moon.
 18. Chukchee shaman engaged in divination.
 19. Sexually transformed Chukchee shaman.



19

After Bogoras

his tent or wandering in the wilderness; he becomes increasingly sensitive to voices, visions and dreams; he learns ventriloquism; he becomes skilful in the use of drums, charms and incantations and learns the "old tidings" (myths) and the esoteric wisdom of spirit-lore. When he is accomplished in his art he can command the powers of several spirit "assistants" by means of which he performs mediumistic tricks, utters strange sounds, impersonates mythical beings or animals, makes prophecies, "sinks" into trances, etc. Shamans frequently appear to change their sex and indulge in homosexuality. Sexually transformed or effeminate ("soft") men are supposed to be especially endowed with magic power, on the ground that women in general are more subject to spirits though they are less successful as professional shamans.

A typical shamanistic performance takes place after the evening meal in the dark of the inner room. It begins with beating the drum and chanting, which becomes continually louder and more exciting and culminates in hysterical cries. Then follows an exhibition of spirit voices calling, conversing or quarreling and producing weird sounds and movements to frighten the listeners. The spirits then give magical advice, prescriptions and sooth-sayings. In some cases the shaman finally sinks into a trance, which is usually interpreted as a descent into lower worlds. During special celebrations shamans also perform in the light of the outer tent or even in daylight, pretending to inflict and heal wounds and displaying their skill at tricks. The magical treatment of the sick is always performed with spirit assistants and usually consists of searching for the "lost soul" of the patient and restoring it to the body.

2. Each family possesses its charms or guardians. The most important of these is the sacred fire-board (fig. 20), which is drilled to kindle the hearth. It is carved roughly into human shape and constitutes the chief "guardian" of the herd. It is handed down from generation to generation and symbolizes the family hearth as well as the family brand on the reindeer herd. The hearth itself is a sacred fire, kindled by the fire-board (though other instruments are used for ordinary fires) and carefully guarded against contamination by alien fires or even by vessels used at other hearths. In addition to the fire-board each family has a string of charms containing such objects as stones, raven-heads, fox-skulls (used for divination)



20



21



22



23



24

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20. Sacred fire-boards of the Chukchees. 21. Charm string containing several male guardians (forked sticks), a fox's skull, a man's funeral belt and the fur trimming from a woman's funeral collar. 22. Drawing of the ground spirit Iumetun. 23. Drawing of the ground spirit Iteyun (epilepsy). 24. Iteyun changing his features under a shaman's power.

and small "wooden spirits," usually merely forked sticks roughly notched to symbolize human figures (fig. 21). Each individual wears one or more of these guardians as a necklace or fastened to his belt. The chief purpose of guardians is to keep off the various kinds of spirits which haunt men continually and are especially dangerous in unknown regions. All places have their "owners or masters," who are usually represented as small beings of grotesque shape, and these are apt to annoy the unguarded traveler or trespasser on their domains. There are also innumerable "ground spirits," many of which are spirits of diseases, against which man must be guarded by charms and incantations. One of the most dreaded is Iumetun, a nervous disease, represented by a black face and large mouth; another is Iteyun, epilepsy, represented by a distorted face which changes when seen by shamans (fig. 24). Spirits captured by shamans sometimes leave their dogs as ransom, and these are used by the shamans as guardians. Shamans employ a great variety of spirits representing animals, household utensils, weapons and other physical objects; such spirits are usually conceived as being very small, of grotesque form and irritable temper.

3. Sacrifices are seldom directed to such spirits except for evil purposes. Almost all the usual sacrifices are made to the beneficent powers, known as "the beings" and commonly referred to simply as "the directions." The Chukchees distinguish twenty-two directions of the compass, but only four of these have religious significance: dawn, mid-day, zenith and nadir. Sacrifices to the dawn are most numerous. The directions of evening and the moon are regarded as inauspicious and are not sacrificed to except for the purpose of getting evil spells and incantations. The sun, the pole-star, Arcturus and Vega are prominent objects of religious rites. Arcturus and Vega are known respectively as Front Head and Rear Head and constitute the two points by which travelers find their direction. There are other "beings" vaguely conceived and known chiefly through the tales about them; such are the Creator (to whom, they say, there is no need to sacrifice), the Merciful Being, the Luck-giving Being, the Raven, the Mighty Woman (these are sometimes sacrificed to or used as guardians or "assistants"). Many of the legends recite the marvelous deeds of shamans in competition with these supernatural beings. Prominent among the monster spirits are

enormous bears, mammoths, worms, tritons, the "thunder bird" and Spider Woman. Though the cosmogony of the Chukchees is vague, they believe in several worlds, one above the other. Shamans may pass from one to another through holes situated under the pole-star. In general, upper beings are beneficent, whereas the evil spirits dwell underground, in the water or in lower worlds. The dead are taken by spirits in various directions according to the manner in which they died. On the whole, the mythology and cosmogony centering about these beings are known only to the shamans and aged persons, who call them "old tidings," and different shamans frequently tell different myths. "Thus we find that, while the average Reindeer Chukchee is quite unable to explain who the beings are to whom he sacrifices, he is very positive about the details of the sacrifice and about various acts connected with it. There is a marked tendency to maintain the observance of these performances, which have obtained a firmer hold than the ideas they represent."'

The common sacrifices are performed without slaughter and consist of the women pouring small quantities of blood-soup or other food in the fire and the men then scattering bits of blood, leather, tallow or bone-marrow in the appropriate direction or in all directions. These acts are sometimes accompanied by prayers or incantations. Occasionally small images are used as offerings. They are made of wood, leaves or snow and represent reindeer, sausage, bow and arrow or even the sacrificial bowl itself.

All occasions of special celebration require the sacrificial slaughter of a reindeer. Of the annual cycle of fixed or "genuine" sacrifices two are especially important: the fall slaughterings for the sake of obtaining skins for the winter clothing; and the thanksgiving ceremonial after a successful hunt, or after success in some other enterprise, or in response to a dream. The fall slaughtering occurs when the men and herds return to camp after the summer's absence. Fires are lighted in front of the tents and as the herds approach the camp the children shout, shoot fire-brands and throw spears toward the herd in order to frighten off the spirits which may have become attached to the herd while it was in a strange country unprotected by the family "guardians." Following this there are sacrifices to all

⁵ Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, volume VII of the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1909, p. 340.

the directions and toward the herd. Then follows the slaughtering. Each animal has its head pointed in a certain "direction" and its blood is sprinkled about. The manner in which the victim falls is observed for purposes of divination. Then the family sledges, charms and fire-boards are brought out, the animals are skinned, and the hides are heaped on the sledges. Meanwhile incantations are recited and small parts of the animals are thrown into the fire. The mouths of the family "guardians" are smeared with tallow and marrow. Then everybody is painted with the blood of the slaughtered reindeer, each family painting itself according to its hereditary style symbolizing the guardian spirit of its herd. This painting ceremony is the most significant of the family rites. The deerskins are then hung up in the tents as curtains and after the meal the family drums are brought out and beaten continually the rest of the day, culminating in a shamanistic performance, in general sports and in making gifts to the guests of the family.

The thanksgiving ceremonial is performed in-doors. The object of thanksgiving (usually some especially valuable game from the hunt) is placed before the hearth. Large quantities of meat are boiled and eaten. The children parade some of it around the tent to drive off spirits, and then the tent is tightly closed to prevent spirits from entering. The ensuing ceremony consists largely of singing, beating the drums, shamanistic performances and dancing. Not only the shamans but the members of the household generally invite their spirits to possess them and perform dances mimicking animals or other "voices" over which they have command.

4. Incantations are the most general form of religious rite on such occasions as birth, marriage, death, sickness and misfortune. Following births and during weddings auspicious incantations are used in connection with the blood-painting ceremony. At funerals there are elaborate incantations and other magic precautions to protect and "fortify" the family against the spirit of the deceased. Besides being thus feared, the deceased relatives are also honored. Year after year the antlers from sacrificed reindeer are heaped on the places where the dead have been burned or exposed. The beliefs about the abodes of the dead are vague: the store of antlers is supposed to be the residence of the spirit of the deceased ancestor, from which he may return to plague the living. On the other hand,

the dead are supposed to go on a long and devious journey, some say to "the house of the Upper Being." Some ancestors are reincarnated.

Incantations are used for many specific, practical purposes. Of these a few are cited here. It will be noticed that they are half prayers, half magic formulas; half petitions to "beings," half manifestations of magic power.

Incantation by the owner of reindeer for taming a wild reindeer that has joined the herd: " 'Let us try it and make of him a tame reindeer! Let him create offspring for us!' . . . He talks to the Being of the Zenith, 'Listen to me, you there above! I am in great need. This one wants to go away, and he is the first of his kind that I have seen here. Give me your wooden stake! I will stick it into his foot and fasten him to the ground; I will thrust it in between his antlers; I will pierce his lower jaw, and bring it down to the level of the ground. With what else will I pin to the ground this fleet-footed reindeer-buck? I will gather bowlders from all sides, and pile them up between his antlers. How will he move his head? I will wrap his ears with sod. I will gather withered sedge-grass and cover his nose with it. Let all bad odors from every part of the earth enter into his nose! I make him into a fawn newly born. O Vairgin! do not despise my demand. Let me get possession of him! I will give you in exchange something equally worthy of desire.' Then he spits, to fasten the incantation." ⁶

Incantation in case of sickness: " 'Oh, help my need; look down upon me with the Godly Substance!' The Right Side of the Morning-Dawn answers, 'I refuse!'—'O you, the Top of the Dawn, help my need; look down upon me with the Godly Substance!' The Top of the Dawn answers, 'I refuse!' From the Left Side of the Morning-Dawn I ask for assistance. 'Help my need; look down upon me with the Godly Substance!' The Left Side of the Morning-Dawn answers, 'I refuse!' I ask the Front Head (the star Arcturus), 'Help my need; look down upon me with the Godly Substance!' The Front Head answers, 'Ask the Rear Head (the star Vega). Near the right corner of thy house there abides a Woman of Light, a Hummock-Woman, an Old Woman from the Time of the First Creation: ask her for an incantation!' I visit her. 'What have you come for?'—'I am suffering! Look down upon me with the Godly Substance!'—'Well, I will try!' She gives me a blade of grass, an iron blade, which is an iron hawk. I rub my body with that grass, and draw out the disease, which I

⁶ Waldemar Bogoras, *The Chukchee*, volume VII of the publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, 1909, p. 497.

turn into a flock of ptarmigan. These are caught and eaten by the iron hawk." ⁷

A shaman's cure for an ailing limb: "Taking a piece of cloth, I go out of the house early in the morning, and turning to the Dawn, say, 'O Dawn! this is my sea. Give upon my sea a wing of the butterfly.' With this wing I rub the patient. This is not an ailing limb; this is the ground. I rub it with the wing from the upper earth of the Dawn, then it will stop ailing." ⁸

A love-incantation: "If I want to have this woman, I take out her heart and liver, then I go towards the Evening 'direction,' and hang her organs on both sides of the Evening. Then I say, 'Here is the heart and the liver of that woman. Make them entangled in a seal-net! Let her be without her intestines! let her pine away with desire for me!—This man is not your husband. This is a seal's carcass drifted to the seashore, rotting upon the pebbles. Every wind blows upon it, and its bones are bared. And you are not a woman; you are a young reindeer-doe. The smell of the carrion comes to you, and you flee away, and come into my possession.' " ⁹

C. THE TODAS OF INDIA. The Todas now inhabit the plateau surrounding the Nilgiri hills of southern India, but they originally came from the west, presumably from Malabar. They are isolated from hostile men and animals and go unarmed. Their life is almost entirely devoted to the care of buffalo dairies. They exchange their dairy products for the agricultural produce (chiefly rice) and manufactured goods of neighboring tribes. They number about eight hundred. Each clan has its patron deity living on his own hill-top, but these gods are all more or less directly related to two chief deities: the god Öñ and the goddess Teikirzi.

Öñ is the son of Pithi (compare the Hindu Pr̥thivi), about whom little is known except that he was born in a cave near a sacred dairy. Öñ, one day, went with his wife, Pinarkus, to the highlands, where they stood at opposite ends of a long iron bar. Öñ brought forth sixteen hundred buffaloes from the earth at his end of the bar, and his wife, eighteen hundred at hers. Holding the tail of the last of Öñ's buffaloes was the first Toda man. Öñ took a rib from his right side and made of it the first Toda woman, and by the end of a week there were about a hundred Todas. The descendants of Öñ's buffaloes are sacred, but those of his wife's creation are the ordinary buffaloes. Öñ had a son, who, because he had violated a regu-

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 505.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

lation of the dairy, was drowned in the sacred spring. Òn, looking into the spring, saw his son in Amnodr, the realm of the dead, and decided to join him. He took his buffaloes with him and has ever since ruled over the realm of the dead. This realm is under the earth, to the west, and is illuminated by the sun after it has set. The dead Todas live in much the same manner as the living, except that they gradually wear down their legs. When their legs are worn to the knees, they are reincarnated. On the way to Amnodr the dead must cross a bridge of thread over a ravine. Todas who have been selfish, jealous, grudging, or who have committed offenses against the dairy, fall from this bridge into the swamp where the dead of other peoples dwell, by whom they are detained for a short or long period depending on their offenses.

Teikirzi, the sister of Òn, became the ruler of all the Todas and established the divisions of men and buffaloes according to clans and ordained the chief rites. When the first Toda died, the goddess took pity on the weeping people and came to restore the dead to life. When she came to the place she found some crying, while others seemed to be quite happy. She liked what she saw and decided not to raise the dead but ordained instead that at funerals some should weep and others should be happy.

Teikirzi once went into a cave where she gave birth to a son. The afterbirth dropped into the Teipakh River, which is the brother of Teikirzi, and gradually formed itself into a boy, Korateu. He lived in the river, that is, in the lap of his uncle, until he was eight years old, amusing himself by making toy buffalo horns. At the age of eight he built a sacred dairy, made all its sacred utensils and appointed its priests. Not being recognized as divine by the gods, Korateu then performed several marvels, culminating in his marriage. He knocked a woman on the head with his iron rod, whereupon she became pregnant and gave birth to a very beautiful daughter whom Korateu married. He was then admitted to the gods and assigned to a hill, where he rules over one of the clans.

Besides the patron deities of the clans there are numerous minor deities and deified ancestors, but they have little to do with the religious rites of the Todas. Certain rivers, trees, plants and stones are held sacred. The most sacred object is the bell worn by the buffalo;

this is, however, merely an indication of the sanctity of the buffalo and the dairy.

The sacred herds are so sacred that the major concern of Toda rites is the problem of keeping all the animals, buildings, utensils and dairymen free from contamination by contact with the ordinary dairies, ordinary people and the evil spells of magic powers, and the still more delicate problem of de-sanctifying the butter from these dairies to make it available for secular use. A dairyman must go through various degrees of the priesthood. Most of these ceremonies are purification rites, consisting of rubbing with leaves and bark, bathing in the dairy stream, ceremonial drinking of its water, sleeping in the woods, saluting the dairy, prostrating himself at its threshold and before the bell. Finally he is allowed to touch the sacred utensils and to assist in their purification. No woman may enter a dairy or touch a dairy utensil. Every act of the dairymen-priests is highly ritualistic and minutely prescribed, from the cleaning of the buffalo pens to the churning of the butter. In addition to the salutations addressed to the sun, to the buffaloes and the dairy, there is a ritual of "feeding" the bell accompanied by the repetition of the mystic syllable, *Oñ*. There are stated prayers (even in the ordinary dairies), inviting the gods to attend the rites and to preserve the buffaloes.

These prayers are muttered inaudibly in terms of an ancient language which is now meaningless to most Todas. A typical prayer runs about as follows: For the sake of the village and clan of N, for the sake of the large dairy at N, for the sake of the small dairy at N, for the sake of the lamp of the large dairy, for the sake of all the sacred objects of the small dairy, for the sake of the buffaloes, the calf enclosure, the buttermilk, the sacred spring, the sacred hill, the sacred tree, the ancestors of the buffaloes, etc., etc. . . . "May it be well with the buffaloes, may they not suffer from disease or die, may they be kept from poisonous animals and from wild beasts and from injury by flood or fire, may there be water and grass in plenty." For the sake of *Ön* and of *Teikirzi* may it be well with us.¹⁰

The milk of the sacred buffaloes is strictly tabu. It is intended primarily for the sacred calves. Not even the high-priest of the

¹⁰ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London and New York, 1906), p. 216.

dairy drinks it. When it is used for butter, it must be taken in its sacred vessel only as far as the threshold, where it is poured into an "intermediate" vessel in which it is carried to the churn outside the threshold of the dairy. Further protective rites must be performed before the butter or buttermilk can finally be used, and there are certain ceremonial forms to be observed by the dairyman-priest in eating or drinking it. On one occasion only is the sacred milk itself used by the people: for a special ceremony in the village dairy after the birth of a calf, a sacred food is prepared by the dairyman-priest from the milk of a sacred buffalo. A part of this is thrown as a sacrifice into the fire; the remainder is distributed among the people.

There are elaborate ceremonies of propitiation and purification after an offense has been committed or a misfortune has befallen the tribe or its dairy. In the location of the cause or nature of an offense the services of a professional diviner are required. He is called a "god-gesticulating man" and his art is a form of ecstatic dancing, culminating in the utterance of oracular phrases which are then interpreted to suit the occasion. There are also distinct medicine-men whose technique is largely magical, and there are sorcerers who inherit their gifts of casting spells. The diviners usually find that the cause of some misfortune is the spell cast by some sorcerer; the sorcerer usually accepts responsibility and offers to counteract the evil by casting another spell.

Though the Todas are habitually vegetarians, they occasionally perform a sacrifice of a male calf as a fertility rite. The calf is slaughtered and cut up with very elaborate and more or less secret rites and the flesh is finally distributed and eaten by the people. The sacrifice is accompanied by prayers and incantations for the fertility and health of the buffaloes.

At funerals buffalo cows are slaughtered for the use of the dead and their bodies given away to members of a non-Toda tribe. The cremation of the body of the deceased person is accompanied by lamenting, dancing, feasting, throwing earth on the ashes, purification and other typical funeral rites. The following lament, composed by a man for his wife, is typical and gives an insight into the general quality of Toda life, except that this particular man had traveled a

little with Europeans and at the end of his lament refers to the god of the missionaries.

O woman of wonderful birth, renowned were you born, O flower, lime, O flower, tree. Having found a proper husband you married; having found a proper wife I married. I gave my best buffalo to Piedr for you. I took you as a beauty to Kuudr. A house we built, bracelets and buffalo horns we made in sport. I thought we should have had many children and many buffaloes should we have enjoyed. Liberal you were and refreshing like the shade of the umbrella tree. We thought that we should live long. We went together as we willed. We bought strong buffaloes and we prevailed over injustice. Peacefully we paid our fine. We lent to those that had not. We went to see the bungalows and the reservoir. Many courts we visited and ships also. We laid complaints before the native magistrate; we made bets and we won. We said that we would not be shaken and would fear the eye of no one. We thought to live together, but you have left me alone, you have forsaken me. My right eye sheds tears, my right nostril smarts with sorrow. I bewailed but could not find you. I called out for you and could not find you. There is one God for me.¹¹

¹¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (London and New York, 1906), p. 386.

CHAPTER III

SHINTO

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

A. EARLY CULTS OF THE ISLANDS. The primitive cults of early Japan remain obscure, and it is a moot point to what extent they were native or introduced by various migrating peoples. The earliest records reveal a combination of nature cults with chieftain- and ancestor-worship. Apparently in ancient times the dead were dreaded and regarded as polluted and polluting; their homes were abandoned and transformed into shrines where prayers and sacrifices to the deceased were made in order to ward off any baneful influences from the spirits of the dead. In this way, probably, many of the local shrines originated. The heads of the families or clans were priests who officiated in the cult of the *kami*, the sacred beings, especially during purification rites.

Three ancient tribal cults were prominent components in the making of the national tradition: that of the Yamato tribe, in which the sacredness of former female rulers seems to have combined with sun-worship to produce the veneration of a sun-goddess as chief among the heavenly ancestors; that of the Izumo tribe, whose religion was agricultural and who worshiped the storm-god, the snake and other typical agricultural deities; and that of the Kyushu tribe, whose gods were sea-gods. These cults were presumably consolidated at the time of the Yamato conquests, about the first century A.D., under the form of emperor-worship, the emperors being *kami*, sacred, for the triple reason that they were emperors, tribal ancestors and descendants of the Yamato sun-goddess. The imperial cult soon came into the hands of an hereditary priesthood attached to the emperor or to powerful nobles. /

B. THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE CIVILIZATION. From the fifth century A.D. Chinese influences became strong in Japan and greatly modified its culture. Ancestor-worship was developed as a domestic

as well as tribal cult, the spirits of the ancestors residing with their descendants and being honored by them. The emperor was still further exalted by bringing the divine ancestors of all other noble families under the celestial hierarchy of the sun-goddess, from whom the emperor claimed direct descent. This was accomplished explicitly by imperial scholars, who compiled and systematized the mythology and genealogy of Japan. In 604 the scholar-prince, Shotoku-taishi, issued his "constitution," which shows the influence of Chinese philosophy and morals; and a century later the *Kojiki* ("Record of ancient matters") and *Nihongi* ("Chronicles of Japan") were written, which contain the classic version of Shinto mythology, organized likewise with the aid of Chinese ideas. About the same time the *Fudoki* ("Topography") and *Kogoshui* ("Gleanings from ancient stories") were compiled, giving descriptions of the customs and legends of the time and some of the early writings. In the tenth century the *Engishiki* ("Institutes of the Engi period 901-923") was compiled describing the traditional rites and ceremonies, principally of the imperial cult. The writers of these books classified the "history" of Japan into two great periods: the age of the gods under the sovereignty of the sun-goddess, and the age of men under the sovereignty of the emperor, the descendant of the sun-goddess. The nature mythology was assigned to the first age, and the imperial and feudal cults to the second. In this way the various legends and local cults were embodied in the national tradition, and the sacred lineage of the emperors and nobles was assured and systematized.

C. THE EFFECTS OF BUDDHISM ON SHINTO. Buddhism, introduced from China, was received at the emperor's court in 552 A.D. and made rapid progress, together with other Chinese ways. For a brief time there was an active rivalry between Buddhism (*Butsudo*, in Japanese, the "Way-of-the-Buddhas") and the native religion, now called *Shinto*, the "Way-of-the-gods." Soon, however, a general amalgamation took place, and the so-called *Ryobu-Shinto*, "Two-fold-way-of-the-gods," became common. The Buddhist priests (notably Dosho, 629-700; Gyogi, 670-749; Kukai, 774-835; and Saicho, 767-822) developed the theory that the Japanese gods were Bodhisattvas or other manifestations of Buddha, and in general reconciled the two religions in the doctrine known as *Honchi-suijaku-sensu*, which recognized the "original places" of the Buddhas but

maintained that they "reappeared" in Japan. Amaterasu, the sun-goddess, was thus conceived as an appearance of the Buddha Vairochana, Hachiman of the Bodhisattva Mahasthana, and Kasuga of the Buddha Amitabha. By assimilating local cults, heroes and their iconography, the Buddhists gained pervasive contacts, and the two religions gradually became fused in the popular mind and sentiment. On the intellectual side Buddhist philosophy greatly modified the native idea of the *kami*, the sacred, and in general subordinated the national tradition and imperial cult to a wider, cosmic scheme. Indirectly Buddhism thus helped the shogunate, the military dictator, at the expense of imperial prestige.

Among the Samurai or knights there developed a chivalric code known as *Bushido*, the "Way-of-warriors." It should not be regarded as a separate religion but as a distinctive synthesis of native loyalty to lords, Confucian ethics and Buddhist discipline of the emotions. The cult of Hachiman, adopted as tutelary god of the Minamoto, the leading clan after 1185, came to the fore among the Samurai.

D. THE NEO-SHINTO REVIVAL. Since the eighteenth century there has been a persistent effort to revive so-called "Pure Shinto," which was felt to have been submerged by Buddhism and Confucianism and further threatened by Christianity. The movement was begun by the scholars Kamo Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga and Hirata Atsutane. Norinaga's system was an attempt to erect the Shinto tradition into an adequate philosophy. He taught that all things are descended from the two divine progenitors (*Masubi-nokami*) who first appeared on "the plain of High Heaven," and that from them the sun-goddess and the emperor inherited the purest and best, and therefore the emperors should rule forever. Since anything that possesses superior power or awfulness is *kami*, there are both good and bad *kami* operating upon mankind. Whether one's inheritance comes from good or bad *kami*, the right "way" is to follow one's native bent or true self with sincerity or a true heart (*magokoro*), whereby the good will receive its most complete development. Religious rites are intended primarily to ward off evil *kami*; one should, therefore, cultivate the national shrines and study the Shinto texts.

The great Emperor Meiji attempted to put this revival of Shinto into political effect, and in 1868 he proclaimed Shinto the official religion of Japan. The Bureau of Religious Affairs was created, the

shrines were standardized and assigned their rank, and the rites were purified according to the ancient forms. The number of shrines was reduced, the hereditary priesthood abolished, priests being made government officials (and vice versa). There are still over 100,000 shrines and 15,000 priests. In 1889 this political program was modified, since it proved impossible to restore the religious vitality of Shinto sufficiently. Shinto was declared compatible with other religions, and, as a matter of fact, though the official imperial rites are strictly observed, many of the political officials who act as priests in the national rites are also Buddhists or members of other religions. Thus Shinto has been disestablished as an exclusive state religion but maintained as a body of civic rites.

E. CONTEMPORARY SHINTOISM. Shinto now has two chief aspects: state and sectarian. State Shinto includes *Kokutai-Shinto*, "the fundamental character of the Japanese Empire" as expressed in the imperial cult and in the moral instructions formulated in the "Edict on Education" of 1890 and inculcated in schools throughout the Empire. It also includes *Jinsha-Shinto*, "temple Shinto," the rites conducted in public shrines by government officials as Shinto priests. Sectarian Shinto, *Kyoha-Shinto*, on the other hand, means the thirteen Shinto sects now living and officially recognized as independent religions on the same footing as Buddhism and Christianity. At least six of these sects have arisen since 1868, but the others date from earlier times. Prominent among them are the *Tenri-kyo* (Teaching-of-the-Heavenly-Reason) and the *Konko-kyo* (Teaching-of-the-Golden-Light), which emphasize moral philosophy. In contrast to the purist emphasis of eighteenth-century neo-Shintoism, which led to the restoration of the national cult, these modern sects freely borrow from other religions and claim to be truly representative of the modern oriental spirit as a whole. None of these sects is very numerous, and together they exercise relatively slight influence in modern Japanese thought.

II. SHINTO MYTHOLOGY

The *Nihongi* begins about as follows: "In ancient times, when heaven and earth were not yet separated and the feminine and masculine principles had not yet been distinguished, there was a chaos like an egg, and in this chaos there was a living germ. . . . The clear and pure part spread out thin and became the heavens; the

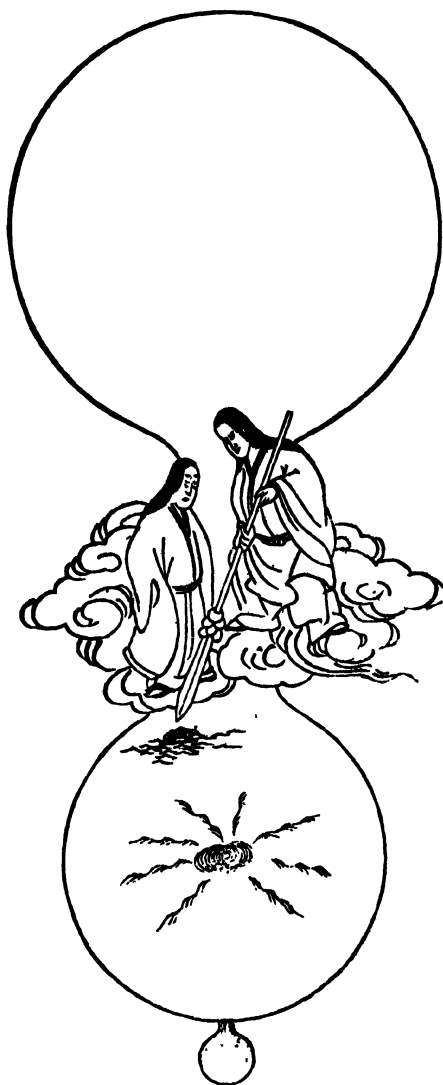
heavy and dark part became the earth. . . . Hereupon sacred beings were generated between heaven and earth. . . . Now a thing appeared between heaven and earth similar to a reed stalk. Hereupon it changed itself into a god." This first divine being, Ama-no-Minaka-Nushi-no-Kami, the "Divine Master of the High Center of Heaven," is the supreme lord of "the plain of High Heaven" and, according to some Shinto theologians, "all the eight million gods" are really but his manifestations. Be that as it may, he figures slightly in the mythology. After him fourteen other divine beings were generated, but they generated nothing in turn; until finally the divine pair, Izanagi-no-Mikoto (His Highness the Inviting Male) and Izanami-no-Mikoto (Her Highness the Inviting Female), were generated and with them begins the real history of Japan. With them begins Japanese mythology too, as the foregoing metaphysical theology is probably based on Chinese and Indian speculation.

These two deities (fig. 25) were ordered "to make, consolidate and give birth to this drifting land." Then follows the charming tale of how they descended from "the bridge of heaven" in search of a habitation, performed the marriage ceremony and finally gave birth to the eight islands of Japan and other sacred beings. At the birth of the fire-god, Izanami died and went to the filthy "bottom-land" of the dead. Izanagi attempted to rescue her but failed. In the process of purifying himself from the hellish filth with which he was polluted, many of the chief deities of Shinto mythology came into being; for example, the sun-goddess (Amaterasu or Tensho-daijin), the storm-god (Susa-no-o), the Great-God-of-Dark-Valleys, Rock-Earth-Prince, the Heavenly-Water-Distributor, the Dragon-of-the-Watery-Abysses, Lord-of-the-Falling-Mountains, Upright-Standing-Pass-Me-Not-Place (phallic deity), the Long-Long-Roadway, Lord-of-Sorrows-and-Diseases, the Marvelous-God-of-the-Eighty-Evils, the Divine-Marvelous-Healer, the Great-Healing-Wonder, etc.

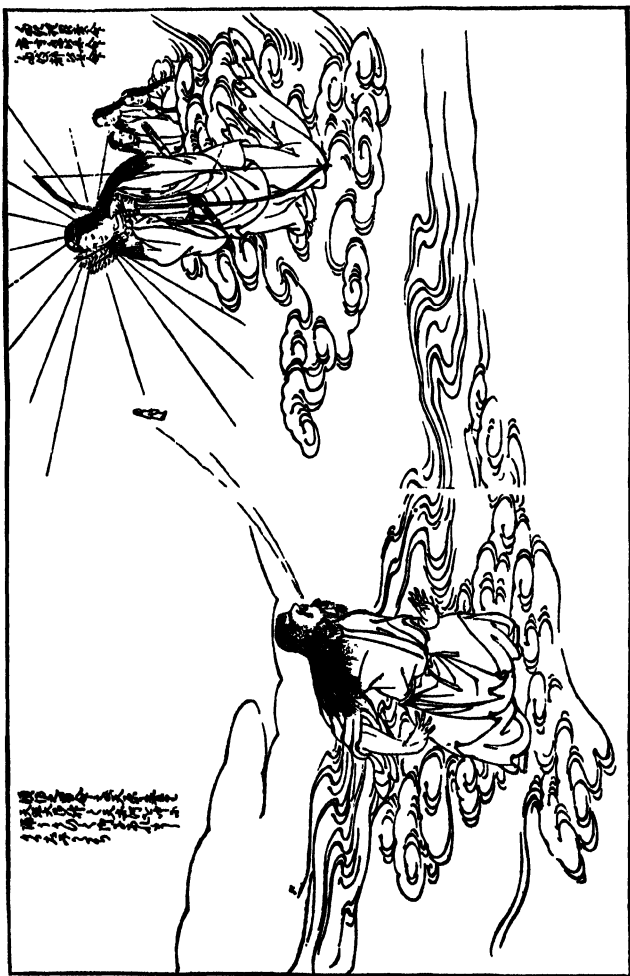
After the myth of Izanagi and Izanami the most important is the tale of the storm-god who is officially assigned to rule the "bottom-land" of the dead, but who frightened the sun-goddess, married "Rice-land-lady" and caused numerous disturbances in heaven and on earth. He is not, however, consistently evil.

Then the mythology proceeds to relate the deeds of many gen-

伊弉諾伊弉冉
天の原に立ち
ぬき雲の橋を
造りて天を
下りて



25. Izanagi and Izanami. This old print shows the two deities between heaven and earth, standing on the bridge of heaven in search of an earthly habitation. Izanagi is thrusting the "jeweled spear" into the ocean and the foam congeals into an island of Japan.



26. Amaterasu and Susa-no-o. This old print shows the conversation between the sun-goddess and the storm-god during which many minor deities were created (one of them is shown). As a result of his promises of good behavior, the storm-god was allowed to pay a visit to the palace of the sun-goddess, but his insults caused him to be banished to the "bottom-land."

erations of gods down to the "Age of Emperors," where the story continues with the deeds of the emperors and other ancestors.

III. THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS

Since Shinto is now so largely a civic religion, it is difficult to distinguish between the political holidays and the religious festivals. In fact, from the Shinto point of view, such a distinction ought not to be made; for government itself is, to translate the Japanese term literally, "a matter of ritual," and conversely, Shinto is the celebration of the fundamentals of the national life. On the holy days, therefore, schools and government offices are closed and the whole people celebrates. The chief national rites are the coronation and the funeral of the emperor. On these occasions Shinto mythology, symbolism and ritual are given their most elaborate expression. Of the fixed annual festivals celebrated throughout the empire with rites at all the temples as well as at the emperor's court, the following should be mentioned:

New Year's sacrifices performed to ancestors and various gods,
January 1 to 5.

Festivals connected with anniversaries of the emperors.

The spring rice festival, rites celebrating the planting of the rice.

The Great Purification (*Ō-harai*), theoretically to be celebrated semi-annually, but the great festival is in June.

The autumnal harvest festival, in connection with which are the rites of "new tasting." The first harvest festival after a coronation is accompanied by very elaborate offerings of "the first-fruits of his reign" by the emperor, which is the chief feature of the enthronement ceremony.

Next in importance to the rites centering about the person of the emperor are those of purification, for the theme of purity is fundamental in Shinto tradition. Offenses against the gods are of two kinds: injuries and pollutions. Injuries are conceived quite concretely, and the chief ones are named in the emperor's prayer at the Great Purification (such as breaking down the ridges of rice fields, filling up drains, destroying aqueducts, sowing seeds twice in one place, flaying animals alive, etc.). The major pollutions are those of death, bloodshed, leprosy or kindred diseases, sexual perversions

and offenses of children against parents. These are also mentioned in the annual prayer of purification. In former times injuries were severely punished. Pollutions are ritually cleansed, the gods being called to take part in the rite of cleansing. The great annual purification consists in transferring ceremonially the guilt of the people to small pieces of paper (each person performing the transference for himself); the papers are then collected, the prayers of purification recited, the temple sacrifices made, and then the guilt-laden papers are taken from the "purification ground" and floated out to sea on barges amid great rejoicing, illuminations, etc.

There are also many local festivals, usually centering about the god of some temple. One of the most elaborate of these is the June Gion festival in Kyoto, during which huge floats containing images and dancers are drawn through the streets (fig. 27). Shrines are usually people's play-grounds and on festival days many shops and shows are set up and the shrine grounds are turned into amusement parks.

IV. THE TEMPLES

The temples serve two chief purposes: they are the shrines for the symbols (*shintai*) of the deities or other sacred beings and for their rites; and they are centers of pilgrimage. Many of them are situated in places of great scenic beauty, and the pilgrimages made to them are acts of both piety and recreation. High government officials are expected to make pilgrimages to the shrine of the sun-goddess at Ise as soon as they receive their offices.

Among the chief temples to which pilgrimages are made are the following:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>In honor of</i>	<i>Sacred symbol</i> (<i>shintai</i>)
Ise	Ise	Amaterasu (Sun-goddess)	mirror
Izumo	Izumo	Ō-no-mochi (earth)	necklace
		Susa-no-o (storm)	
Atsuta	Nagoya	Yamato-takeru (a hero) and the sacred sword	sword
Katori	Katori	Futsu-nushi (fire)	sword
Atago	Mt. Atago and elsewhere	Ho-musubi (fire)	
Haruna	Mt. Haruna	Haniyasu (earth)	
Kasuga	Nara	Take-mikazuchi (a heavenly prince and ancestor)	



27

27. The Gion festival. 28. Priest with *gohei* symbol of the jeweled Sakaki tree before the sun-goddess' cave.



28

After Schurhammer

<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>In honor of</i>	<i>Sacred symbol (shintai)</i>
Sumiyoshi	Kobe	Three gods of the sea	
Kompira	several	Patron of sailors and travelers	
Miyajima	Miyajima	Three sea princesses	
Hachiman	Kyoto,	Royal prince and	
	Kamakura	patron of warriors	
Meiji	Tokyo	Late Emperor Meiji	

Shrines were originally parts of dwellings. The Izumo temple still retains this character. When the shrine became a separate building it was provided with an archway (*torii*) and the shrine proper. In the shrine is the symbol (*shintai*) containing the essence (*mitama*) of a sacred being. The shrine has a high foundation, no window and only one door. The framework projects above the ridge of the roof like horns, forming the characteristic *chigi*. The typical early shrine (now imitated by the special shrines built for the coronation) had a thatched roof and walls similarly constructed; the pillars and beams were rough-hewn.

The next style of temple, represented by the ancient Ise temple, was made of unpainted boards and retained the severe straight lines of the primitive shrine. Later, as in the case of the Izumo temple, stone foundations were used and the *chigi* was treated decoratively.

Under Buddhist influence Shinto temples became increasingly elaborate and ornate and the dignified straight lines gave way to curved roofs. A completely furnished modern temple contains the following elements (fig. 29):

An archway (*torii*) of characteristic design.

An inner gateway guarded by sculptures of two sacred dogs and two armed guardians.

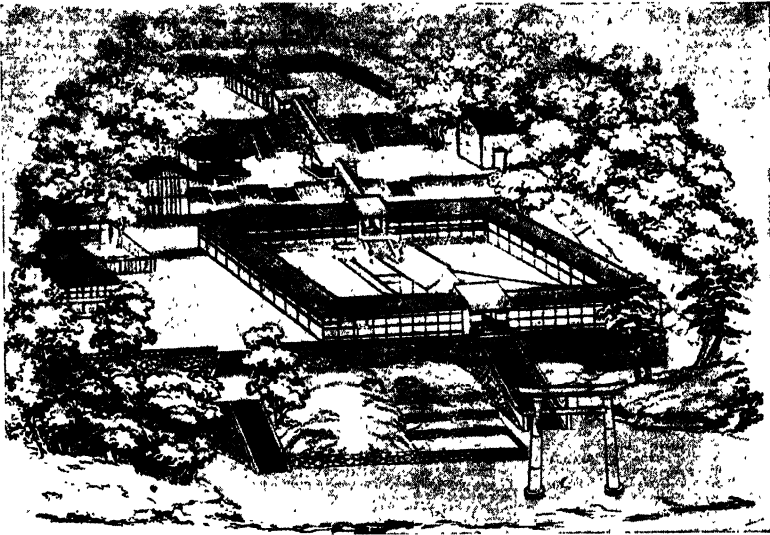
A dancing platform.

An oratory, or "worshiping house" (*haiden*).

An inner court surrounded by corridors, treasury, library, places for offerings and secondary shrines.

The inner shrine (*honden*), composed of the holy chamber with the *gohai*, folded paper offerings, and the holy of holies containing the *shintai* and memorial tablets.

The priest's dwelling, usually near the gateway.



29

After von Siebold

30

After Mythologie Asiatique

29. Plan of a Shinto temple (see page 52). 30. The temple of the sun-goddess at Ise. This is one of the most ancient and important national shrines and is rebuilt every twenty years.



31. Procession of imperial dignitaries and priests installing the *shintai* of the sun-goddess in the renewed shrine at Ise. The most sacred of the *shintai* is the mirror, which is enclosed in the screen. This is only a portion of the colorful procession as represented on a scroll painting.

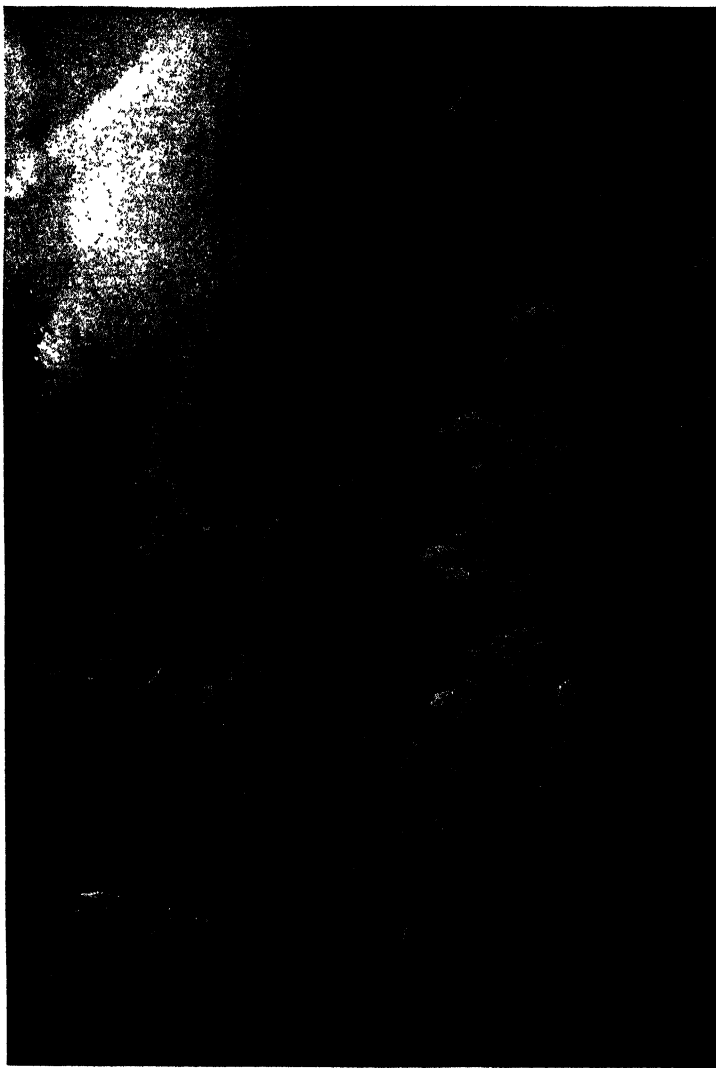
The temples possess many paintings (mostly red and black) and carvings, but almost never are the gods themselves represented in statuary.

Worship consists of offerings and prayers, accompanied by ritual bowing and silent clapping of hands. The offerings are of two kinds: the permanent, symbolical offerings of paper (*nusa* or *gohei*) folded in elaborate patterns (fig. 28) and the periodical offerings of foods, textiles, arms, and occasionally cocks and even horses. The prayers (*norito*) are fixed as found in the Shinto books of ritual, especially the *Engishiki*. The chief shrine at Ise is rebuilt every twenty years according to fixed prescriptions and with special ceremonies accompanying every stage of the process from the selection of trees in the forest to reinstallation of the *shintai*. Worship is inaugurated in the new shrine by the emperor.

V. POPULAR AND DOMESTIC ASPECTS OF SHINTO

Each house has a shelf containing memorial tablets of the family ancestors and patron deities. Small offerings of food are made on this shelf daily. Larger households frequently have domestic shrines in a corner of the garden, modeled like miniature temples. These shrines are usually dedicated to Inari, the god of rice, whose symbol is the fox.

There are numerous popular deities who do not figure in the imperial tradition, such as the Seven Gods-of-Happiness (wealth, longevity, loveliness, industry, etc.) derived chiefly from Taoist, Buddhist and Hindu mythology. Remnants of phallic cults exist, and magic rites are common. Many shrines sell charms of wood or paper which are worn about the neck and are supposed to keep away disease and injury and promote the growth and health of children. Charms are also placed over doorways to keep away evil spirits and burglars. From the Chinese the Japanese have also learned elaborate systems of astrology and fortune-telling. However, these bits of magic and superstition, found in every culture, are not distinctively characteristic of Shinto. What makes Shinto a significant religion is its ability to express and foster a national tradition and civic cult uniting the primitive and civilized aspects of Japanese life in an imaginative and devotional whole.



After Coomaraswamy

32. The sage Valmiki in his forest hermitage teaching his Ramayana to the children of Sita. Rajput painting, Pahari, 18th century.

CHAPTER IV

HINDUISM

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

A. PRE-VEDIC CULTURES. Little historical information exists as yet about pre-Vedic India. The term "Dravidian" has been applied loosely to many of the aboriginal dark-skinned tribes and more narrowly to racial strains still dominant in the south, with their distinct languages and local cults (for example, see the Todas described in chapter II). The religions of these tribes are generally designated as "animistic." They include such traits as worship of tree, water and serpent spirits, crude stone altars and village shrines, all of which are still found throughout India. Various phallic rites also prevail, and the cult of mother-goddesses is prominent. Demon possession and rites of exorcism are also common. Many of these cults have been assimilated by popular Hinduism, and it is probable that major concepts of Hinduism which are not found in the Vedas, such as child-marriage, metempsychosis and *karma*, also derive in part from this source.

Until recently it was customary to regard pre-Vedic India as entirely primitive, but the buried cities (notably Mohenjo-daro in Sind and Harappa in Panjab) which have now been excavated bear witness to a civilization much older than 2000 B.C. and perhaps related to the Sumerian, at all events, to that of the Euphrates valley. The religion of this civilization is still unknown, but the finds prove the great antiquity in India of the primitive cults above mentioned and at the same time give evidence, through statuettes of the mother-goddess type, representations of horned animals, etc., of an advanced agricultural religion.

B. VEDIC CULTURE AND RELIGION (c. 1500-800 B.C.?). Apparently during this time the Aryans, who had migrated into India from the northwest, were in a transition stage from nomadic to agricultural life. The family was the most prominent social and religious

unit. Castes were not yet rigid, but social classes were beginning to form: farmers and shepherds, minstrel priests, and warriors with a king at their head. Their chief concern seemed to be the military conquest of the Panjab and, later, their expansion southward and eastward.

The household sacrifices were simple and were performed on domestic hearths or altars with or without the aid of professional minstrel priests. The chief instruments of sacrifice were *ghee* (clarified butter) and *soma*¹ (an intoxicating juice used as a beverage in connection with the sacrifices). The dead were burned with their clothing, food and other possessions; but widow-burning is not indicated. The Vedic period covers more than five centuries and considerable development can be inferred from the literature. There grew up royal or "great" sacrifices which involved the offering of animals and elaborate ritual performed by trained priests. The priesthood became specialized and its training hereditary, which led to the founding of the Brahman families with their wealth of sacred formulas and techniques.

The sacred literature of the early Aryans in India was transmitted in the following collections: *Rig Veda*, a collection of poems, religious and dramatic, some of which were used by the sacrificers as they poured oblations on the fire; *Sāma Veda*, chants sung by assisting bards (the chants were for the most part selections from the *Rig Veda* set to music); *Yajur Veda*, prose formulas used by another group of priests assisting in the sacrificial acts; and *Artharva Veda*, a somewhat later collection composed in the main of the more primitive charms and magic formulas, reflecting a wide range of popular superstition, ancient lore and some beginnings of philosophical speculation.

The mythology in the Vedas is quite fluid. It is impossible to distinguish between poetic metaphors and theological or mythological attributes, between the objects hymned and the Devas (shining ones) impersonating them, and, in general, between hieratic poetry and prayer. According to a probably late formal scheme the chief Devas are thirty-three in number and are assigned to three regions in equal groups: eleven gods of the firmament or of light (among

¹ The latest study by Sir A. Stein, suggests that *soma* was derived from the rhubarb plant.

them, Dyaus-pitar, father sky; Ushas, dawn; Sūrya, sun; and Varuna, cosmic order); eleven gods of the "middle air" or atmosphere (including, Indra, thunder and monsoon storm; Rudra, storm; Vayu, wind); and eleven gods of the "lower air" (especially, Agni, fire; Soma, the sacred beverage; and Pṛthivi, mother earth). King of the Devas is Indra, who is the god of war and strength, the defender of the Aryans against the natives and slayer of the serpent who holds back the waters. Agni and Soma are very important because of their central position in the sacrifices. Vishnu appears as a beneficent sun-god but is relatively unimportant. Rudra, the storm-god, is a malevolent spirit later magnified as Śiva. Varuna occupies a position of moral preëminence as protector of *ṛta*, right order, but loses individuality. There are occasional hymns in the *Rig Veda* (e.g., Mandala X) to creation, and the *Artharva Veda*, too, amid its magic contains beginnings of speculation on a universal order or force of nature.

C. CLASSIC BRAHMANISM (c. 800-500 B.C. ?). Socially this period is characterized by the definite emergence of large caste divisions: the Brahman or priestly caste, the Kshatriyas or ruling and fighting men, the Vaiśyas or agricultural people and the Śūdras, a working class of "aboriginal people brought under Brahman authority." A large fifth group remained as outcastes unabsorbed into this system or as mixed castes on its lower fringe. Marriage within one's caste became the rule, made effective by an increasing practice of child marriage. The period is further characterized by the exercise of greater power by the Brahmins, who preside over more and more expensive, elaborate and utilitarian forms of magic and sacrifice. The crown of these is the "great horse sacrifice" (*Aśvamedha*) added to the royal cult. Religion tended to become a formal mechanism of animal sacrifices conducted by priestly technicians.

But in addition to their priestly functions the Brahmins now took on several others. They became schoolmen. The training of novitiates in the ritual and magic formulas was developed into elaborate systems of exposition, allegory and speculation. This led in time to the formation of definite schools and philosophic systems. Into these systems the Brahmins wove "secret doctrines" and "ways of knowledge" taken over from non-Brahman, warrior castes. They also took up ascetic practices. Many of them abandoned the

traditional sacrifices and became hermits or mendicants, practising self-torture and various physical disciplines later known as yoga. These various functions were arranged theoretically into an ideal pattern of a Brahman career known as the four *āśramas* or stages in the life of a Brahman: the disciple (and attendant) of Brahman schoolmen; the householder, engaging in normal domestic and civil life and rites; the hermit or forest-dweller, engaged in teaching and meditation; and the mendicant ascetic, *saṃnyāsi*.

In the course of this period three great bodies of sacred literature arose: the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads. The Brahmanas carry on the tradition of the Vedas and develop it in the following directions: four definite priestly clans and four schools of exposition grew out of the four Vedas and led to the writing of the four groups of Brahmanas; these are more expository and less poetic than the Vedas, more ritualistic, more systematic and more preoccupied with magic formulas and elaborate sacrifices. In the Brahmanas, moreover, the mythology is concentrated on fewer figures, which absorb the rest, while a unique theological conception of the divine being and a metaphysics of the sacrifice is developed. Prajapati, later Brahma,² appears not only as lord of lords but as universal container and receiver of all things. The sacrifice is not only an offering to the gods but the very medium in which the divine dwells, the universal mechanism whereby all things are created or accomplished. The Brahman sacrificers live and operate in this medium as gods. They exercise divine powers and claim divine honors.

In the Aranyakas and Upanishads this doctrine was developed still further by a fusion of the Vedic literature of the sacrifices with the "secret doctrines" of asceticism. The Aranyakas, forest treatises, were supposedly written by the hermits for their private rites of meditation and for the instruction of their disciples. The Upanishads, teachings in private sessions, arose as appendices to the Aranyakas but eclipsed them in philosophic doctrine and in historical influence. In these works the foundational conceptions of later Hindu thought first appear clearly. The Brahmanic conception of sacrifices was transformed into a still more universal principle of sacrifice. Not by ritual sacrifices alone but by self-sacrifice the Brahmans join the

² The deity is "Brāhmā" (frequently written simply "Brahm" and pronounced in the modern language "brum"). The caste is "Brāhman"; the treatise is "Brāhmana."

gods who likewise attained their divine states by sacrifices and austerities. Brahma is now identified with the *ātman* (breath or spirit), the absolute self in which the real being of all resides. Perfect union with Brahma (*i.e.*, with one's real self) is the highest good and is possible only for Brahmins and such members of the higher castes as also practise ascetic knowledge and release. Apart from this condition the soul is doomed to *samsāra*, transmigrating from one body to another through an eternal cycle of births and deaths. By virtue of *karma* all action works itself out sooner or later in retributive consequences; according to one's deeds the soul moves to a higher or a lower condition of existence in future incarnations. Present evils are inflicted as a result of misdeeds in previous lives. Generally the most a non-Brahmin can aspire to is to prove himself worthy of becoming a Brahmin in a future incarnation. *Moksha*, final release from this cycle of birth and death, is attainable by freeing the *ātman*, soul, from all attachment to the material world. This state of complete detachment is *nirvāṇa*. The remaining history of Hindu religion records the rivalry of various techniques for obtaining this release (*moksha*) and the attempts of various groups to break down the Brahmin monopoly on it.

D. THE ORTHODOX SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY. These schools probably originated as independent, esoteric "ways of salvation" expounded by Vedic scholars (both Brahmin and non-Brahmin) and not open to the lower castes. They are called orthodox because they recognize the divine nature of the Vedas, on which they claim their scriptures to be based, and because they were not opposed by the Brahmins. Their respective tendencies were vaguely recognized as rival ways of knowledge as early as the fifth or sixth century B.C., but their definite crystallization and classic writings date chiefly from about 200 to 850 A.D.

I. VAISESHKA AND NYAYA. These two schools were devoted chiefly to what would ordinarily be called secular learning, to rhetoric, logic and physics. They favored a pluralistic view of the world. The former school developed a theory of atomism which was taken over by the Nyaya, where more attention was given to methods of knowing than to the elaboration of physical truth. Both schools claimed to "emancipate the soul" and became practical disciplines as well as philosophic theories.

2. SANKHYA AND YOGA. The Sankhya school taught the dualistic and atheistic view that material nature (*prakṛti*) and individual souls (*puruṣa*) are the ultimate beings. This distinction is confused by illusion (*māyā*), and the purpose of knowledge is to recognize this ultimate dualism. When matter is at rest its three *gunas*, happiness, passion and ignorance (or brightness, movement and heaviness), are in equilibrium; but when matter is active these constituents combine in varying proportions to produce what evolves in nature. With the production of intellect, self-realization and mind the individual is befuddled and imagines himself a participator in the processes of nature. Misery ensues. The aim of the Sankhya is by true analysis to enable the spirit to discover its proper rôle as an alien, contemplative spectator and at death to attain the goal of isolation from material nature. The Sankhya school is exceptional in that it admits all castes; its influence appears to have been great on heretical movements like Buddhism, as well as within Hindu orthodoxy.

The Yoga school largely accepted the metaphysics of the Sankhya but added to the many individual souls a supreme soul or lord (*Īśvara*), thus postulating theism instead of atheism, and also supplemented the intellectualistic idea of liberation with physical disciplines for destroying the actions of sense and consciousness which befuddle the soul. These disciplines constitute the originality of Yoga and have played such a rôle in Hindu asceticism that they will be considered in more detail later in describing prevalent practices.

3. MIMAMSA AND VEDANTA. These schools, sometimes called the former or Karma Mimamsa (action investigation) and Uttara Mimamsa (later or Brahma investigation), lay special claim to orthodoxy, since their central purpose is to interpret the *dharma* or religious duty of the Hindus according to Vedic scriptures. The former, as its name implies, is especially concerned with obligatory actions and aims mainly to provide principles for resolving difficulties in carrying out the Brahmanic ritual. It has influenced Hindu jurisprudence. The Vedanta agrees with the Mimamsa in upholding the eternal and absolute authority of the Vedas but interprets their truth from a "higher, unconditioned" point of view. The utter truth of the Vedas is that Brahma is the one and only being. The in-

dividual soul is Brahma and gains salvation by realizing that all else is illusory (*māyā*). The Vedānta does not deny the validity of the Vedas as rules of action but regards them as in this respect subject to the conditions of the world of appearance. Sacrificial works help toward a knowledge of Brahma, but it is this knowledge alone that confers release.

E. HERETICAL SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY. There were numerous heretical schools. For example, the Charvakas (Lokayata "restricted to [this] world"), who were materialistic, regarded the Vedic and all other schools as worthless, denounced the Brahmans as superstitious exploiters of the ignorant and preached the validity of sense knowledge and the value of pleasure while it lasts. But of all the heretical schools of philosophy only two became independent religions, *viz.*, Jainism and Buddhism.

F. JAINISM. Jainism became an independent religion about the time of Buddha under the leadership of Vardhamana (sixth century B.C.), who is known by his followers as Mahavira (the great hero) and Jina (the conqueror). According to Jain tradition, however, there were twenty-three *jinas* preceding him, of whom the last, Parśva, was probably an historical person. From the times of the Upanishads down, it was permitted to members of the warrior caste to participate in the pursuit of Brahmanic knowledge. Mahavira was such a nobleman of the warrior caste who adopted the extreme asceticism of the mendicant order of Parśva and then led a successful revolt against the Brahmans. His followers, therefore, came chiefly from the warrior castes.

The distinctive features of Jainism which account for its success are the following. It organized the wandering ascetics into monastic bodies and provided for their regular support. It embraced not only ascetic orders ("strivers") but laymen and laywomen ("hearers"). Members of the warrior castes who became Jains were compelled to abandon their profession of bloodshed and many of them became ascetics. Among merchants, whose occupations were less seriously disturbed by Jain teaching, this religion early found a foothold and enabled them successfully to resist the Brahmans. Being recruited from the middle classes, Jainism became wealthy and achieved distinction as a promoter of architecture, literature and learning. It was also hospitable to many popular ideas and cults, by assimilating



Indian Museum, London

33. *Jaina tirthankara*. Black stone figure of the 15th century representing a Jain founder, possibly Parivānatha, and idealizing the "sky-clad" ascetic.

which it became less isolated from the rest of Hinduism. Consequently, when the rise of popular Hinduism and later the Mohammedan invasions submerged Buddhism and threatened Jainism as well, the latter survived by being recognized as simply a variant form of Hinduism.

There are two chief sects among the Jains. The Digambara ("sky-



34. Procession of naked ascetics at the fair or *Kumbhmel* at Allahabad. Dust over which they tread is gathered and treasured as sacred.

clad") sect is extremely ascetic and lives in forest monasteries. Its members go naked and many of them starve themselves into emancipation (*moksha*) to avoid killing some *jīva*, living soul, in either vegetables or animals. Women are not permitted to join this sect and are consequently denied salvation; they must wait for some future male reincarnation. The orders of the Śvetāmbara ("white-clad") sect, including both monks and nuns, devote themselves to acts of charity and the cultivation of their sacred literature and learning. Both sects observe the five vows: not to kill, not to lie, not to steal, not to own property, and to observe chastity.

The "hearers" (laymen and laywomen) are also organized into orders and accumulate merit by supporting the monastic orders, by

refraining from taking life and by numerous deeds of piety and charity.

The following outline of the philosophical and ethical system of Jainism is given to indicate a kind of formal elaboration which took place in other Indian schools as well. The state of liberation (*moksha*, the ninth category) is attained by fifteen kinds of perfected persons (*siddhas*), who have freed the ten powers (*prānas*) of life or soul (*jīva*, the first category) from inanimate matter (*ajīva*, the second category) and from the eight kinds of evil (*karma*) or bondage (*bhanga*, the seventh category), by performing the nine kinds of merit (*punya*, the third category). *Karma* enters the soul by forty-two channels (*āsṛāva*, the fifth category) and is increased by committing the eighteen kinds of sin (*pāpa*, the fourth category), resulting in the eighty-two consequences of sin. There are fifty-seven varieties of ways-of-impeding-*karma* (*samvāra*, the sixth category), and they lead to the enjoyment of the forty-two fruits of merit (*punya*). In addition there are twelve kinds of gradual destruction (*nirjara*, the eighth category) by which *karma* can be destroyed.

Among the forty-two ways of enjoying the fruit of merit (*punya*) are: having enough food and clothing; being born in a high family; being born a human being; having five senses; having a beautiful and strong body; being of normal weight; enjoying respect, fame, etc. The highest of these fruits is being an object of worship (*tirthaṅkara*). During the present age of the world there have been twenty-four such divine *tirthaṅkaras* at enormous intervals of time, the last of them being Mahavira, the founder of Jainism. These twenty-four beings all have animal symbols, presumably taken over from local primitive cults.

G. BUDDHISM. Buddhism arose like Jainism in the sixth century B.C. as a religious movement of emancipation from Brahmanism among the middle classes. But whereas Mahavira took the way of extreme asceticism to liberation, the Buddha preached a "middle-way" or moderate discipline for reaching *nirvāna*. Buddhism thrived in India for more than ten centuries and became in many regions the dominant religion before being submerged in modern Hinduism. Its distinctive and provocative philosophies furnished a great stimu-

lus to Indian thought, while its mild and tolerant morality moderated the harsh sacrificial system of Hindu religion.

Chapter V of this book deals in detail with Buddhism, both in India and in the countries where it has remained.

H. THE RISE OF POPULAR HINDUISM. The history of popular Hinduism, in contrast to that of classic Brahmanism, is marked by these chief phases: the ascendancy of devotional worship over the ancient sacrifices; the increasing cults and literatures based on heroic and pastoral themes in contrast to the ascetic and scholastic; the continual fusion of popular cults with Brahmanic thought and the consequent rise of a few pervasive and dominating cults, such as those of Vishnu and Krishna, Siva and Durga.

Independent of the various schools of philosophy and ascetic discipline above described, a quite different type of religion developed among laymen of all castes. The roots of this can be but imperfectly traced in the ancient literature: some go back to the primitive cults of the aborigines; some are Vedic; and others are products of the recurrent struggles of the Indian tribes among themselves and against foreign invaders. The popular cults were largely based on agricultural rites and on ancestor- or hero-worship; their myths and legends celebrated the prowess of divine heroes and their miraculous metamorphoses. The prevalent wars and the resultant confusion in the traditional ties of caste and country naturally stimulated a general preoccupation with epic rather than ascetic or priestly themes and produced heroic rather than Brahmanic cosmogonies.

Of equal importance were the changes which took place in the character of worship. There were orthodox Hindus who maintained the canonical *śrauta* rituals for animal sacrifice. A larger number, however, in substituting simpler and more humane offerings of grain, flowers, etc. (*pūjā*), for animals, adopted a revised ritual known as *smārta*, "merely traditional." In the meantime the lower castes, who were excluded from these orthodox rites of the Vedic tradition, were developing temple cults. The Hindu temples probably originated in the shrines of aboriginal tribes and were gradually adopted by the higher castes who had worshiped in their homes and in the open. In any case, the temples with their images and concrete symbols became increasingly important throughout India. The cult of images was introduced in the homes too. The orthodox, *smārta*,

worshiper commonly paid homage to five chief deities: Vishnu, Śiva, Durga, Surya and Ganeśa; and some Brahmans even officiated at temple-worship. A new meaning was given to devotion by the sects which exalted a particular deity to the position of supreme lord and savior and encouraged complete self-abandonment to him. This took an extreme emotional form, known as *bhakti*, during the ninth century in the Tamil country among devotees of Śiva who wandered from temple to temple singing and dancing before the images. Thence *bhakti* worship spread throughout the country. Thus in every way the temples and their gods made inroads upon classic Brahmanism.

The ideas of Brahmanic philosophy were upheld, however, by the *āchāryas*, systematic teachers and commentators, who appeared from the eighth century on, and sought to reconcile the "higher learning" of the scholars with the "lower learning" of the people, as well as to combat the heretical movements of Buddhism and Jainism. All of these teachers were *saṃnyāsis* or Brahman ascetics, and each was either head of a school or chief priest of a sect. Their commentaries upheld the classic ideas of liberation by asceticism and knowledge as the ultimate goal, but they also interpreted the popular cults and deities as leading eventually to the same goal by means conditionally justified. The most famous of the *āchāryas* was Śaṅkara (788-850), who set a new standard for non-sectarian orthodoxy by his great commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras (manuals of rules). In addition, he was, like some of the others, a successful organizer of monastic groups for the maintenance of learning and discipline.

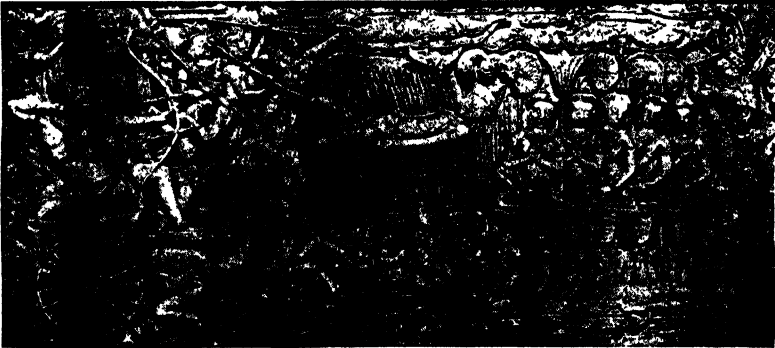
But long before the commentators worked out their intellectual syntheses, composite forms of Hinduism had been created in more popular forms of religious literature. This extensive literature, which continued to appear first in Sanskrit and then in various vernaculars from at least 200 B.C. down to 1700 A.D., is of three general types: the epic poem; the didactic and narrative poem; the collection of rituals and magic formulas.

Epic poetry arose even earlier (600-300 B.C.) as a result of the wars and invasions, but the first great collection of it made under religious auspices, the *Mahābhārata*, was brought together between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. by devotees of Vishnu, who added to the



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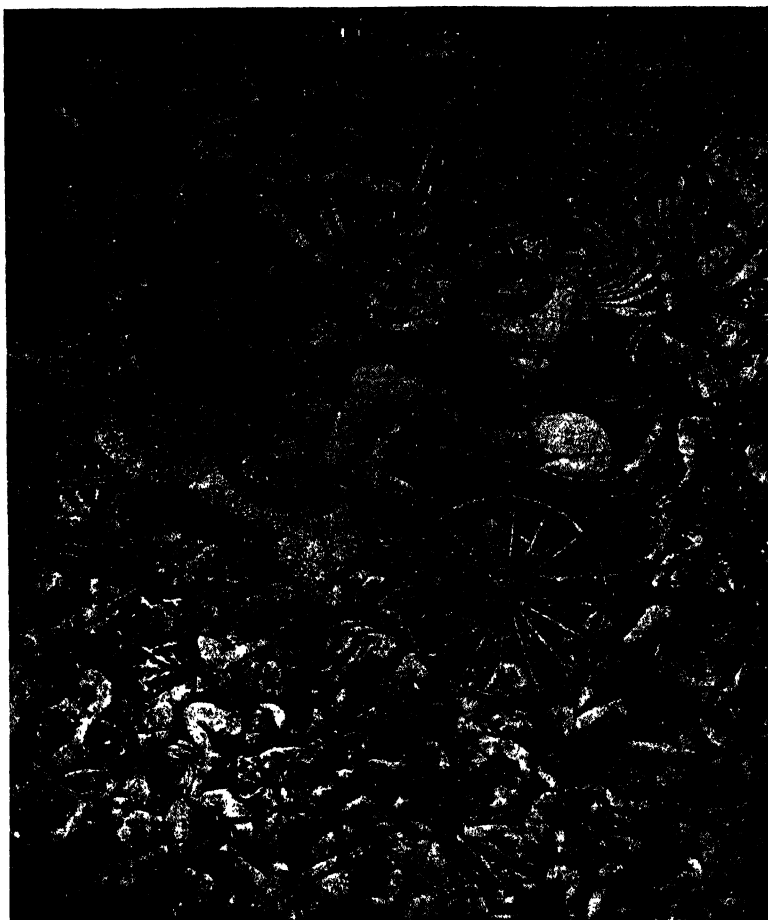
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36

After Fournereau

35. Krishna teaching Arjuna the *Bhagavadgīta*. 36. The dying warrior, Bhīṣma, on his bed of arrows instructing the five sons of Pandu. *Mahābhārata* scene. Relief, Angkor Wat, Cambodia, 12th century.



After Fournereau

37. *Rāmāyana* scene: Ravana, demon-king of Ceylon, in battle against Rama and his allies, the monkeys and bears. Relief, Angkor Wat, Cambodia, 12th century.

ancient heroic tales of the Bharata wars much theology, philosophy, politics, law and sectarian propaganda. The most famous, though probably interpolated, portion of the collection is the *Bhagavadgīta*, Song of the Lord. It represents Vishnu, under the form of Krishna, giving advice and wisdom to Prince Arjuna, who is hesitating to go to battle. He expounds three ways of salvation: *Jñānamārga*, the way of knowledge; *Karmamārga*, the way of works or duties; and *Bhaktimārga*, the way of devotion to the deity. The relative merits of these ways are described and all are reconciled, but the whole poem is a fervent illustration of the last way, that of devotion, which is especially praised as the most available way for all men and as one that includes the selflessness of the other two ways. The *Gīta* is thus an inclusive, simple and inspirational gospel for all types of Hindus, and as such it is by far the most widely read and beloved of all the Hindu scriptures.

Second only to the *Mahābhārata* is the *Rāmāyana*, which originated at about the same time and recounts the heroic deeds of Rama in defeating Ravana, the demon-king of Ceylon. Again the Vaishnavites developed the ancient material and transformed Rama into an incarnation of Vishnu, representing the ideal of Hindu manhood. His wife, Sita, is similarly an example of womanly excellence. The most popular form of the *Rāmāyana* today is that composed by Tulsi Das (1532-1623).

Besides the epics there are the Puranas, didactic and narrative poems, composed at various times between 300 and 1000 A.D., though there were probably much earlier ones. They arose apparently as books of genesis; the eighteen Puranas now recognized contain not only accounts of the origin of natural beings but the genealogies of kings and gods and the history of world epochs as well. They constitute the most commonly used of the religious writings and have been immensely influential. The *Bhāgavata* Purana (c. 900), one of the latest, turns from heroic to pastoral material, treating the legends of Krishna's boyhood and youth among the cowherds and milkmaids of Brindaban rather than his later military exploits. It inaugurates a new phase of Hindu religious sentiment cultivated in subsequent centuries by a line of lyric and mystic poets and a series of new sect founders. Among the poets may be mentioned Jayadeva, Vidyapati, Tukaram and many others down to

Tagore in our own day. Among the sect founders Chaitanya and his movement will be discussed later.

Finally, there are the revised manuals of worship: the *Saṁhitas* of the Vaishnavites, the *Agamas* of the Śiva worshipers and the *Tantras* of the Śākta sects. These are for the most part collections of temple rituals and magic formulas. They embody much taken from the lower strata of Hindu religion, from phallic worship and agricultural rites. They contain the mysterious *mantras*, ritual syllables of the sect, the *yantras*, mysterious diagrams, and the *mudrās*, ritual hand gestures.

The general significance of this whole body of religious literature, epic, Puranic and Tantric, is that it has succeeded gradually in coördinating the various strains of Hindu religion, if not into a unified whole, at least into a compatible conglomeration. The most ascetic disciplines are retained side by side with the most sensuous imagery. All castes and classes find their places in it, and all types of life are sanctioned as sooner or later leading to liberation.

II. HINDU SOCIETY

The growth of popular Hinduism, which produced this composite literature, likewise involved characteristic social processes and forms. The settling down in India of invading and migrating tribes side by side with the older inhabitants gave rise to a distinctive form of society, a complex product of numerous peoples and movements.

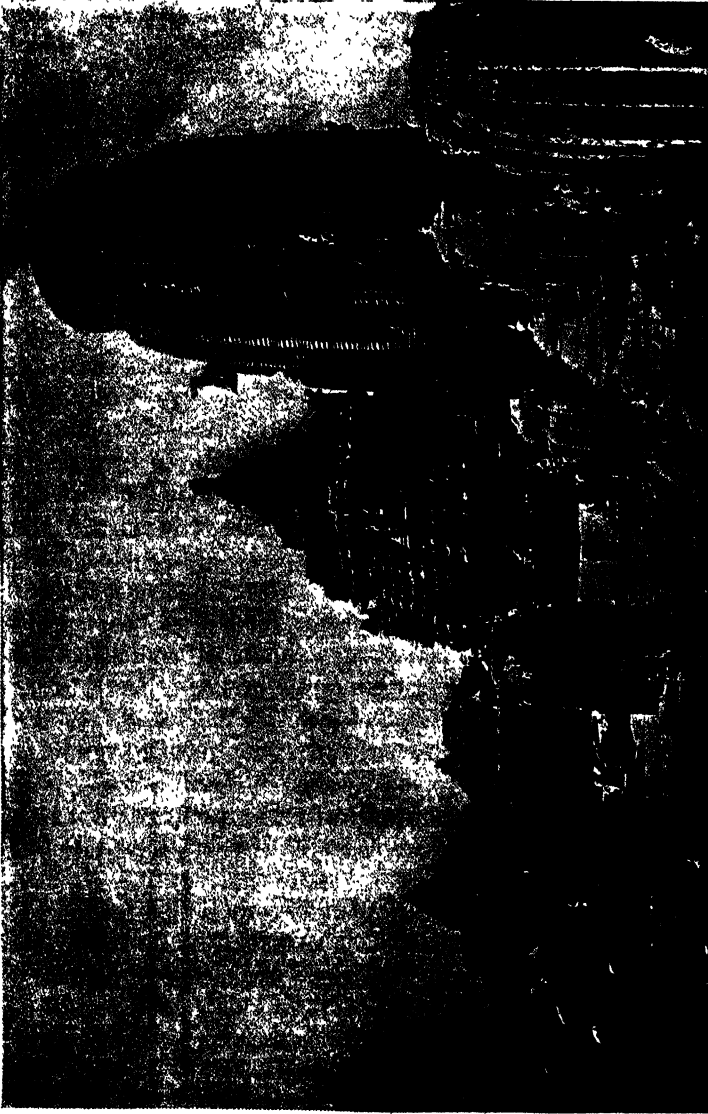
A. Caste groups multiplied and became more and more differentiated by various means: by geographical division; by the transformation of former outcaste groups into new castes; and by the diversification of occupations within caste groups. For example, some Brahmans kept more strictly to the ancient profession of studying and teaching the Vedas, conducting Vedic sacrifices and receiving alms, while others "degraded" and enriched themselves by becoming officiants at popular temples and in other ways ministering to the masses. Members of the warrior castes became landowners, physicians, scribes, etc., as well as military rulers. The Rajputs or military ruling class of India claim descent from the ancient Kshatriyas, though they have become a somewhat mixed group on account of the many invasions. The distinctive traits of their culture, notably their schools of painting, developed in Rajputana during the Middle

Ages. The Vaiśya caste groups embrace an increasing variety of trades. The 1901 census of India lists 2,378 main castes and tribes, each of which is a more or less endogamous collection of families, its members claiming common descent from a mythical ancestor, human or divine, professing to follow the same calling and having the same manners, particularly in regard to hospitality, food and ceremony.

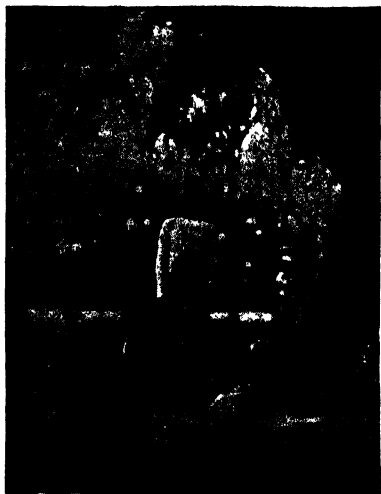
The relations of these many groups in modern Hinduism, the occupations and functions they actually undertake, can no longer be satisfactorily indicated by the classic four-fold division of castes, the hundreds of groups within each division being often distinguished from one another by differences as radical as those between main groups. For religious practice an important distinction is that between those upper groups who consider themselves "twice-born," because of their initiation into Vedic Hinduism (learning the Gayatri, wearing the sacred thread, etc.), and those who do not. For social purposes an important distinction is that between those lower caste groups (Śūdras) who are considered clean and those who are unclean, that is, whose presence, touch, etc., are considered defiling.

By embracing Christianity or Mohammedanism, crossing the ocean, marrying a widow, overstepping occupational rights and privileges or offending seriously against other Hindu tabus, a man is likely to be excluded from caste, in which case his friends, relatives and fellow-townsmen refuse to partake of his hospitality; he can not obtain brides or bridegrooms for his children; his priest and perhaps even his barber and washerman refuse to serve him. In recent times penalties have been considerably relaxed, substitute fines, etc., being widely imposed.

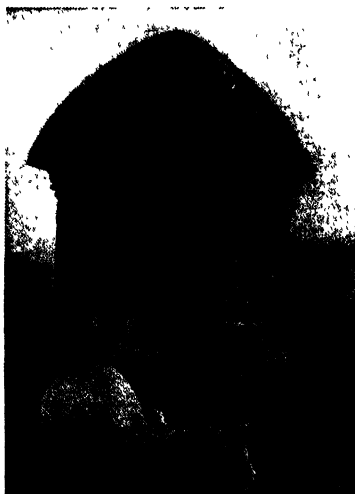
B. The household became a large family community, in which the women were largely confined and guarded. The typical Hindu house is built in the form of a quadrangle with an open yard in the center. Around the yard are apartments for male members of the family, for the women, for guests, for animals and possessions and for the sacred images; the amount of specialization for these various purposes varies greatly with the quality and size of the establishment. Not only two parents and their children live in such a household, but also a grandfather, or even a great-grandfather, and a



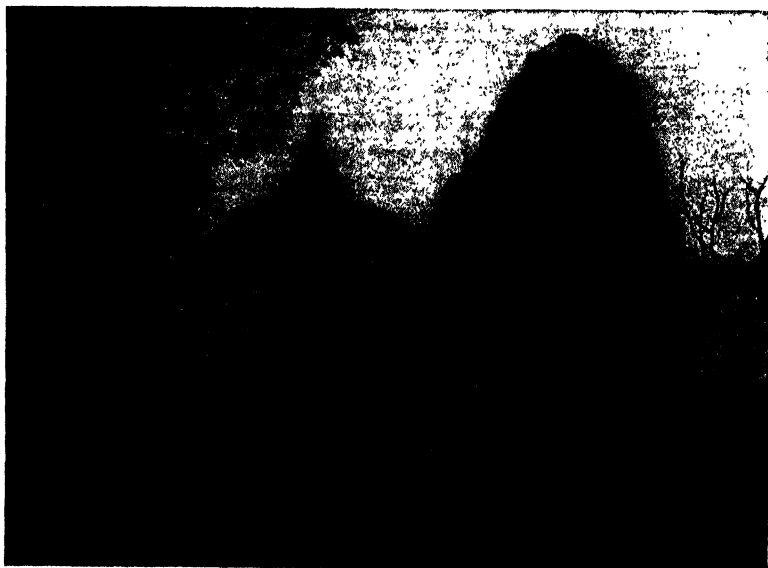
38. Lingaraja temple to Śiva at Bhubaneśvara, c. 1000 A.D. Many small shrines cluster about the central tower.
After Fischer



(a)



(b)



(c)

39. Hindu shrines: (a) primitive shrine of upright stones decked with ocher paint and garlands under tree; (b) Ratha shrine carved from single rock; (c) small Śaivite temple at Amarkantak with porch and tower over the shrine.

goodly number of his sons with their wives and children. The senior male is, as a rule, the *kartar*, head of the house, but he shares his authority with his spouse or with the senior female of the group, who has control in many matters, especially over the younger women. A married woman thus lives with her husband's family, but usually goes back to her own parents' household for the birth of her first child. To protect purity of caste, early marriage and the purdah system (concealment of women) became fashionable.

C. Small rural villages became the prevailing type of community, with over ninety per cent of the people living in them. The village is located near a stream or pool from which water is fetched for all purposes. Roads meet in a bazaar or market, around which the shops and some of the better houses are built. In some cases a tree, a pile of stones, an open altar or the images of local deities mark the village shrine, but commonly there is a local temple. Temple grounds often include a tank. Sometimes the temples preserve vestiges of ruder, more primitive shrines within them. (See figs. 38 and 39.)

The usual village community includes representatives of each of the castes: landowners and larger householders, priests, pundits (teachers, lawyers) and scribes from the higher castes; physicians, merchants and some craftsmen (metal-workers, weavers, etc.) from the middle and clean lower castes; other craftsmen (leather-workers, oil manufacturers, brewers, etc.), cleaners and scavengers from the unclean lower castes and the outcastes. The different castes generally live in fairly well-defined sections of the village. The head-man, the money-lender, the tax-gatherer and the watchman are local officials. Organizers of pilgrimages and barbers have special social and religious functions of importance.

D. Cities like Benares, Allahabad, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Poona, Nasik, Hardwar, Calcutta, Puri, Sringeri and Rameswaram became important places of religious pilgrimage and centers of discussion, popular teaching and agitation of all kinds. At their capitals rulers of provinces generally promoted elaborate state, cults and ceremonies.

E. The development of Hindu society involved also the expansion and ramification of ascetic institutions. The classic Brahmanic life-scheme reserved the ideal of the *sannyāsi*, the wandering mendicant who has renounced all worldly ties, as an ultimate stage of discipline in the last period of a "twice-born" man's life. But circum-

stances, especially of climate and poverty, conspired with religious teaching to make the condition of mendicant attractive to people of all ages and classes in India. Thus there arose a large and exceedingly mixed group of mendicant holy men as a regular and distinctive feature of Hindu society. The census of 1901 counted 2,755,900 Sadhus, mendicant holy men. At one extreme in this group are scholar-ascetics and persons of superior spiritual influence; at another extreme are men who support themselves by performing physical feats of self-torture as spectacles for the crowds; but the rank and file of the Sadhus are semi-organized bands of wandering, mendicant monks. The monastic organization of Jainism and Buddhism proved so successful that almost all subsequent Hindu reformers and founders of sects relied on a body of ascetic disciples or monks to promote their causes. Thus each sect of Hinduism, with few exceptions, has its order of mendicant monks besides its lay members.

III. MYTHOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY OF POPULAR HINDUISM

The ancient schools of philosophy, as has been seen, disagreed about the ultimate nature of things, whether spirit and matter were both eternal, or only spirit, or only matter, and the divergent opinions were all transferred to the popular literature. In addition, the writers of epics, Puranas and Tantras assimilated the most various mythological narratives and came under the influence of different sectarian theologies. As a consequence, the literature of the people establishes no precise and uniform account of the world and its powers, but the following conceptions recur so frequently in one guise or another as to be virtually the characteristic common core of popular Hindu belief.

A. THE COSMIC CYCLE AND ETERNAL BEING. Periods of activity, in which more and more bodies are formed, alternate in the cosmos with periods of rest, when bodies are dissolved into their most subtle, ultimate constituents. By this alternation the cosmos successively exists for 4,320,000,000 years and then does not exist for a like period; and so on eternally.

These periods are but the days and nights of Brahma, the ultimate being that endures throughout all changes as one who lives through successive states of waking and sleeping. Opinions differ as to how and why the cosmic cycle arises, but there is large agreement that its activity involves only a lesser part of Brahma. For the most

part the ultimate remains unmanifest and forever at rest, the undisturbed haven of those who want eternal peace. However, with the rise of popular Hinduism, the activity of Brahma in relation to the world was exploited in many directions. Popular theology associated its major personal deities with ultimate being. Different phases of the cosmic cycle were assigned in one scheme as follows: Brahma became the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Śiva the destroyer, of the cosmos. These three together constitute what Hindus call the *trimūrti* (the three forms), but the scheme does not adequately represent the status of these deities in the popular mind.

The world rests when the controlling powers bring the constituents of matter into equilibrium. According to a very prevalent idea there are three fundamental constituents, or *gunas*: a light, bright and genial principle, *sattva*; a passionate, inciting and painful principle, *rajas*; and a heavy, unilluminated, obstructing principle, *tamas*. Activity in all bodies is directly caused by these *gunas* being out of equilibrium, and the kind of activity depends on the proportion of each. (Hindu science and philosophy have often diverged from this conception, but popular religion has made extensive use of it.)

During each existence the lower world undergoes a thousand renewals and declines. Each time it is renewed there is a golden age, Kṛta Yuga, followed by the Treta, Dvaparā and Kali Yugas, periods of progressive decline. A Kali Yuga began about 5,000 years ago and will continue for 400,000 more years of increasing decadence.

B. THE COSMOS OR WORLD-EGG. The cosmos, periodically formed, embraces seven great regions or worlds. Three of them are often called the three worlds: Bhurloka, the earth; Bhuvārloka, the lower air up to the sphere of the sun; and Svarloka, the abode of Indra and the gods of the upper air, which contains the sphere of the moon, the planets and fixed stars. These three, including the finite gods they contain, are destroyed by fire at the end of each Kali Yuga. Above them are four higher worlds: Maharloka, Janoloka, Tapoloka and Brahma or Satyaloka; the abodes of very superior intelligences. The last, the abode of Brahma, is just within the top of the world-egg. All these worlds endure the full four billion years until the cosmic cycle dissolves the world-egg.

The earth (Bhurloka) contains seven continents lying in concentric circles with an ocean around each. The innermost continent is the

Rose-apple Land and around it lies the salt sea; then comes Fig-tree Land and the ocean of sugar-cane juice; next, Cotton-tree Land and the wine ocean; Kuśa-grass Land and the ocean of clarified butter; Krauncha Land and the ocean of curdled milk; Śaka Land and the ocean of milk; and, finally, Lotus Land and the ocean of sweet water. In the middle of Rose-apple Land, that is, in the center of the earth, lie the highest of all mountains, the Himalayas. And in the center of all is the mighty Mt. Meru, which rises straight up through the lower air to the sphere of the stars. It is a wonderful earthly paradise inhabited by many gods and spirits of the lower air. India is the loveliest of countries in Rose-apple Land, lying just south of the central mountains. Under the surface of the earth are the regions of Patala, inhabited by serpent-spirits and demons; beneath these, the hells (Naraka).

(The cosmos is inhabited by innumerable souls that migrate from body to body, their *karma* always determining where they are born. There are 8,400,000 kinds of bodies, varying greatly in nature and powers according to their *gunas*. Besides the bodies of plants, animals and men, there are at least a million kinds of subtler and more lasting bodies used by gods and demons. A soul thus has a great many possibilities open to it in its various migrations, but whether or not a soul can exist as an independent entity apart from all bodies is a moot question. The prevailing opinion seems to be that if souls succeed in becoming so detached, they are absorbed in Brahma.

C. HUMAN BEINGS AND THEIR DESTINIES. The soul in human beings is encased in a number of sheaths or bodies. The outer or visible body arises in sexual generation and dissolves in death. It consists of blood, bones, flesh, semen, etc., and is animated and regulated by circulating currents, above all by the breath. There is also a small, invisible, inner body of much finer materials, the seat of psychic functions: sensation, volition and mind (*i.e.*, awareness, self-consciousness and thought). This inner body is not born of parents, nor is it destroyed in death.

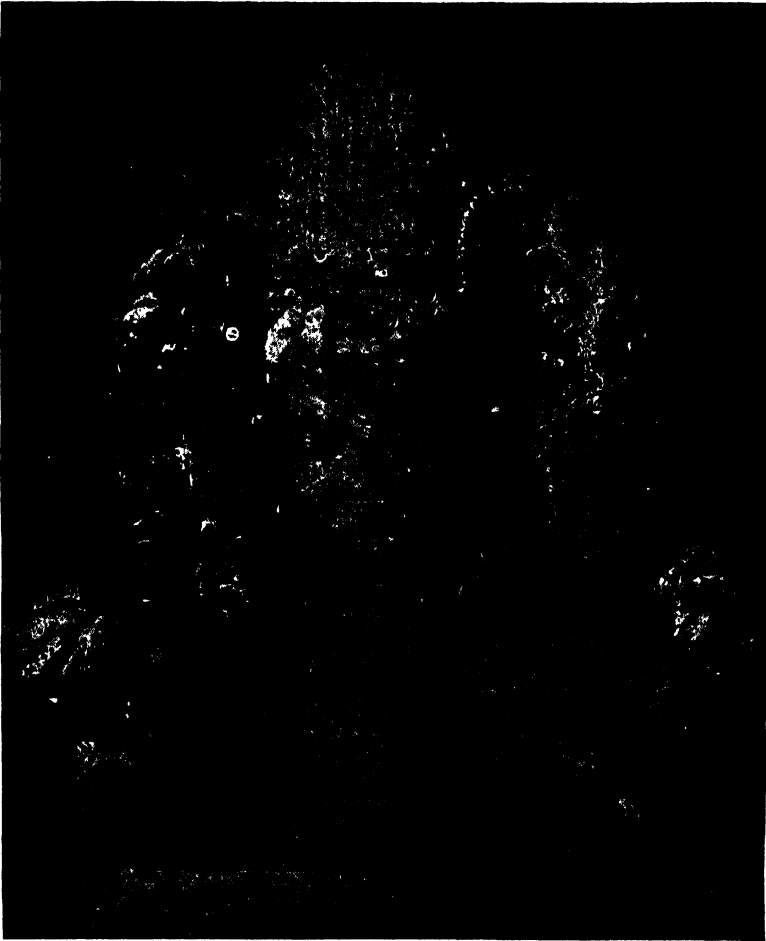
In order for man, who is such a *mixtum compositum* and subject to so much pain, to be happy, he must learn the art of sensual enjoyments, especially the art of love (*Kāmaśāstra*); the practical arts (*Arthaśāstra*), for example, occupations and government; and the

moral art (*Dharmaśāstra*), that is, the kind of being he is and the effects of his actions on his being. *Dharma* refers not only to the law of a man's natural being and its capacities but also to the law of his moral being, as constituted by his station in life, his caste-rule and his past actions. Wide-spread *dharma*-precepts in Hinduism are: not to injure other life; nor to falsify; nor to appropriate others' property unjustly; to preserve purity; and to control the senses. Different groups, however, observe these precepts in different ways, according to their particular *dharma*s, which also contain many additional rules, including ceremonial prescriptions. There are also the so-called "criminal castes," who live by robbery and whose *dharma* is appropriate to their station.

The supremacy of the moral art over practical and sensual arts is established in Hindu religious teaching largely by the doctrine of *karma*. Bad practical and sensual management brings pain and inconvenience to the visible body, but a violation of *dharma*, besides its immediate visible effects, accumulates bad *karma*, which unfavorably influences the future conditions of the soul. Similarly, fulfillment of *dharma* accumulates good *karma*. The *karma* produced by one's actions may not manifest its effects until long afterward, but eventually, either in this life or in another, it will be a contributing cause, not only of the soul's actions, but also of the kind of body and state in which the soul is born.

Besides the ills of this life in the outer body, the Hindu commonly fears that after death the soul and the inner body may wander about as a ghost without attaining any proper existence or habitat. The malevolence of such roving spirits (*pretas*, *bhūtas*, etc.) is greatly feared, and a basic motive for the elaborate funeral and *Śraddhā* ceremonies is to build up a temporary body for the departed soul to use as a *pitr* or father in the land of the ancestors, where Yama judges and rules. The judgment may involve punishment in various hells, but the soul's existence in these is transitional rather than eternal. For eventually the souls of *pitrs* enter new bodies, and if their *karma* is evil it is to be feared that they will be born into some undesirable form: a plant, a woman, an insect, a wild animal, a barbarian, an outcaste, a Śudra or a demon.

Desirable destinies, on the other hand, are for the soul to be re-born in some favorable form: a well-formed person, a high-caste



After Van Oost

40. Three-headed Śiva in cave temple at Elephanta. He is here represented as *trimūrti*, containing in himself the three aspects of deity: creator, preserver and destroyer. Stone relief of the 8th century.

person, a ruler, saint or sage, a superior spirit or deity. But the only unqualified and perfect end is to escape forever the round of rebirths and be united with the eternal portion of absolute being. To attain this it is necessary for the soul to be liberated from attachment to limited actions and desires, and thus to avoid the accumulation of any *karma*, either good or bad. The paradises in which the major deities of popular Hinduism (Śiva, Viṣṇu) dwell combine both kinds of desirable destiny. Souls of the saved may enter such a paradise in some specific celestial form and enjoy very concrete blisses, while rare souls, completely liberated, may pass into the indescribable bliss of the infinite deity.

D. THE HIGHER POWERS.

1. GODS AND DEMONS. Classical Hindu mythology represents the control of the world as contested between bright, higher powers (*devas* or *suras*) and their antagonists (*asuras*). The latter, allied with the serpents, *nāgas*, and the blood-thirsty cannibals, *pisachas* and *rakshasas*, are driven into remote places by the bright gods of the Vedas and their heavenly host of dancers and musicians (*apsarasas*, *gandharvas*). The ancient sages, *ṛshis*, composers of the Vedas and progenitors of the Brahmins, assisted in subduing the demons and became star-spirits. The gnomes, *yakshas*, who seceded from the demons were granted mountain possessions.

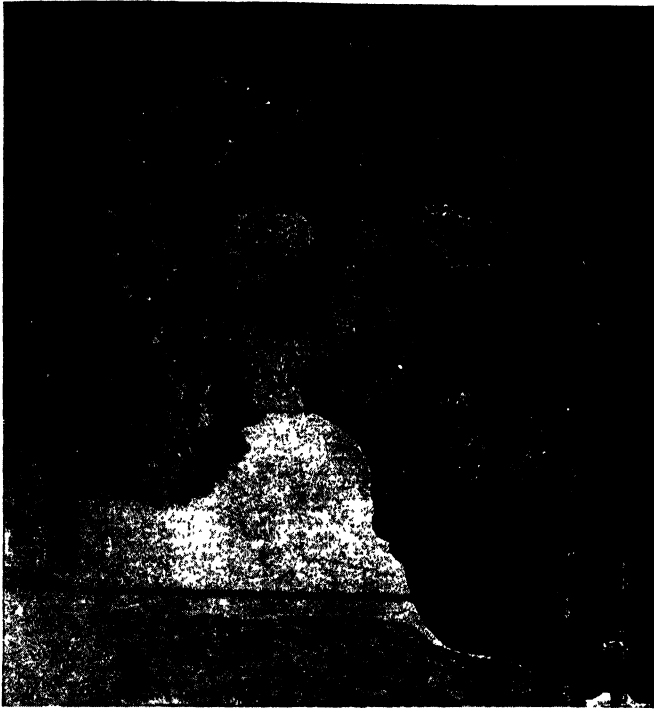
While the classical figures and groups just mentioned have faded into the background of Hindu consciousness, the general idea of struggling against demons still plays a very vital and pervasive rôle. The lower strata of society especially are demon-ridden and still regard the priest and his craft largely as protection against evil spirits.

2. BRAHMA. Brahma belongs to another level of thought, which came into prominence with the rise of the Brahmins and the philosophical theology of their ascetic teachers. But since no personal deity was able to monopolize the philosophical idea of Brahma, and since the Brahmins sought to annex the privileges of all cults, the worship of Brahma suffered from the competition with more popular deities. There are almost no temples dedicated to Brahma, and the popular explanation of his subordination is that, being the creator, his work is finished. He belongs to the ancient, memorable past of the classics. In art he is generally represented as a venerable king



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41. Dancing Śiva with drum and flame in hands, crescent moon and Ganges in hair, the demon of delusion under foot.
42. *Linga*-worship. Parvati offers flowers while an elephant pours water from a lotus on the *linga*. Relief at Conjeevaram.



After von Glasenapp

44

43. Brahma, Vishnu and Śiva with their attributes (see text). 44. The origin of Durga. According to a Puranic story, the gods, headed by Brahma and Śiva, were angered by one of the demons and created Durga to destroy them. She was formed by the coalescing of rays of light emitted from the deities and combines their attributes. From a manuscript painting.



43

with four heads, reading the Vedas. His vehicle is *Harṁsa*, an Indian wild goose, a symbol of swiftness, perspicacity and ascetic wandering (fig. 43).

3. *ŚIVA*. Śiva worship, on the other hand, is a major aspect of popular Hinduism. In the Vedas Śiva is known as Rudra, a mountain and storm god. The havoc attributed to him and the sacrifices offered to propitiate him qualified him in the *trimūrti* as the destroyer. But subsequently phallic worship was absorbed into his cult and he became most widely venerated in the form of the *linga* or *yoni-linga*, symbol of the generative organs. The fusion of these two strains made Śiva a complete epitome of the endless cycle of births and deaths. In addition, by emphasizing his prodigious endurance the ascetics made him the ideal ascetic. Thus Śiva became for many devotees, especially in southern India, a complete personification of all that is divine, *Mahādeva*, the great god. There is scarcely a village in India without a temple to Śiva, nor a home among the "twice-born" castes without its *linga* stones. As the destroyer Śiva is also the god of the burning-grounds where corpses are cremated.

Representations of Śiva in literature and art reflect the composite nature of his cult. Often he is shown as a half-naked ascetic seated in meditation on a tiger-skin, his body smeared with ashes and his hair braided like an ascetic's. Again he may be seen as the dancing Śiva, whose dance revolves the cosmos to its end. He has a third eye, vertical, in the middle of his forehead, a blue throat with a serpent coiled around it and the new moon as a diadem over his head. His vehicle is Nandi, a white bull. His paradisaical retreat is Mt. Kailasa in the Himalayas, where he allows the water of the Ganges to fall from heaven on his imperturbable head and then to flow gradually to earth through the forests of his hair. (See figs. 40-46 and 61.)

4. *MOTHER-GODDESSES, DEVIS AND ŚAKTIS*. A wide-spread feature of popular religion from the earliest times among the natives of India is the worship of mother-goddesses. This phase of popular religion was rationalized in the Tantras, where the Devis, goddesses, were represented as the Śaktis, energies of the gods whose consorts they were. In the Tantras, too, a distinctive technique of worship was formulated, making large use of quasi-mechanical means of inducing ecstasy. Thus interpreted and organized, Devi cults have



45 *After Coomaraswamy*



46

After Coomaraswamy

45. Śiva and Parvati eating the intoxicating Datura fruit. 46. Śiva and Durga with trident, sword, mace, skull cup, ax and other emblems. Rajput paintings, Pahari, 18th century.



After Gangauly

47. Kali devouring demons in battle. Behind her is her milder form, Durga. Rajput painting.

become increasingly popular in modern times in certain parts of India, notably in Bengal.

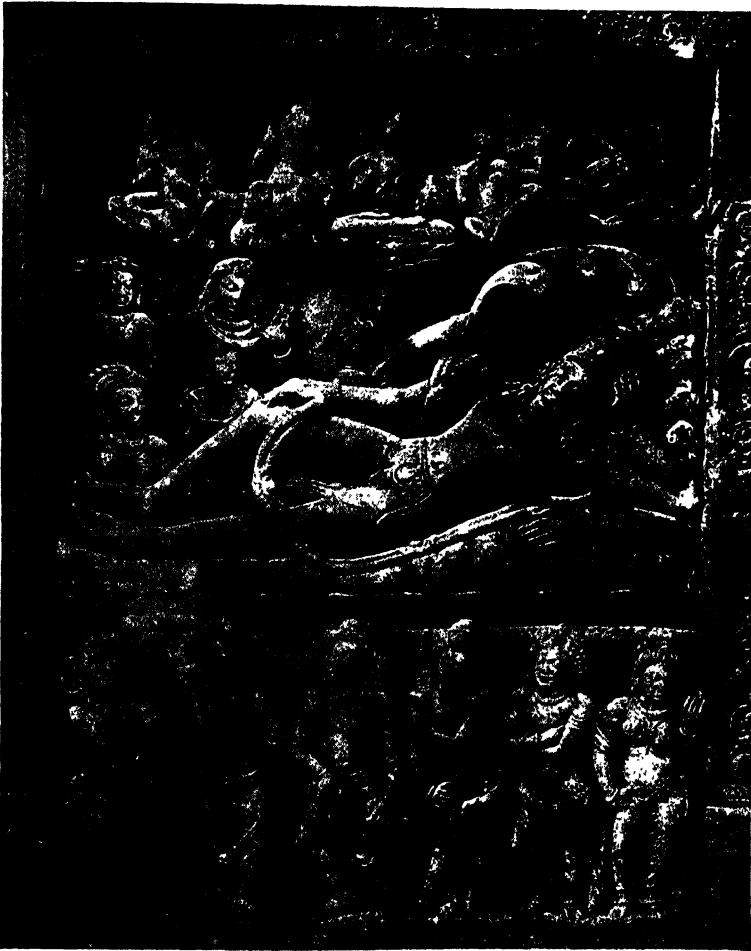
Of greatest importance are the cults of Śiva's consort. As Uma or Parvati, daughter of the mountain, this consort is mild and gracious, a heroic figure; but her cult is not prominent. She is mother of Skanda, the war-god, and of the elephant-headed Ganeśa. As Durga, the unapproachable, or Chandi, the wild one, or Kali, the black one, she is a deadly scourge, but she is worshiped more in some quarters than Śiva, himself. She wears a necklace of skulls and devours men and animals. She is attended by seven goddesses who spread disease. At the same time, being a destroyer of demons and the great sleep of all creatures, she rescues from care and want. (Figs. 44-47.)

Less worshiped but more genial are the figures of Sarasvati, goddess of speech and wisdom, the consort and Śakti of Brahma; and Śrī or Lakshmi, goddess of fortune and beauty, the consort and Śakti of Vishnu.

5. GANEŚA. Ganeśa, the elephant-headed son of Śiva and Parvati, claims considerable attention as a potential worker of mischief or remover of obstacles, a god invoked for good luck. He is worshiped by men, women and children of all castes and sects and has been in some degree adopted as the patron god of schoolboys and students and also of a nationalist cult.

6. VISHNU. Vishnu contests with Śiva the first place among popular deities, and his cult is also a composite of many diverse elements. In modern times his cult has drawn an ever larger portion of the content of Hinduism into its orbit. In the Vedas Vishnu is a solar deity of secondary importance, but in the literature of popular Hinduism he appears early as an object of popular devotion and grows in glory as a famous hero and savior of the gods in time of trouble, and hence he has the rôle of preserver in the *trimūrti*. A repeated characteristic of later Vaishnavism is a sentimental pantheism which insinuates that Vishnu is all in all and urges benevolence toward all classes.

Vishnu is represented with four arms, holding four emblems: a discus, a mace, a conch-shell and a lotus. A complicated symbolism attaches to the different positions of these emblems. His raiment is yellow; he has lotus eyes and a blue foot. His vehicle is the bird Garuda, but he also appears resting in yoga-sleep on the great world-



Indian Museum, Calcutta

48. Vishnu Narāyana asleep on the serpent Ananta. Lakshmi holds his foot. Above, on the lotus which springs from his navel, is Brahma with Gaṇeśa on the elephant at his right, Śiva and Parvati on the bull at his left. Relief from Deogarh, 5th century.



Univ. Museum, Phila.

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Musée Guimet

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49. Vishnu the preserver with high crown and diadem. He holds the conch-shell in his right hand and the discus in his left; the two other arms, holding mace and lotus, are broken off. The position of the arms and emblems varies according to the phase of Vishnu-worship for which the image is intended. The mace and discus are symbols of royal power, the conch of magic power and the lotus of purity. At his feet are a kneeling Garuda and a seated Lakshmi, with two *chauri*-bearers. The avatars appear in the niches overhead. Stone relief from the Dekkan, 9th or 10th century. 50. Vishnu as Krishna, the eighth avatar, here shown as Gopāla, the divine cowherd. With two hands he is playing his flute, while the discus and conch of Vishnu appear in the other two. Wood car panel from South India, 17th century.

serpent, Śeṣha or Ananta. In this position there springs from his navel a lotus in which the four-faced Brahma appears. Other names for Vishnu are Hari and Narāyana. (See figs. 43, 48, 49.)

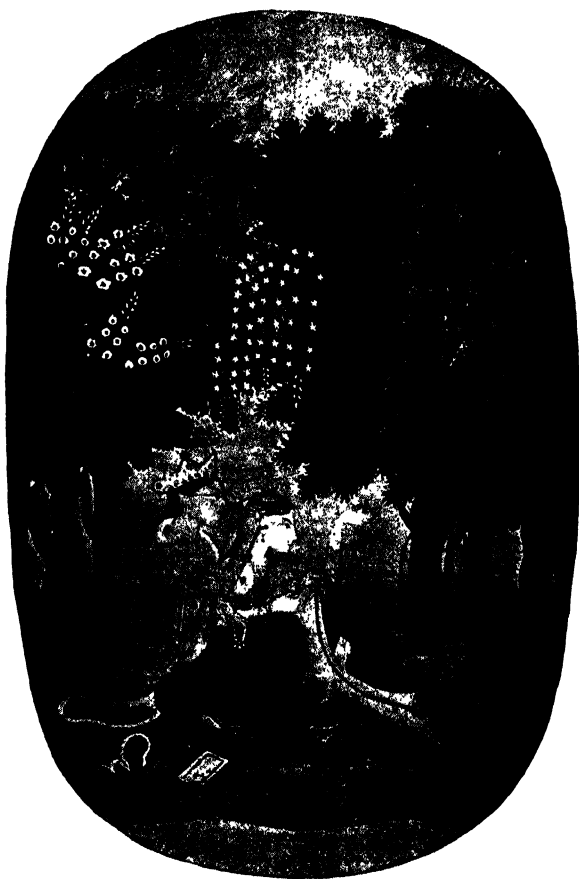
The decisive turn in the development of Vishnu worship was his identification with Rama and Krishna, popular heroes of epic and pastoral poetry. This was the beginning of a vast expansion of Vaishnavite mythology, the idea being advanced by his devotees that at critical junctures in the contest between gods and demons Vishnu has a way of incarnating himself in some being who saves the day for the gods and preserves the cosmic order. A great many originally independent miracle and hero stories were thus appropriated to Vishnu. Ten incarnations, *avatāras*, of Vishnu became widely recognized, of which Rama and Krishna remain by far the most important.

These ten avatars of Vishnu are: (1) Matsya, the fish, who saves, some say, the Vedas, and others say, Manu, the progenitor of mankind, from a flood; (2) Kurma, the tortoise, which held Mt. Mandara on its back when the gods used it to churn the ocean of milk in seeking the Amṛta, the nectar of immortality; (3) Varaha, the boar, who lifted the earth above a flood; (4) Narasiṃha, the man-lion, who saved a pious youth from his tyrannical father who threatened him because of his pantheistic devotion to Vishnu; (5) Vamana, the dwarf, who won back the earth from the demon Bali by his miraculous strides; (6) Paraśurama, the Brahman hero, who destroyed the warrior caste; (7) Rama, the ideal warrior-prince, who with the aid of Hanuman, the monkey-god, overthrew Ravana, the demon-king of Ceylon, and rescued his faithful wife, Sita. Rama and Sita are unique among Hindu deities in being ideal human types. The worship of Rama is very popular, and some sects regard him as the entire divinity. (8) Krishna, who is himself a very composite figure, his legendary life combining elements of at least three fairly distinct cults: the heroic cult, which represents Krishna as incarnate in the charioteer who gives the warrior, Arjuna, the divine counsels of the Gita; the later pastoral cult, in which Krishna figures as the herdsman and beguiler of the *gopis* (milkmaids) or the divine lover of the human soul; and the cult of the child Krishna, an infant wonder. The legends of his childhood and his pastoral exploits as a youth weave miracle and pathos into the circumstances of rural India's daily life. The *Rāsa Līlā*, story of



51. Birth of Krishna. Celebration in the house of Nanda and Yasoda, where the rejoicing herdsman are receiving gifts. Rajput painting, Kangra.

After Gargol



Boston Museum of Fine Arts

52. Krishna and Radha, his favorite, in the forest at Brindaban by the banks of the Jumna. He is adorning her with jewels. Rajput painting, Pahari, 19th century.

Radha's love for Krishna, is the version of the religion of love which probably comes nearest to popular sentiment. In virtue of these many pervasive phases of his cult Krishna has probably been the most popular Hindu deity in recent times. He is generally represented as black or blue-black in color, sometimes as a child on hands and knees, but more often as the youthful herdsman with his flute (figs. 50, 51, 52). (9) Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, who tempted wicked men and demons to become atheists and thus be destroyed; (10) Kalki, who will appear as a white horse in the future, at the end of the Kali Yuga, to destroy the wicked and restore righteousness.

Of popular Hinduism in general it is true that just as Vishnu lives principally in the Rama and Krishna cults, so the old gods have had to retire before figures closer to actual life. Living *gurus* and saints, for example, are worshiped by many as incarnations of the remoter gods. And modern Hindu writers have been busy, not so much with the problems of classic philosophy and theology *per se*, as with the adaptation of traditional concepts to new phases of popular practice and belief.

IV. HINDU RITES

The three great ways of salvation recognized in Hinduism, the way of knowledge, the way of works and the way of devotion, have all contributed characteristic features to Hindu religious *dharma*. Popular observance, however, instead of illustrating any of these ways in its purity, generally includes something of all three and is a complex tissue of specific rites: offerings, penances, devotions, meditations, benevolences and abstentions for specific occasions. While practice varies much from group to group, it is possible to indicate the different kinds of practices which are widely prevalent and distinctive. After mentioning certain elements recurring in almost all rites, the following description deals first with common ascetic practices, then with the chief life-cycle rites, and finally with shrine worship and the observance of holidays.

A. RECURRENT ELEMENTS OF THE RITES. *Pūjā* is the nucleus of popular worship with images. It consists of invoking the god's presence, lustrating the image and offering such things as rice, flowers, clarified butter (*ghee*), spices, honey and milk. Such is the simpler

rite which in modern Hinduism has largely taken the place of the ancient animal sacrifices. *Mantras* are sacred texts or formulas repeated as parts of rituals, or in meditation, or as charms. The most famous of them is the Gayatri prayer: "Om. That desirable glory of god Savitar may we receive. May he inspire our thoughts." (*Rig Veda* III, lxii, 10.) *Mudrās* are symbolic positions of the hands much used especially in Tantric ritual. Lustration and bathing are frequent and important in purification rites. Clays, powders and dyes are used to paint the body, images and surrounding objects with appropriate marks. Reds, yellows and whites are abundantly used as auspicious colors; black, as inauspicious.

B. ASCETICISM AND TAPAS. *Tapas* (heat), the practice of ascetic austerities (for example, fasting, exposure, fixed postures, silence, etc.), is undertaken to a greater or less degree by everyone as an essential discipline, and in its various forms is one of the most characteristic aspects of Hinduism. The ordinary layman engages in such practices in connection with the observance of special holy days, on pilgrimages or on occasions of personal need and privation. The large class of Sadhus, mendicant holy men, mentioned above, makes a profession of asceticism. They have formally renounced their homes, guilds, villages and castes. They have performed their own funeral ceremonies and are dead to the world. They absolve their sins by their austerities and owe no man anything.

"The Sadhus generally wear yellow, red, or white garments; though some go entirely naked (*nagna*), and others wear only rags or a loin-cloth. Often they smear their bodies with earth or ashes as a protection against the sun and insects. On their foreheads they paint their sect-marks with ashes, cinnabar, lime, or charcoal. Their hair is either carefully braided and coiled in back of the head, or hangs disheveled, or is completely shaved off. They hang strings of emblems and amulets around their necks, wear wooden or metal rings in their ears, and carry bracelets of iron, copper, or shell. All these are mementoes of their numerous pilgrimages. Their equipment consists of an almsbowl, a waterpot, a cloth to strain the water, a tongs, a staff, sometimes a deer-skin, and a pipe for smoking hemp."^a

"Generally they stop at every door on the road side, and use one

^a Translated from H. von Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, p. 363.

or other of the following means to induce the inmates to submit to their demands: singing songs impressing upon men the uselessness of wealth to its owner after his death; singing, in the names of gods and goddesses, amorous songs which are necessarily very agreeable to the ears of young men and women, and for which they gladly give alms; singing songs calculated to impress upon men the idea that great danger might arise by slighting the mendicants; parading an idol representing one of the mischief-making gods or goddesses that are believed to cause the death of their scoffers by cholera, small-pox or snake-bite; lavishing good wishes; offering holy water or food brought from some sacred place; fortune-telling and palmistry; professing to collect subscriptions to feed poor pilgrims; professing to be on a pilgrimage; terrifying the people by threatening to commit suicide in their presence, or by displaying snakes, carrion, ordure, etc.”⁴

It must be remembered that according to popular ideas merit accrues from feeding mendicant holy men, and that many of them are reputed to be superior beings with supernatural powers at their command, able thus to bless and to curse. It must be remembered also that while most Sadhus have little learning and do not interpret meditation intellectually, Hindu religious wisdom and philosophy has emanated principally from ascetic sages and gives preëminence to ascetic ideals. So fully are the ways of renunciation and the ways of knowledge associated by tradition that a non-ascetic who should profess to teach religious truth would find it difficult to be taken seriously. There have been some exceptions, but not many. One of the most noted and prevalent traditions combining philosophy and ascetic exercises is that represented by the various forms of yoga.

C. **yoga.** The aim of Yoga is the suppression of the functions of the mind. These functions are classified as (1) knowledge, (2) error, (3) imagination, (4) sleep and (5) memory. The most difficult is the suppression of the five kinds of error which underlie the processes of *karma*, viz., to regard ignorance as knowledge, to regard the temporal as eternal, to regard the impure as pure, to regard suffering as pleasure and to regard the not-self as the self (*ātman*).

The stages of Yoga discipline outlined in the classic *Rāja Yoga Sūtras* of Patanjali are known as the eight *angas*; beginning with the ordinary moral code and culminating in complete Absorption

⁴ J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu castes and sects*, pp. 360-1.

(*Samādhi*). The first or external stage (*Yama*) comprises the five basic moral rules: (1) not to injure a living being (*ahimsā*); (2) to tell and think only the truth; (3) not to steal nor to covet; (4) to observe chastity; (5) to accept no gifts. The second or internal stage (*Niyama*) comprises five special rules: (1) purity; (2) contentment; (3) self-mortification (*tapas*), though not to the extent of self-injury; (4) study of the texts; (5) surrender to God. The third stage (*Āsana*) is the discipline of the bodily postures; the fourth (*Prāṇāyāma*), the regulation of the breath; the fifth (*Pratyāhāra*), the withdrawal of the senses; the sixth (*Dharana*), the fixation of the mind; the seventh (*Dhyāna*), the contemplation of the self; and the eighth (*Samādhi*), Absorption. Finally, Absorption is of two kinds: conscious and unconscious; the conscious discipline consists essentially of freeing the objects of meditation from all associations and attributes until the mind becomes "lost" in the contemplation of the pure object; whereas the unconscious Absorption destroys even the activity of sheer contemplation, so that the self is completely freed from all the *gunas*, activities, of the body and sinks into its own infinite absoluteness. This state is known as *Nirvikalpa Samādhi*, undifferentiated Absorption, for only in it is the final goal attained, the liberation from the seeds of *karma* and from the chain of rebirths.

For practical purposes Yoga is usually divided into three chief types. (1) *Karma* Yoga, subdivided into *Hatha* Yoga and *Laya* Yoga, is the physical discipline by which a yogi achieves control over his body, especially over certain functions of his autonomic nervous system, such as the rhythms of breathing and of heart-beating and the inhibition of many of the internal organs. This discipline is based on an elaborate mythological physiology. The fundamental element of this physiology is the idea of *ojas* or energy diffused through the body, which led to the Tantric conception of the *kundalinī*, cord of desire, supposed to lie coiled like a serpent at the base of the spinal column. The awakening of the *kundalinī* by yoga gives the yogi unusual powers and is supposed to enable him to free his soul from the "cavities" of the body. (2) *Bhakti* Yoga is the discipline of devotion and is defined in the *Bhagavadgīta* as "equanimity of mind in thought and deed resulting in efficiency of action, done as service dedicated to God." It consists of all those acts and attitudes of piety which signify surrender of oneself to God and reliance on divine



After von Glasenapp

53. Diagram of Yoga theory showing the *chakras* or "lotuses" of energy (*ojas*), which the yogi attempts to control, and the ascending and descending currents. In each *chakra* is represented its presiding deity, as follows: head, Śiva and Durga; breast, Śiva; spleen, Viṣṇu; abdomen, Brahma; genitals, Gaṇeśa. In addition, the mouth and throat are indicated as the seat of the individual soul (*jīvātmā*) and the point between the eyebrows as the seat of the universal soul (*paramātmā*). The inscription over the head is in honor of the teacher and signifies the custom of the *chela* setting his *guru's* foot on his head.

grace. (3) *Jñāna* or *Rāja* Yoga is the discipline of mind whereby the soul comes to an understanding of itself in contemplation and achieves absorption in the absolute.

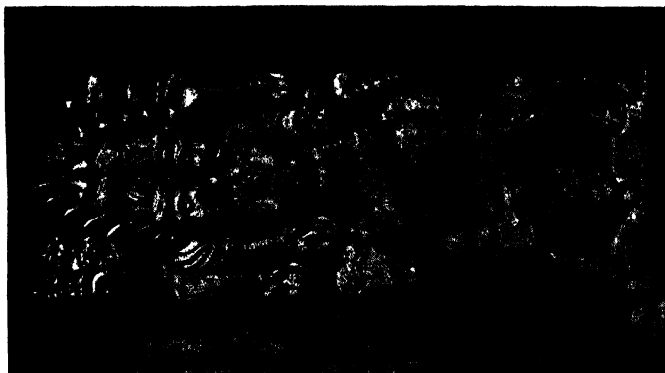
Thus Yoga is susceptible of various degrees of strenuousness and of different interpretations, which make it adaptable to all kinds of persons and all ways of life. It can be practised by the ignorant and sensuous, whose *Hatha* Yoga is little different from the *tapas* of common Sadhus; or by the highly educated and intellectual as a mystic philosophy. Yoga has consequently become one of the most pervasive forces in Hindu religion, transcending the bounds of a school of philosophy or of any one religious group.

D. DAILY OBSERVANCES OF BRAHMANS. The Brahmanic ideal is not essentially that of a priest serving a group or institution, but rather that of a class of men whose daily observances belong to the higher, anti-demonic world. The ritual of a Brahman day is somewhat as follows. Morning *Sandhyā*, purification, includes the rituals of rising, the morning toilet, of bathing either at home or in a near-by stream, of marking the body, tying the hair, breathing exercises, *Sankalpa* (morning orientation), sipping water, saluting the sun, telling beads and repeating the Gayatri and other *mantras*. Morning *Sandhyā* contains many vestiges of sun-worship and should be performed before sunrise. There follows *Homa*, the offering to fire of *ghee*, curds, rice or grain. After this the Brahman may go forth to some business, such as giving alms or instruction or priestly services; or he may turn to reading and study. About ten, after another briefer *Sandhyā*, he offers *tarpana*, a water libation, to gods, sages and dead ancestors, and then *pūjā* either to the household gods or at a near-by shrine. Then comes the first and chief meal of the day, with its ceremony of eating the correct dishes and sharing them with the household gods, ancestors, guests and mendicants. After the meal there may be some exchange of gifts between host and guests, followed by reading or resting. Later in the afternoon the Brahman may go out again on visits or business. Twilight, after another brief *Sandhyā*, is the favorite time for going to temples. After sun-down there is a less elaborate evening meal preceded by a lamp-lighting ritual. About ten, if there is no fast or festival, some *mantras* are said before retiring.



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54. *Homa* sacrifice. Four Brahmins pouring *ghee* into fire. 55. Agni, Vedic fire-god, with torch and spoon for *ghee*.



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After von Glasenapp



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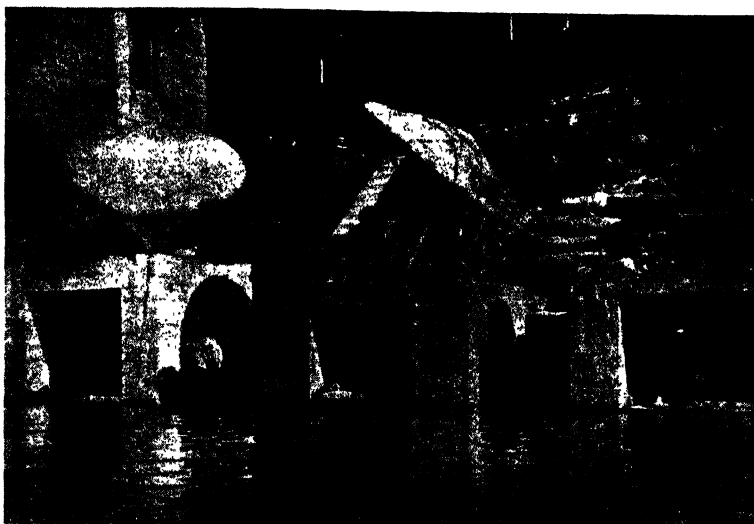
56. Brahman with Vedic text and sacrificial spoon. 57. Brahman at breathing exercises. (Note sacred thread over his shoulder.) 58. *Pujārī* or temple priest with Vaishnavite sect marks. 59. Pilgrim holding tail of cow while priest pours out Ganges water.

E. INITIATION CEREMONIES. Initiations are important Hindu rites. In the eighth year a Brahman's son undergoes the second birth, whereby he first officially becomes a Brahman. He is invested with the sacred thread which he wears throughout life, learns the Gayatri and other *mantras* and is attached to a personal preceptor (*guru*). The *Molokata* rites for daughters of Brahmans are of a different nature, more definitely connected with eligibility for marriage. Strictly speaking, the girls are not Brahman. The popular Hindu sects likewise have initiations with badges, *mantras* and *gurus*. In some cases the *gurus* are much venerated and have great power.

F. MARRIAGE RITES. Marriage is "the most important event in a Hindu's life" and "wedding festivities are to Hindu women what the entire social season is to those of the West." Ceremony and hospitality extend over a week or two. Preparations of house, food and clothing, receptions of relatives and ceremonial invitations to gods and ancestors occupy the preliminary days. The wedding itself commonly involves the gift of the bride, the vows of bride and groom as the *tali* or other emblem of marriage is placed on the bride, and the honoring of the bride and groom as impersonating Śiva and Parvati or Vishnu and Lakshmi.

G. RITES PERFORMED BY WOMEN. Women commonly perform special rites in connection with the care of household images, the preparation of foods, the worship of certain plants, especially the *tulsi* and the *pīpal* tree. They have special purifications to undergo in connection with periods of uncleanness. They pay special tribute to Gauri, to other harvest deities and to the goddesses who bring or prevent diseases. On the other hand, there are rites of the men from which they are excluded, and they generally go to the temples separately. Krishna is a widely-beloved deity among women.

H. PILGRIMAGES. Besides the daily purifications by bathing and lustration, the Hindus undertake pilgrimages to holy places and consider the bathing at such places as Allahabad, where the Ganges and Jumna meet, Ganga Sagar, where the Ganges joins the sea, Benares and many other points especially meritorious. Pilgrimage in general plays a great rôle in popular Hinduism, not only for the mendicants who make it their business, but also for the multitude.



60. Cells of recluses by the Ganges and ceremonial bathing at Benares.

I. DEATH RITES. A Hindu considers it propitious to be at some holy place to die, but under ordinary circumstances at home he seeks peace of mind by having his relatives give alms to Brahmans on his behalf. The most important gift is a cow, and if the dying man has the physical strength, he should take the cow's tail in his hand and present it himself, together with a *tulsī* leaf. While the gift is being made, the family priest recites *mantras* or reads from the sacred books. A man who is too poor to give a cow substitutes a small sum of money, the conventional ceremonial price of a cow. The corpse is prepared with white clay as an offering to the fire-god. While it is in the house, lamps are burned before it and it is revered as holy. Male relatives and friends take it to the burning-ground, if possible, before the sun-down after death. Most important are the *Śraddhā* ceremonies some days later, offerings of balls of rice on behalf of the dead by his eldest son. The popular idea is that these offerings are necessary to provide the soul with a suitable body for its existence as a *pitr* in the land of the fathers. A strong motive in the desire for sons among Hindus is the indispensability of these services. For a wife to survive her husband is considered a misfor-

tune and is widely regarded as an effect of the evil *karma* of past sins. Though widow-burning is disappearing, the position of widows is usually a hard one.

J. SHRINE AND TEMPLE WORSHIP. Worship at shrines and temples is one of the more popular religious observances. A favorite location



61. Nandi, the sacred bull of Śiva. By the Well of Knowledge, Benares.

for a shrine is on a river bank, but in every city or large village there is almost certain to be a temple in the center of the town for the convenience of the women, the old men, the children and those who have no time to go down to bathe in the river. People come to a temple principally to make offerings and to see the face of the god; occasionally also to hear sacred narratives read. The attendant priests (*pūjārīs*) have certain rituals to perform at stated times, but worshipers may make their offerings throughout the day.

A Śaivite temple commonly has the *linga* or *yoni-linga* in the innermost shrine and very often outside the threshold the stone

image of a bull faces the *linga*. Images of attendant deities, especially Parvati, Ganēśa and Hanuman, are usually to be found either in the main shrine or in smaller ones close by. The courtyard contains a garden and well and frequently some resting places for ascetics. Worshipers go barefoot, ring a bell to attract the attention of the god and with the aid of the *pūjārī* offer water and flowers, perhaps also rice, *ghee* and other foods. These things are placed on the *linga* and other images. The worshipers behold the images and, before leaving, circumambulate the shrines. At certain times incense is burned and lamps are waved before the gods to an accompanying din of bells, brass vessels and kettle-drums. In Śaivite temples the remaining food offerings (*prasāda*) are reserved for certain classes of attendants, while in Vaiṣṇavite and Śākta temples they are more generally shared by *pūjārīs* and worshipers.

A Vaiṣṇavite temple is similar, except that in place of the *linga* the central object is an image of Vishnu in some form, very often Rama or Krishna. A screen generally keeps this image more hidden than the *linga* is in a Śiva temple, and the attentions paid to it by the priests are even more explicitly anthropomorphic. The god is waited upon like a nobleman, is awakened, washed, attired, fed, attended on excursions, put to rest, etc. Vishnu is, however, also worshiped, especially in homes, in the form of the *śālagrāma*, an ammonite stone.

Śakti worship takes different forms. In place of the *linga* the *yoni* or *yantra*, a symbol of the female sex organs, may be the central object. *Mudrās*, postures and rhythmical movements of the body, play an important part. An image of one of the mother-goddesses may be the central object, and animal sacrifices are quite widely offered in Śakti worship. After pouring some of the blood of the victim on the image the worshiper removes the carcass. A naked woman may be the central object in Śakti rites, and in some cases the worship is orgiastic. Eroticism in connection with temples is not confined to Śakti cults, however, as many larger temples of other cults have *devadāsīs*, dancing girls and sacred prostitutes, attached to them.

K. THE HINDU CALENDAR. The year is divided into lunar months and the exact date of various observances is fixed from year to year with the help of astrologer-priests and almanac makers. Times and seasons differ considerably from one locality to another.

Each month has a light half, in which the moon is waxing, and a dark half, in which it is waning. Night brings relief from the heat, and the moonlit nights are occasions of social enjoyment and celebration. The dark half of the month is considered less auspicious, and fewer holidays are observed in it. The fourth and eighth days in each half of the month are considered inauspicious. Ganeśa, Durga, Kali and other fearsome deities are commonly remembered and propitiated on these days. The eleventh (*ekadasi*) day in each half of the month is considered lucky and is commonly associated in one way or another with Vishnu. Devout people frequently go to the temples on those evenings and listen to stories read aloud from the Puranas. The thirteenth of each half, but especially of the dark half of the month, is associated with Śiva. On Śivaratri, the night of the thirteenth, just before the new moon, a fast is commonly kept by men. *Mahaśivaratri*, great night of Śiva, the principal Śiva holiday of the year, comes on this day in Magha (late February).

The occasions and character of the chief annual holidays can be briefly indicated. At the beginning of the winter solstice, the opening of the gods' day, comes *Makarasankrānti* or *Pongal*, celebrated by rejoicing, almsgiving and bathing. At Allahabad a large fair is held, and every twelve years there and at other important bathing places the *Maghmel* or *Kumbhmel* takes place, a great concourse of religious sects and orders. Late in February comes *Mahaśivaratri*, observed by a night vigil, fast and processions; in some places also by pilgrimage and purificatory bathing. Before the spring equinox there is a carnival called *Holi*, marked by a bonfire festival, demon-chasing, noise and rough pranks. A little later a more decorous spring festival occurs as a joint celebration of Rama's birthday and Kama's or cupid's day. Rama, the new-born, is worshiped in the cradle with bell-ringing and music.

Just before the summer solstice and rainy season, when the weather is moist and hot, there are several appropriate festivals, such as the bathing celebration of the descent of the Ganges from heaven and the chariot festivals (notably of Krishna Jagannatha at Puri) in which the temple cars (solar chariots) are drawn through the streets and religious plays enacted in the public squares. The gods' night begins at the summer solstice; Vishnu begins his four months' sleep on the serpent in the lower regions. It is a sowing

season, and interest is centered in forecasting the monsoon and in Mother Earth's fertility. The *Molokata*, rites for adolescent girls, are generally held at this time.

The rainy season lasts four months and is a fateful one for the crops; it is a time of frequent petitional and propitiatory rites. Near the beginning of this season Krishna's (the black one's) birthday is observed by a fast and midnight celebration; it is the only great incarnation celebrated in the dark half of the month. A little later comes the principal Ganeśa holiday, in which the elephant-headed god is worshiped as remover of obstacles. Then follows a period of special Gauri or Devi worship, particularly by women, in favor of crops, children and health, and a half-month of special attention to *Śraddhā* ceremonies and ancestor-worship from the dark of the August moon to the September moon. There are also special occasions of serpent, cattle, plant and planetary worship at this time. These safe-guarding rites culminate late in September with nine nights of special *Durgā pūjā* or propitiation of Durga.

At the autumn equinox comes *Das'hara*, a harvest and victory festival with rejoicing, honor to rulers, military displays and excursions to boundaries. This is followed by *Dīpāvalī* or *Dīvālī*, the feast of lamps, a trader's holiday and time for closing accounts and celebrating prosperity. The rainy season is practically over, the cooler weather beginning. It is an auspicious time, commonly chosen for the redecoration of homes and also for wedding festivities, which are rarely held during the rainy season.

V. SECTS

Of the historic sects, few are now exclusive in their devotion to their chief deity; they are separated more by different emphases in their worship and by social distinctions than by fundamental theological differences. The theological differences in the commentaries of the founders of the sects have tended in time to be submerged.

A. *SMĀRTA*, non-sectarian Hindus, are found chiefly among Brahmans who attempt to maintain the Vedic tradition both in philosophy and in sacrificial rites. In the south the *smārta* are students of Sankara's system of Vedanta philosophy, and their temples are dedicated to the worship of the five deities (Vishnu, Śiva, Durga, Surya and Ganeśa) by the old Vedic rites. In the north the *smārta* are more lax and worship in sectarian temples.

B. ŚAIVA SECTS. The distinctive Śaiva sects are almost all decidedly ascetic and Brahman. Among the most ancient and distinguished of these are the ascetic orders founded by Śankara in the eighth century. They still cultivate learning after their founder's example. They provide for different degrees of world-renunciation, that of the *Paramahamsas* being the highest. From men of this degree the heads of their four principal monasteries or *maths* in Dvaraka, Puri, Sringeri and Kedarnath are chosen. The head of Sringeri is the supreme authority among southern Śaivites. The Yogi Śaiva sects practise the Yoga discipline as a path towards union with Śiva. The Lingayats, *Vīraśaiva*, of southern India, were apparently founded by Basava in the twelfth century for the purpose of combating both Brahmins and Jains. This sect believes in Śiva only. Each Lingayat wears and worships a *linga*; he also worships his private teacher (*guru*), who is a member of the Jangama caste. For the most part the Lingayats are thrifty tradesmen and householders, but there is also an order of monks among them.

C. THE ŚAKTA SECTS. The worship of Śakti, the formative female power represented in the consorts of the gods, is particularly directed to the consort of Śiva, but it has developed so distinctively and in such proportions, overshadowing all other sects in some regions such as Bengal, that it must be regarded as a distinct branch of Hinduism. The most common forms of Devi, the mother-goddess, are Parvati, Durga and Kali, whose temples are among the most popular in eastern and southern India. There are three chief types of Śaktism:

1. EXTREME ŚAKTAS, who worship Kali or Bhairavi, in their most terrifying forms, in those forms which in early times demanded human sacrifices. They wear red clothes, practise obscene rites, indulge in wine and animal sacrifices and periodically in orgies of sex magic, intoxication and self-torture.

2. VAMACHARI, *Walkers-in-the-left-hand-way*. Though less violent, this branch of Śaktism also practises the ancient rites of sex magic and animal sacrifices. On great festivals (notably at the famous Kali Ghat near Calcutta) hundreds of kids and buffaloes are sacrificed.

3. DAKSHINACHARI, *Walkers-in-the-right-hand-way*. Beginning about the thirteenth century and influenced by Jain, Buddhist and

Vaishnava teaching, a more moderate form of Śaktism became popular. Red flowers and foods were substituted for animal sacrifices and wine; the sex magic was discontinued in its physical forms; and the whole doctrine was given a metaphysical refinement.

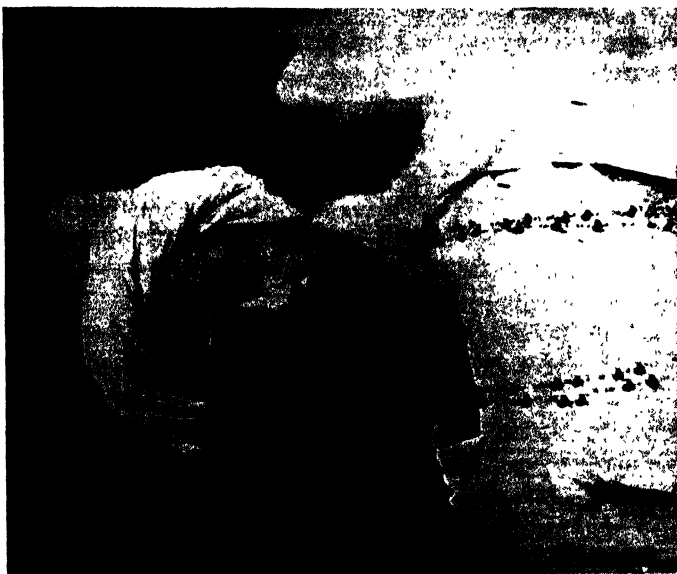
D. VAISHNAVA SECTS. The existing Vishnu sects are more recent than those of Śiva, the oldest of them dating only from the twelfth century. But since that time the worship of Vishnu under the forms of Rama and Krishna has become so popular that it is now the most vital and dominating force in Hinduism.

1. THE ŚRĪ-VAISHNAVAS of South India were founded by Ramanuja in the twelfth century. He did much to undermine the Śiva cult by exalting Vishnu as identical with Brahma; by worshipping Lakshmi or Śrī, Vishnu's consort; by preaching to the lower castes and inviting them to membership in the sect, though not on the same level with Brahmans; and by urging a less ascetic discipline. He modified Śankara's philosophy in the direction of personal theism and encouraged *bhakti* worship. Two schools arose among the followers of Ramanuja: the northerners believe that the soul clings to the Lord as a young monkey hangs on its mother; whereas the southerners believe that the Lord picks up the helpless as a cat picks up a kitten.

2. THE RAMANANDI. Ramananda, in the early fifteenth century, introduced the cult of Rama and his wife, Sita, into the Vaishnava sects of the north and gave a great stimulus to *bhakti* religion. He admitted all castes to his sect, which, in addition to exalting Rama, further mitigated monastic restrictions and encouraged other moral reforms. Tulsi Das, who composed the most popular version of the *Rāmāyana* epic, belonged to this sect.

3. THE KABIRPANTHIS. One of the disciples of Ramananda was Kabir, a Mohammedan weaver, who founded a sect in central and western India among Moslems and low-caste Hindus which combines Hindu and Mohammedan ideas. A number of other religious teachers were influenced by Kabir, notably Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion.

4. THE VALLABACHARYA sect, bearing the name of its founder (sixteenth century), was one of the first to promote the now widespread sentimental and erotic worship of Krishna. It exalts Krishna to a supreme position, and instead of conceiving him as the heroic



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62. Śaivite with sect mark of horizontal lines on his forehead. 63. Ramanandi *swami* with Vaishnavite sect marks of perpendicular lines.



63

incarnation of Vishnu (as in the *Bhagavadgīta*), these devotees worship him as Gopal, the mischievous boy and cowherd, who played pranks with the milkmaids. The sect is strong in western India and among the mercantile castes. Its rites are simple, and its teaching is that liberation must be sought not through asceticism but through the proper care of the body and the pleasures of society. The wealthy *gurus*, who are known as Maharajas and impersonate Krishna, invite the love and devotion of the women and large gifts of money from the men.

5. CHAITANYA, son-in-law of Vallabhacharya, also founded a sect, bearing his own name, which gave Krishna worship its most popular and sentimental form. It is strongest in Bengal. He developed the worship of Radha, Krishna's favorite, and made the love of Krishna and Radha a symbol of religious devotion. The chief feature of the Chaitanya rites is the *sankīrtan*, a public procession with singing and dancing in praise of Krishna and his love. All castes are welcomed, and nothing is secret. The cult is an extreme form of *bhakti* which encouraged erotic lyricism and music while making minimum intellectual demands. The Chaitanya mendicants make no pretense of celibacy but live together with women Sadhus. In such cases they virtually tend to become new castes leading a wandering, gipsy life.

E. RELIGIOUS SYNCRETISM IN THE DEPRESSED OR OUTCASTE COMMUNITIES. On the lower levels of Indian society, in what are commonly called the depressed or outcaste communities, tribal and sect religion commonly cuts across barriers elsewhere strictly drawn. All visit all shrines available to them; Mohammedan saints can get a Hindu following, and vice versa.

Thus, for example, the Bhangis, an outcaste community of hemp-workers numbering about 650,000, mostly in the United Provinces, worship, among others, Lal Beg, a Mohammedan saint, and Balmik, a form of the ancient Hindu sage, Valmiki, legendary compiler of the *Rāmāyana*. They would probably acknowledge all the gods of orthodox Hinduism, but they chiefly worship such minor deities as Bhairon, a field-god (an Indian baal whom Brahmans regard as a servant of Śiva as the Bhangis are their servants), and Bhairava, a terrible form of Śiva. They have their own priests, Bhagats, who

cultivate an ecstatic trembling state in which they give inspired utterances; the Bhagats also offer sacrifices on crude stone altars in the open, and function as medicine-men and exorcists.



After von Glasenapp

64. Bhairon, a field-god of the Bhangis and other low castes; a form of Śiva, carrying his attributes of the third-eye and serpent necklace and drinking blood from a bowl.

VI. MOVEMENTS OF MODERN HINDUISM

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century Hinduism has been forced to face Western culture, and, as a result, there have been various attempts to reconstruct the religious heritage of India in terms of the three Western forces most operative in India today: Christianity, science and nationalism. No attempt is made here to discuss the various ways in which Islam has impinged on Hinduism, for this is a story of centuries of struggle involving some of the most complicated regional and caste conflicts in Hindu society. The religious groups in India which have resulted from this conflict, such as

the Sikhs, as well as the minor syncretistic groups like the Ahmadiyas of Qadian and the Chet Ramis, which are influenced by Christianity as well as by Islam, require a separate treatment involving the consideration of Islam.

A. THE BRAHMA SAMAJ. The tendencies of the early part of the nineteenth century were towards reconciliation and syncretism of intellectual Brahmanism with liberal Christianity. The most influential society of this type is the Brahma Samaj, founded in 1828 by Ram Mohan Rai, which might be characterized as Indian Unitarianism or Transcendentalism. Its membership comes from aristocratic intellectuals and wealthy liberals, and though it has never been large numerically, it was nevertheless very influential among nineteenth-century Hindu leaders. Ram Mohan was a wealthy Bengali Brahman who came under the influence of Moslem and deistic teaching and who desired that the Samaj which he founded be conducted on the most liberal principles, devoting itself to the study and translation of the Upanishads, to preaching deistic theology and to singing hymns, some of which he himself composed. It was expressly stipulated that the meeting-house of the Brahma Samaj was to be devoted to the "worship and adoration of the Eternal Unsearchable and Immutable Being who is the Author and Preserver of the Universe but not under or by any other name designation or title peculiarly used for and applied to any particular Being or Beings by any man or set of men whatsoever and that no graven image statue or sculpture carving painting picture portrait or the likeness of anything . . . no sacrifice . . . shall ever be permitted . . . and that in conducting the said worship and adoration no object animate or inanimate that has been or is . . . recognized as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of . . . and that no sermon preaching discourse prayer or hymn be delivered made or used in such worship but such as have a tendency to the promotion of the contemplation of the Author and Preserver of the Universe to the promotion of charity morality piety benevolence virtue and the strengthening the bonds of union between men of all religious persuasions and creeds." ⁵

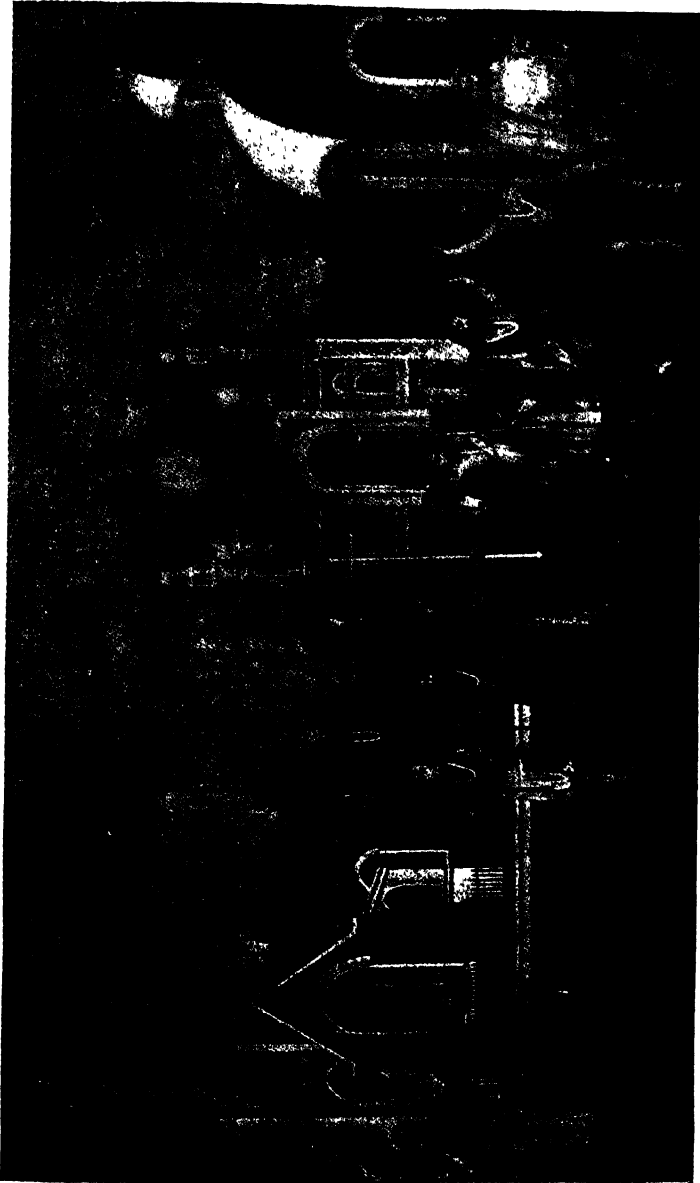
⁵ Quoted from the Trust Deed of the building erected by the Samaj, in J. N. Farquhar, *Modern religious movements in India*, p. 35.

In this spirit the Samaj was continued by Devendranath Tagore (father of the poet, Rabindranath), also a wealthy Brahman, who infused into it his own personal religious fervor and who is now generally referred to as a saint (*Maharshi*). His religious liberalism was carried over into social issues and, like Ram Mohan, he was one of the pioneers of moderate political reform and social progress in India.

After 1860 the leadership of the Brahma Samaj passed to a young disciple, named Keshab Chandra Sen, who infused a different temper into the society. He was not a Brahman but a physician, whose parents were Vaishnavas, whose education brought him in touch with Western science, whose social group was in favor of more aggressive reforms and whose enthusiasm for Christianity carried him far from the rationalistic religion of the founders. In 1866 the Samaj split; the aristocratic Brahmans associated with Devendranath called themselves the "original society," while the majority of the younger and more radical reformers followed Keshab in his new organization, the Brahma Samaj of India. Social and personal issues revolving around the activities of Keshab led to further factionalism. Keshab himself came increasingly under the influence of Ramakrishna and of the extreme *bhakti* of the Chaitanyaites, which he attempted to Christianize. In 1881 he announced "The New Dispensation of the Holy Spirit" in which all faiths are reconciled and fulfilled. At the basis of this new movement was his doctrine of the Trinity: that God, the Father, had revealed himself through Israel; the Son, through Christ; and the Holy Spirit, through the new dispensation inaugurated by Keshab whereby all men would be drawn up unto God.⁶

The extravagances of Keshab died with him in 1884, and in the reaction against them the Sadharan Brahma Samaj was founded, which is now by far the largest branch of the movement. It is composed largely of liberal, theistic aristocrats of Bengal but carries on an active mission work throughout India.

⁶ Fig. 65 is a painting designed for the Brahma Samaj. On the left are Ramakrishna, teaching, and Keshab Chandra Sen, holding the standard of the New Dispensation, composed of cross, trident, mace and crescent. In the background are a church, a mosque and a Hindu temple. In the foreground are, from left to right, a Vaishnavite, Śaivite, Sikh, Christian and Moslem. At the right are Christ and Chaitanya dancing together, and around them are a Confucian, a Parsee and representatives of other religions.



After Farquhar

65. Ramakrishna and Keshab proclaiming the harmony of religions. For explanation see footnote opposite.

In 1898 a small group under the leadership of Śiva Narayana Agnihotri left the Brahma Samaj and founded the Deva Samaj, which is supposed to be devoted to "science-grounded religion" and which has become increasingly atheistic, except for the fact that it reveres its founder as "the most Reverent, most Worshipful, most Exalted, Divine Teacher and Blessed Lord." The society devotes itself chiefly to moral reform and philanthropic activities. In 1914 the society split on personal issues into two factions, one of which is now called the Society for the Promotion of the Higher Life. Its influence has been almost entirely local and is now of dwindling significance.

B. THE ARYA SAMAJ. A much more vigorous and flourishing movement was founded in 1875 at Bombay by a Dandi Brahman who had for years pursued the studies and the Yoga of the Sarasvati order of Śankara's monks. He had been intent on becoming a *sannyāsi*, had devoted many years to Vedantic study, and therefore brought to the movement a rich background of personal experience and classical learning. He assumed the name of Pandit Dayananda Sarasvati, and the aim of his Arya Samaj was to restore faith in the authority of the Vedas, to undertake an aggressive campaign against the rival claims of Mohammedanism and Christianity and to purify Hinduism of its popular superstition and idolatry. He expounded his own system of commentary on the Vedas and attempted to justify them as an adequate basis for modern learning and religion. His vigorous campaigns fanned the flame of Indian religious nationalism and laid foundations for much of the more recent revolt against European domination and propaganda. At the same time he broke down the barriers of caste which separated Brahmanical learning from popular Hinduism and condemned the use of images and the doctrine of avatars.

After Dayananda's death the Arya Samaj broke into two parties (1892): the "College" or "Cultural" party espoused Western institutions of education and preached their Vedic religion as a universal religion for all the world; the "Mahatma" party emphasized the popular national tradition of vegetarianism and espoused Hindu methods of religious education and discipline. The Arya Samaj has its stronghold in the Panjab but carries on educational institutions, philanthropic work among outcastes and religious propaganda

throughout India. Its membership numbers in the neighborhood of half a million.

C. THEOSOPHY. Though the organization of Theosophy came from America and was carried to India in 1874 by its Russian founder, Madame Blavatsky, its inspiration was derived largely



After von Glasenapp

66. Placard against the killing of cows, showing deities as beings within the cow: Brahma in the shoulder, Vishnu in the neck, etc. Below, men are receiving the beneficent gifts of the cow. Inscriptions are in Sanskrit, Hindi and Mārathi.

from India. Theosophy is a restatement of the fundamental doctrines of Vedanta with the claim that these constitute an ancient, universal wisdom given to man by "the Masters" or Mahatmas, which has been buried or veiled in esoteric symbols for ages and has now been rediscovered and made available for all mankind. For a short period the organizers of Theosophy in India affiliated themselves with the Arya Samaj, but the two organizations soon separated. Since 1882 the headquarters of the Theosophical Society and its College have been at Adyar, Madras. It has some following

among Hindus, but on the whole the appeal and strength of the Theosophical movement lies in Europe and America.

D. RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA. The outstanding religious figure in India during the nineteenth century was undoubtedly Ramakrishna Paramahansa, who succeeded in putting new meaning and fresh devotion into popular Hinduism and in expressing vividly the national characteristics of Hindu piety. He was born in 1834, a Brahman, who as a boy devoted himself to religious discipline. He was reared in a Kali temple, studied the Tantras and Vedanta scriptures, went into trances and ecstasies and, in general, practised the extremest forms of *bhakti*. He was not satisfied in this until, after years of longing and devotion, during which he imagined himself to be Radha, Krishna's favorite, in 1871 he finally received a vision of Krishna. After that he undertook less conventional forms of discipline, overcoming successively the barriers of caste, passion, Mohammedanism and Christianity, until he realized personally the harmony and unity of all creeds and all beings. In addition to this intense mysticism he displayed an extraordinary gift of eloquence. Though he was relatively illiterate and emotionally abnormal, his conversation and public speeches made a profound impression on those who heard him. He succeeded in making his devotion to Kali, the Divine Mother, a symbol and expression of all that was vital in contemporary Hinduism as well as all that appealed to Hindus in Christianity.

After his death in 1886 a Ramakrishna *math* or monastery was founded by his disciples and a world mission undertaken. The leader in this movement was Vivekananda, a striking contrast to his master, a man of good English education, middle-class standing, a forceful lecturer and able organizer. He founded Vedanta societies throughout India as well as in Europe and America. His chief significance lies in the energetic way in which he presented Hindu religious ideas and ideals to the Western world.

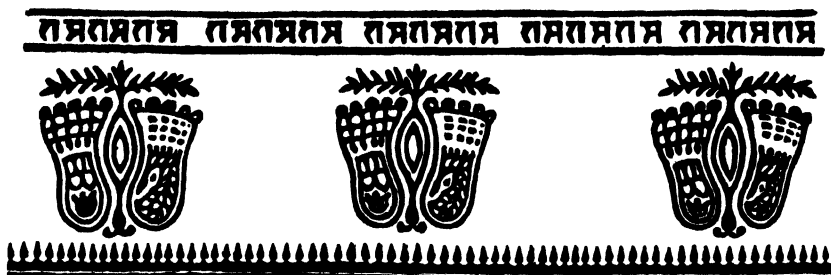
E. HINDU NATIONALISM. These nineteenth-century movements for the most part had the character of religious societies, churches or Samajes and were limited in their appeal to a relatively small minority of educated Hindus and liberal Europeans. Political and economic events since 1905 have brought to the fore a quite different aspect of Hindu society and morals, for the more strictly

theological and religious emphases have given way to the great political issues of national self-rule.

Among the "Young India" nationalists, led by J. Nehru, many are religious only to the extent to which they can use traditions of Hinduism as symbols of their striving for autonomy. Several of the older revolutionists, however, have used religious weapons in a fuller sense. Thus, Bal Gangadhar Tilak appealed to the *Gita* to convince men that violent action against the enemy was no violation of Hindu *dharma*. Tilak has daring followers who believe in fighting for freedom, but no Hindu leader has caught the imagination of the masses as has "Mahatma" Gandhi, who has counseled the opposed method of passive resistance. Although reared in a strict Vaishnava family of middle caste in Gujarat (where Jainist influence also is strong), Gandhi's formal education was more secular than religious. However, besides adopting a systematic ascetic discipline for himself, he appeals throughout his teaching and propaganda to such ideas of Hindu religious tradition as: (1) *ahimsā*, non-injury; (2) *brahmacharya*, chastity or purity; and (3) *satyagraha*, holding firm to that which is real, the truth-firmness or soul-force of his passive resistance campaigns. He has declared himself a believer in the one divine reality of Hindu theology, in a social system based on caste with certain abuses removed and in cow-protection as a national symbol of *ahimsā*, non-injury. Among the various objectives for which Gandhi has worked are: (1) civil and economic protection for various groups of Indian workers both in South Africa and India; (2) revival of Indian crafts, especially spinning; (3) temperance; (4) removal of untouchability and the stigma on menial labor; (5) Hindu-Moslem unity; and (6) *swarāj*, or Indian self-rule.

Such objectives and issues constitute the real core of Hindu thought and aspiration today, and the extent to which the religious traditions of Hinduism can adapt themselves to this new content still remains to be seen. It is already evident that the Hinduism which has been revived under the stimulus of Hindu nationalism is not the old Hinduism, but a modernized religion which has incorporated much of Western science and morality, much of Christianity and much of "young India." In this sense Hinduism is today

exhibiting some of its most ancient characteristics, its flexibility, its catholicity and its hold on the minds and habits of the people. The eclectic and political Hinduism of Gandhi is a radical departure from the Hinduism of the temples outlined above; but such radical departures are not new in India.



67. Rama's footprints. Border design on a ceremonial loin cloth. The characters above spell the name of Rama and are repeated to make the central pattern of the cloth.

CHAPTER V

BUDDHISM

I. ORIGINS AND FOUNDATIONS

Buddhism was originally a religious movement among the middle classes, offering a moderate discipline for achieving liberation (*moksha* or *nirvāna*), a "middle way" between severe asceticism on the one hand and worldly desire on the other. Like its more austere contemporary, the Jainist movement, it opposed Brahmanism and organized an independent order of monks accessible to the laity of all classes on very flexible terms.

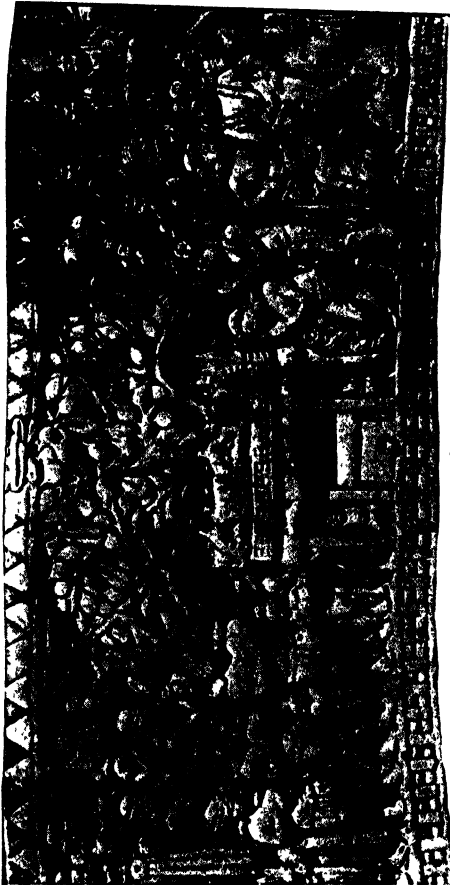
The ancient kingdoms of Magadha and Kosala were the first countries in which Buddhism circulated. The warrior clans of these regions claimed descent and protection from tutelary divinities, principally serpent spirits (*nāgas*), controlling rainfall and tree or vegetation spirits (*yakshas*), bestowing prosperity. The god of wealth, Kuvera, was *yaksha*-king. These serpent and tree cults were presumably of non-Aryan native origin; in the Vedas and Indian epics the *nāgas* are driven underground by the Vedic sky-gods, while the *yakshas* are allowed mountain possessions. In the environment of early Buddhism a fusion of Vedic and native culture was taking place; Indra, Soma, Varuna and Prajapati appear sometimes as *yaksha* chiefs, but there is little evidence that Brahmanic claims and traditions were as yet strong. In this situation the Buddhists offered a genial version of ascetic wisdom independent of Brahmanism and added an indigenous strain of philosophic enlightenment and detachment to the native religion of fertility, wealth and valor.

The culture into which Buddhism came was no longer primitive. The native religion was undergoing the development and refinement of civilization. At important tree shrines, altars and railings were built around the base of the tree, and in some cases raised galleries were put up for the ceremony of pouring water on the branches. It was also customary to perform rites over the ashes of

the deceased for several generations, after which the souls were believed to migrate into new bodies. The ashes were housed for these rites in dome-shaped huts of wood or bamboo and thatch, but brick and rubble often took the place of temporary huts, and in the case of kings and heroes the tumulus became a permanent monument. These practices influenced Buddhism and were in turn modified by it. The ashes and other relics of Buddha were accorded royal honors and rites in many places, which became centers of pilgrimage, and the mounds built over them were gradually enlarged into great *stūpas*. The earliest known Buddhist monuments date from about 247 B.C. and after; for example, the rock inscriptions and columns set up by Aśoka, the *stūpas* of Barhut (second century B.C.), Amaravati (first or second century B.C.), and Sanchi (first century B.C.). On these early *stūpas* are found representations of the fertility cult, of the tutelary serpent and tree spirits, and the typical symbols of royal authority, such as the chariot-wheel, the umbrella, the lion, the elephant and the horse, though many of these were doubtless given new meanings by Buddhism. The earliest known body of Buddhist literature also dates from this period and likewise presupposes the combination of Buddhist ideas with the preëxisting native cults.

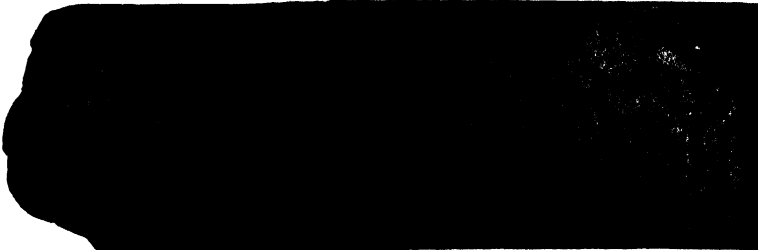
The specifically Buddhist element has three foundations: the Buddha or Enlightened One, the *Dharma* or Law which he disclosed, and the *Sangha* or community of monks which he instituted. These to the Buddhists of all countries remain the holiest things in the world, the "three jewels" or "threefold refuge" upon which Buddhism is founded.

A. THE BUDDHA. About 563 B.C., Siddhartha Gautama, also called Śakyamuni, sage of the Śakya people, and Tathagata, the Perfectly Enlightened, was born at Kapilavaistū in the Śakya country (on the borders of modern Nepal), the son of a Kshatriya chieftain. In Buddhist literature his parents are generally spoken of as royal, and he is represented as descending into the womb of Queen Maya from his previous life in the Tusita heaven where he had been dwelling as a Bodhisattva or Buddha-elect. The tradition continues that he was married to a princess who bore him a son, but that at the age of twenty-nine he left his family to take up ascetic discipline. From two contemporary teachers he is said to have learned respectively how



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68. *Yaksha* holding vessel from which rises a lotus rhizome, symbol of fertility; above this a lion, symbol of royal power; and above it the seat of enlightenment. Relief from *stūpa* at Amaravati. 69. *Asoka* bringing water to the tree shrine at Bodh-gayā. According to legend the bodhi tree was withered by a sorcerer's spell and *Asoka* revived it. Relief from Sanchi *stūpa*, east gate.



68

to attain "the state of nothingness" and "the state of neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness," two stages of absorption included by the Buddhists in their own higher discipline. But unsatisfied he resolved to try extreme forms of privation and self-mortification. Reduced to the point of "feeling his spine when he touched his stomach," he finally gave up these tactics as futile. While meditating under a bodhi tree, he resisted the temptation to return to the world and found enlightenment as to "the cause of suffering" and "the path that leads to the cessation of suffering." He became the Buddha or Enlightened One. For forty-five years, until his death at the age of eighty, he was a wandering teacher, organizing his closer disciples into an order of monks (and a secondary order of nuns) that preserved and spread his teaching. His ashes are said to have been divided into eight parts as relics for eight different groups of claimants.

How much of this story is history is difficult to tell. Our earliest sources of information reflect a cult of the life of Buddha, in which the principal themes and episodes are celebrated and magnified with much legendary material: his miraculous birth, his princely life at home, his renunciation and austerities, conquest of temptation, enlightenment, his teachings, his journeys with his disciples, his miracles and finally his death or *parinirvāṇa*. A great collection of popular fables, the *Jāṭaka* tales, was assembled by the Buddhists as stories of the Buddha's life in previous incarnations.

Buddha no doubt, like other ascetic teachers of India, claimed supramundane effects for his discipline; the enlightened one transcends, he taught, the condition of all existent beings, whether men or gods. It is probable, however, that after teaching his way to others, he did not regard the attainment of enlightenment by others as dependent upon any attachment to himself. The fact stood out, however, that the Buddha was "the producer and perceiver of the Path that had not been originated," while others were "followers endowed with the Path." The followers tended more and more to revere the founder as the "Great Man" of this world-cycle, who by renouncing the world gave up his destiny as a "universal ruler" to become a Buddha or omniscient one, encompassing all existence in the net of his knowledge and transcending it. This exaltation, together with the princely ancestor-worship accorded him, gave ample foundations for the early veneration of Buddha, which in the course

of Buddhist history gained steadily in importance, taking on many new practical and doctrinal phases. One of the earliest extensions was the idea, so natural to Indian speculation, that other world-cycles besides the present one likewise had their Buddhas.

B. THE DHARMA. In the deer-park at Benares Buddha is said to have initiated his teaching by proclaiming "The Four Noble Truths." (1) The Truth of Suffering. All "aggregates of existence" are transient (*anichcha*), subject to suffering (*dukkha*), and without permanent self or soul (*anatta*). (2) The Truth of the Origin of Suffering. It is desire (*tañhā*), the threefold craving for sense contacts, for eternal existence and for prosperity, that causes rebirth. (3) The Truth of the Extinction of Suffering. Suffering is extinguished by the fading away of craving, the liberation and detachment from it, the getting rid of clinging to existence. (4) The Truth of the Path that leads to the Extinction of Suffering. It is the Middle Path avoiding the extremes of indulgence in sensual pleasure or in self-mortification. It is "The Noble Eightfold Path," the steps of which are:

1. Right understanding, *i.e.*, understanding the four noble truths and distinguishing what is profitable and unprofitable in accordance with them.
2. Right-mindedness, *i.e.*, turning the mind toward what is profitable, away from lust, ill-will and cruelty (this is mundane right-mindedness) and away from the world (this is ultramundane right-mindedness).
3. Right speech, *i.e.*, abstaining from lying, slander, harsh language and vain talk, speaking "what is useful, in accordance with facts, at the right moment, accompanied by arguments, moderate and full of sense."
4. Right action, *i.e.*, to avoid killing, stealing and illicit sex intercourse; to be conscientious, full of sympathy and anxious for the welfare of all sentient beings.
5. Right living, *i.e.*, getting one's livelihood by a right way of living, avoiding deceit, usury, soothsaying and trade in arms, in living beings or flesh and in intoxicants or poisons.
6. Right effort, *i.e.*, effort to avoid or overcome attachment to sense contacts and evil thoughts, also the effort to develop and

maintain and bring to perfection the meritorious conditions of detachment, tranquillity and attention to the path.

7. Right attentiveness, *i.e.*, clearness as to bodily and mental conditions, with consequent mastery of discontent, fear and anxiety, and with such blessings as "insight into the hearts of other beings," "remembrance of many previous births," and magical powers of hearing and seeing.
8. Right concentration, in which perfect deliverance is attained, the passions being either "dried up by insight" or transcended by entrance into the four tranquil states or "four trances."

The index of progress in the path is the extent to which the "ten fetters by which beings are bound to the wheel of existence" are overcome. Illusion as to the permanence of the self, doubt and attachment to rule and ritual are the first three fetters; by overcoming these one "enters the stream." Sensual lust and ill-will are the next two fetters; he who overcomes these in their grosser forms will return but once to the earth or other realms of sensuous existence, while to escape even one such rebirth and enter a heaven of pure form it is necessary to be altogether free of the first five fetters. Finally, the holy one or *arhat*, who attains complete deliverance from the cycle of existence heavenly as well as earthly, must overcome five more fetters, namely: craving for the world of pure form, craving for the formless world, pride, restlessness and ignorance.

Thus Buddhism early emphasized different degrees of liberation and adapted its teaching to various groups. For laymen the emphasis fell on the moral requirements and on the acquisition of additional merit by supporting the monks and by withdrawing into the monasteries for limited periods of abstinence. The further renunciations and concentration disciplines of the monks themselves were also graded. The veneration of Buddha, however soon it was practised, is not represented in the early literature as part of the way of deliverance. The way is one of moral and mental therapy rather than of devotion and prayer.

Nirvāna, the ultimate goal, is said "not to consist in acquiring alms, honor, or fame, nor in gaining morality, concentration, or knowledge. But that unshakable deliverance of the heart: that is the object of the holy life, that is the essence, that is its goal." It is

the exhaustion of rebirth by the extinction of greed, anger and delusion. The *arhat* who attains this "extinction of impurities" has the highest peace and at death "passes beyond birth and decay." If he continues to exist, it is in "neither this world nor any other world," but in a realm "unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, and unformed."¹

C. THE SANGHA. The regimen of the Buddhist mendicants (*bhikkhus*) is represented in the early literature as gradually instituted by the Buddha as occasion required. While at first his followers seem to have wandered with him in all seasons, they soon adopted the prevailing custom among mendicants of retreat during the rainy season (*Vassa*). They retired either to caves and other secluded spots, or erected huts in parks where people could come to hear teaching. Many such parks and retreats soon became permanent establishments endowed by the laity. Laymen were allowed to enter the monasteries for limited periods, and monks were free to return to the world without blame.

Anyone, unless his parents had a claim on him as a minor (or the state as a criminal), and unless he suffered from certain diseases, was eligible for the Order. The novice was shorn and robed in yellow; he recited the threefold refuge and agreed to follow the ten precepts, *i.e.*, abstinence from killing; stealing; unchastity; lying; intoxicants; eating at forbidden times; dancing, music and theaters; garlands, perfumes and ornaments; high or large beds; accepting gold or silver. After a period of instruction he was admitted to full membership by consent of a chapter consisting of at least ten members. The monk's personal possessions were limited to his robe, a girdle, an alms bowl, a razor, a needle and a water strainer. He rose early, went forth to beg his single meal (at about half-past eleven), spent the heat of the day in retirement and meditation, the evening in discussion, instruction or preaching.

Severe and morbid austerities (*e.g.*, exposure, vows of silence, living in cemeteries) were discouraged. The monks were bidden to serve each other in sickness and to gather on bi-monthly fast days (*Uposatha*) for confession of sins, followed by pardons or penalties prescribed by the assembled chapter. While seniority was respected,

¹ The quotations and the form of the above exposition are taken from Nyanatiloka, *The word of the Buddha* (Colombo, 1927), an excellent collection of succinct passages from the Pali texts, explaining the fundamental doctrines in brief compass.

the early rules contained no other recognition of rank nor vows of obedience, save in the case of novices who were placed under teachers. As the Order grew different systems of hierarchical management developed in different countries.

An order of nuns was organized (according to tradition, with Buddha's reluctant consent) and placed under the supervision of the order of monks. It seems never to have been very popular or prosperous.

The order of monks, however, grew and became noted for its good teaching and moderate discipline. With increasing popularity and endowment a movement in favor of easier rules appeared, *e.g.*, to permit private in place of public confession, comfortable beds, a second meal after midday, fermented liquors and owning of money by monks. According to tradition, this program was condemned by a council at Vesali about a century after Buddha's death; but its adherents are said to have held a rival council and formed a separate sect, perhaps the Mahasanghika, Sect of the Great Assembly.

II. THE SPREAD AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

A. MONKS AND LAYMEN. The first two centuries of Buddhist history can at present be known only through monuments and documents that date from about 247 B.C. and after. But the inscriptions, monuments and literature of the later period show that Buddhism spread rapidly, both as a community of monks elaborating a remarkable doctrine and as a lay cult attracting the patronage of rulers and other substantial laity. The monks transmitted and elaborated the teachings of Buddha and the record of his life. Immediately after Buddha's death five hundred of them are said to have gathered at Rajagaha and spent the rainy season together in chanting the precepts, thus giving form to the Law. This so-called first council may never have taken place, but the collective chanting of the Law certainly became a monastic practice. The above-mentioned council of Vesali, which divided when it condemned relaxation of monastic discipline, is called the second council. The Order is said to have differentiated into eighteen sects within the first three centuries, but little is known now as to the exact nature of the differences. The Pali scriptures in our possession are thought to represent a canon of the Theravadin, Sect of the Elders. These scriptures are divided into three large groups or "baskets" (the *Tipitaka*) as follows: the

Vinaya Pitaka, containing the rules of monastic discipline; the *Sutta Pitaka*, consisting of four *nikāyas* or collections of discourses on doctrine and a fifth *nikāya* of devotional verses; and finally the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, consisting of scholastic commentaries and elaborations of doctrine particularly in the field of psychological ethics.

While the nucleus of Buddhism lay in the *Sangha* or community of monks, the scope and character of the religion depended also on the kind of support which this monastic body could gain from the laity. The laymen continued to worship their tutelary divinities and were not disturbed in this by the Buddhist monks. The *yaksha* cults seem often to have involved convivial revels and fervent devotionism. To the laymen the monks represented a superior order of holy men and gained a reputation for their good teaching and moderate discipline. Part of the teaching could be carried over into lay life, and a small amount of lay Buddhist literature arose. The laity came to hear the monks teach and recite stories. They also made pilgrimages to the sites and relics of Buddha's activity.

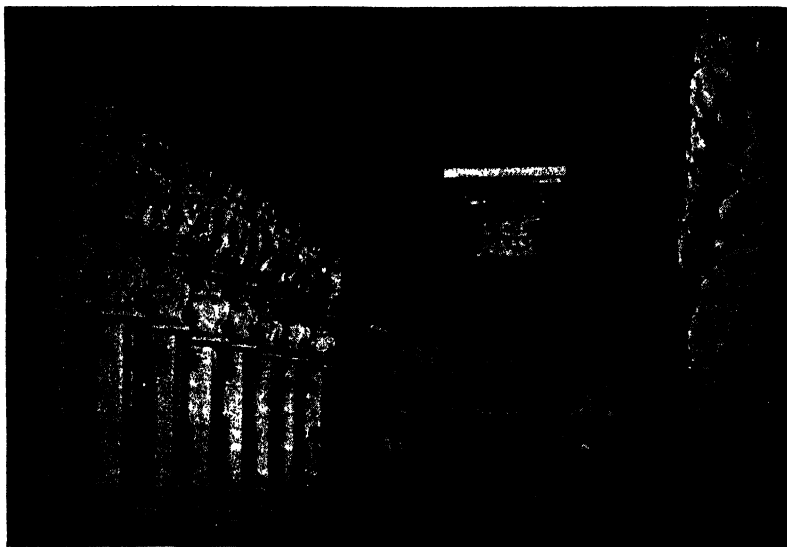
The Buddhist Order seems repeatedly to have recommended itself to rulers. Arising among warrior clans Buddhism, like Jainism and the contemporary Hinduism of the epics, combined a strong heroic and noble strain with its ascetic ideals. The efforts of the emperor Aśoka on behalf of Buddhism furnish the most conspicuous instance of royal interest known to us in ancient times.

In 273 B.C. Aśoka came to the throne of a vast empire built up by Chandragupta, his grandfather, who had repelled Alexander the Great, an empire which he proceeded to extend further by fresh conquests to the south and east. Thereafter he pursued a policy of pacification and non-violence, issuing numerous laws and edicts based on Buddhist principles, such as the sanctity of animal life, reverence for elders and truthfulness. He had such edicts and moral precepts carved on rocks, boulders, cave walls and pillars at points widely scattered throughout his domain. A mission under his younger brother established Buddhism in Ceylon; he also sent missionaries to northwest India and beyond it as far as Asia Minor, perhaps even to Egypt and Greece. He also promoted pilgrimages to Buddha's relics and shrines by building and enhancing many *stūpas*.

Such missionary activity and emphasis on the moral significance of Buddhism for the laity encouraged a new ideal which was gaining



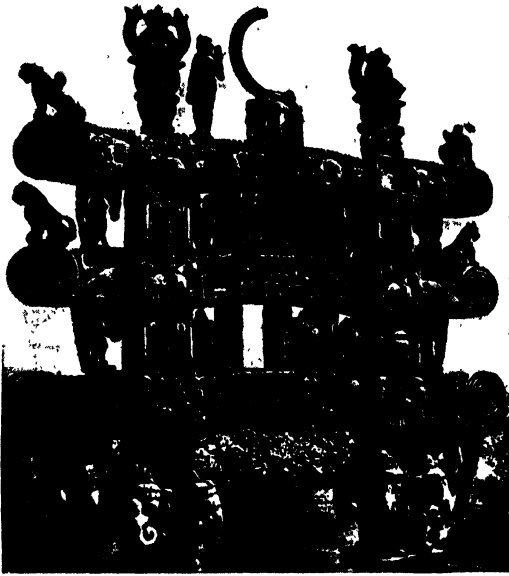
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After Codrington

71

After Fischer

70. Sanchi main *stūpa* from the south, showing foundations of former *caitya* or assembly hall in the foreground. 71. Interior of *caitya* hall at Karli. The Buddhists introduced the *stūpa* reliquary and converted the clan meeting hall into a place of worship. Note the parasol symbol of royalty over the *stūpas*.



72

After Fischer



73

72. Archway over north gate of Sanchi *stūpa*, 1st century B.C. On top are *trishulas* (tridents) and the chariot wheel (now broken) followed by an attendant bearing a *chauri* or fly-whisk. On the cross-pieces: upper, elephants worshipping the bodhi tree; middle, assault of Mara; lower, palace and forest scenes in life of Gautama. Elephants, winged lions, peacocks and other symbols of royalty appear at the sides, and the convoluted ends of the cross-pieces represent lotus-rhizomes. No images of the Buddha occur. 73. Early Buddha figure from Sarnath after the type of sturdy *yaksha* images. Early 2nd century A.D. Cf. the later images in figs. 76, 77 and 80.

prominence along with the original monastic ideal. The perfect monk was the *arhat* who had completed his detachment from the world, overcome the ten fetters and gained *nirvāṇa*. But out of the layman's effort there now arose the ideal of an enlightened, magnanimous person—like Aśoka and others—who temporarily forgoes the ascetic perfection of *nirvāṇa* but uses his connection with the world to help others find the path. To designate this ideal the term Bodhisattva (used in the early literature of a Buddha-elect) came to be employed; the Bodhisattva has the qualifications for Buddhahood but postpones the consummation of his liberation to aid others.

The great *stūpas* and their reliefs (dating from the second century B.C. and after) supplement the Buddhist literature, which is mainly a product of the monasteries, with an extremely valuable and luminous record of the lay cult of Buddhism, and indeed of contemporary society and religion in general. In these reliefs the symbols of the fertility cults and of royal authority are present with new meanings added to the old. Thus, the royal chariot wheel is used to signify the Wheel of the Buddhist Law, *Dharma*; the tree of the guardian spirit is taken as the bodhi tree of Buddha's enlightenment, while the altar at the base of the tree appears as the seat of enlightenment. A striking feature in this earliest known iconography of Buddhism is that the Buddha himself is represented by symbols and not by the human image which later became common.

B. HINAYANA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM. In its early phases the Buddhism of the *Saṅgha* was simply one form of ascetic religion existing side by side in certain regions with local nature cults and tutelary deities. But in course of time the monastic and lay religions interpenetrated; Buddhist ideas affected the conception of native gods, and the worship accorded the latter influenced the veneration of Buddha. With the expansion of Buddhism over a wide territory, new elements, both philosophical and popular, were made available for the synthesis. Thus, there gradually appeared beside the old a new form of Buddhism, in which the *Saṅgha* was not simply an ascetic institution added to life, but the center of an inclusive world-system. In this new form of Buddhism prominence was given, not only to the Bodhisattva ideal, but also to the worship of Bodhisattvas as lords of salvation. A new doctrine of the Buddha also

developed, in which Gautama was regarded as but one manifestation in human form of an eternal Buddha nature or essence that appears in innumerable human and heavenly Buddhas made manifest in the countless worlds of infinite space and time. Images of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas now began to be made in great number and variety (some of them Hellenistic in type) and to be used in worship. New Buddhist scriptures appeared, chiefly in Sanskrit, expressing and justifying these developments.

The origins of these changes are still most obscure. Some of the very early sects apparently affirmed the belief in souls and held that gods could enter the path of the Order, thus tending to assimilate the conceptions of Buddha and Bodhisattvas to prevailing systems of theology. Besides the many *stūpas* he raised over Gautama's relics, Aśoka is said to have enlarged a *stūpa* of Kanakamuni, a Buddha reputed to have appeared on earth two *kalpas* before Gautama. Thus already in his day the idea of various Buddhas had practical significance. But the differentiation of Buddhism by gradual internal development was no doubt augmented by contemporaneous movements in Hinduism toward philosophic and devotional theism, as well as by the influence of Greek and Persian ideas in the northwest. Soon after Aśoka's death (231 B.C.) his large empire dissolved, and in many parts of it rule passed to native princes who supported Brahmanism; the northwest provinces, however, were invaded, first by Greeks from Bactria, and then by Scythians and Kushans. Under these conditions Buddhism was subjected to Hindu, Greek and Iranian influences. In the northwest the Buddhist Orders found support from some of the Græco-Bactrian rulers, like Menander (c. 150 B.C.), and from their successors the Kushan emperors, of whom Kanishka (78-120 A.D.) is most noted. The *Milinda Pañha* (translated as *The questions of King Milinda*, i.e., Menander), among other works of the same period, shows Buddhism reacting to these foreign influences and modifying its conceptions.

From about the time of Kanishka, who is said to have held a fourth great council of monks at Jalandhara (c. 100 A.D.) in the northwest, the widened and transformed Buddhism gave itself the name Mahayana, "great vehicle" of salvation, and called the older form the Hinayana, "lesser vehicle." In India (and indeed in other

countries too) both forms of Buddhism long existed side by side, sometimes even within the same monasteries. But eventually the Mahayana became predominant in Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan, while the Hinayana retained ascendancy in the south, in Ceylon and later in Burma and Siam. The great *stūpa* of Borobudur (eighth and ninth centuries) in Java, however, and the temples of Angkor (eleventh and twelfth centuries) in Cambodia show that Mahayana tendencies have also flourished in southern countries.

Hinayana Buddhism did not take up the worship of Bodhisattvas and celestial Buddhas, but remained centered on the *arhat* ideal and monastic discipline. Hinayanists, however, made images and worshiped numerous Buddhas reputed to have appeared as human beings in various ages of history. But these cults of historic Buddhas presented the aspect of relic-worship rather than of devotionism; they tended toward magic rather than toward faith; the *stūpa*, in various modifications, remained the most common form of shrine. The conception of *nirvāṇa* remained more negative in Hinayana. The fundamental scriptures of Hinayana remained those of the ancient Pali canon, for though Hinayanist works were also written in Sanskrit, much less new doctrine was added in them than in the Mahayanist Sanskrit writings. The most comprehensive exposition of Hinayana was made by Buddhaghosa (c. 450 A.D.), who collected numerous commentaries on the Pali *Tipitaka* as preserved in Ceylon and wrote encyclopedic treatises on Buddhist life and doctrine of much sociological as well as philosophical interest.

The Mahayanists, on their part, freely added literature of various types to the early *Tipitaka*, creating in the course of several centuries a vast and relatively fluid body of sacred writings, chiefly in Sanskrit. The most influential of these are *The Lotus of the Good Law* (*Saddharmapundarika*), *The Diamond Cutter*, the *Prajñāparamitasūtras* and the *Land of Bliss Sūtras*, which establish the essential Mahayana doctrines; while the *Buddhacharita* and *Lalitavistara* expand the legendary life of Buddha. The assimilation of many special cults to Buddhist ideas, and the extensive recasting of those ideas, resulted in a new and distinctive type of Buddhist theology or "Buddhology." A distinction was early drawn between *māmushi* Buddhas incarnate in earthly form and *dhyāni* Buddhas of contemplation. Then the doctrine was advanced that the Buddha has a

threefold body, consisting of the *Dharmakāya*, the "body of the law," which is the absolute and eternal Buddha nature in itself, the *Nirmānakāya* or "body of transformation" which is the Buddha nature as embodied in earthly form, and the *Sambhogakāya*, the "body of bliss," the Buddha nature as embodied in heavenly form. In every age of the world, according to one of the important systems, a *dhyāni* Buddha supreme in that age causes a reflection of the *Dharmakāya* to appear in some *mānushi* Buddha and in a *dhyāni* Bodhisattva. Thus in the present age of the world, the *dhyāni* Buddha Amitabha caused the *Dharmakāya* to be reflected in the *mānushi* Buddha Śakyamuni (the preferred Mahayana name of Gautama) and in the *dhyāni* Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. During the lifetime of each *mānushi* Buddha men turn to him; after his death their hope lies in the *dhyāni* Bodhisattva, an idea which justifies the rise of the Mahayanist cults after the death of Śakyamuni. This system is quite polytheistic; the same process is repeated in other ages through other triads. At a somewhat later date a more monotheistic system arose, especially in Nepal and Tibet, which taught that the absolute Buddha nature is reflected in all Buddhas and Bodhisattvas through the agency of one primary Buddha or Adi-Buddha.

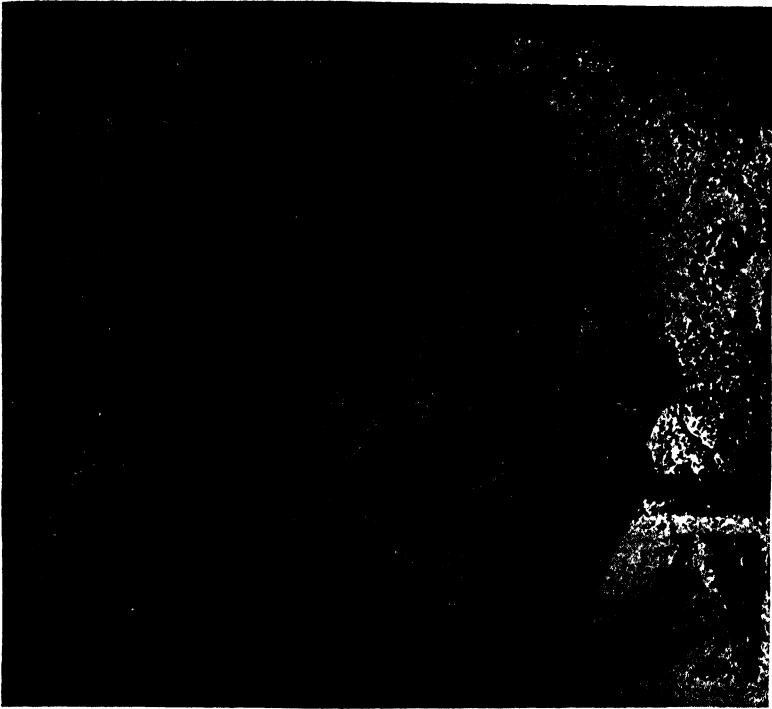
The most prominent beings in the Mahayana pantheon are the Buddhas Śakyamuni, Amitabha and Vairocana, and the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Manjusri, Samantabhadra, Vajrapani, Mahasthana, Kshitigarbha and Akasagarbha. By the seventh century a goddess, Tara, also appears prominently, especially in Tibet and Nepal, as a Bodhisattva and consort of Avalokiteśvara. The individual traits of these various beings and of their respective cults will be described below in closer reference to those Buddhist countries in which their worship still prevails. However, in general it may be said that while all these cults have certain concrete foundations in nature and history, the rôle played by abstraction in Buddhist theology is very large. Attributes like compassion, wisdom, meditation, might and so forth, are endlessly personified. Mahayana literature, for the most part, has the quality of an unearthly, transcendental gnosis. Earthly events and personalities are virtually lost in an endless panorama of infinite worlds with an infinity of transcendent Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, "radiant and light-giving beings

surrounded by halos of prodigious extent emitting flashes which illuminate the depths of space" (Eliot). By the light of these rays the Buddhas illumine their heavenly fields (*kshetras*) or paradises, where the beings whom they have saved congregate amid jeweled *stūpas* and lotuses, while in the distant domains of earth beings in every condition of life rise or fall in the grades of existence according to their works and faith. The prospect is made all the more vast and ethereal by the frequently recurring idea that all these myriad worlds are unsubstantial and transitory, the void alone being ultimately real. The imagination is staggered by the huge numbers of the celestials and by the endless recital of their fictitious names devoid of individual reference.

As for the way of liberation the Mahayana literature sanctions a threefold way; some writings emphasize the importance of ritual acts, others of knowledge, and still others of faith and devotion to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, principally to Amitabha and Avalokiteśvara. These ways are quite analogous to the ways of works, knowledge and devotion in Hinduism, though there are specific differences in each case, as will appear in the sequel.

C. BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHIES. The early Pali literature emphasizes practical requirements for attaining *nirvāna*, and tends to avoid metaphysical speculation. This was apparently the position of the Theravadin or Sect of the Elders, as it is for the most part their scriptures which have been preserved in Pali. The Theravadin recognized but one eternal, unconditioned category, namely *nirvāna* or cessation. But another early Hinayana school, the Sarvastivadin, undertook a fuller and more systematic analysis of being, which recognized three unconditioned categories: ether or space, conscious cessation of bondage (which they identified with *nirvāna*) and unconscious cessation. The Sarvastivadin views prevailed in northwest India, where their literature was preserved in Sanskrit; whether intended to be so or not, these views were no doubt favorable to the more positive Mahayana conceptions of the Buddha nature and of *nirvāna* which developed in the north.

But within Mahayana itself, Buddhist speculation took still further turns beyond practicalism and realism, developing a number of dialectical and idealistic analyses, which tended to identify reality with the Buddha-essence. Thus, the Madhyamika school,



74. Seated Buddha with attendant Bodhisattva bearing a lotus and a *chauri* or fly-whisk. Cave relief near Nasik, Gupta period, probably 5th century A.D.

founded about the second century A.D. by Nagarjuna, sought a "middle way" in the problem of being and non-being between realism and nihilism. The *dharma*s or elements which compose individual beings are themselves transitory and "empty," hence able to constitute only a relativistic reality. As for the reality which transcends relativity, it is ineffable, since there is "no production nor destruction, no annihilation nor persistence, no unity nor plurality, no coming in or going out." The sage, discovering this, arrives at a silent realization of the universal void (*śūnyatā*). By the fourth century A.D. a more positive idealism appears in the Yogacharya or Vijnanavadin teaching attributed to the brothers Asanga and Vasubandhu. According to the latter the *dharma*s are indeed transitory, but they are interpreted as transient products or phases of

mind. There are eight levels of consciousness, *i.e.*, the visual, oral, nasal, that of taste, of touch, that which discriminates between the various phenomena of the universe, that which distinguishes between subject and object, and the "receptacle consciousness" (*Ālaya-vijñāna*). Ignorance consists in attributing independent reality to the objects of the first seven levels of consciousness, whereas all depends on the receptacle consciousness, which alone is ultimate and complete. A less subjective statement of this idealism refers to this last stage as *Bhūtatahātā* or "the state of being as it has become."

All these philosophies were influential within the later fabric of Buddhism and likewise interacted significantly with contemporary schools of Hindu thought. The general effect of the idealistic teachings was to promote the view that the Buddha-essence alone is real (*cf.* the Vedānta doctrine of Brahma), and to encourage the Mahayana treatment of everything as a partial manifestation of Buddha. Their influence will be illustrated more specifically in the discussion of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism below.

D. DISPERSION AND DISSOLUTION OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. The extent and strength of Buddhism at various stages of its history in India are very imperfectly indicated by the native literature. For the period from 400 to 700 A.D. there are some notable accounts by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India at that time in search of documents and other first-hand information about their religion, while for the rest conclusions must be drawn here and there from remaining monuments and indirect references. The earliest of the pilgrim accounts, that of Fa-Hsien (who was in India from 405 to 411), represents Buddhism as in a flourishing condition and indeed as the dominant religion of most of north India. Both Hinayana and Mahayana schools prevailed, in some places side by side without animosity. Monasteries were numerous, especially in regions connected with the life and legends of Gautama, where relics were kept and revered; the architecture and decoration of monasteries and *stūpas* were often magnificent. Besides their meditations and chants in the monasteries, the monks held great public ceremonies and processions. The laity maintained and revered the monks and expected blessings on their houses and families in return. In the south Buddhism was less wide-spread,

although many regions had been reached since the early Aśokan missions to Ceylon. It is quite certain too that by the time of Fa-Hsien Buddhism had traveled eastward into Burma (perhaps also into Cambodia and Siam), while northward it extended through Khotan and the Tarim Basin of Central Asia into China and had reached as far as Korea.

In the next few centuries, between 400 and 700 A.D., while Buddhism continued to thrive and spread in these peripheral countries, a decline began in many of the Indian provinces, due to adverse external circumstances, increased religious rivalry and internal decay. From about 470 to 530 there occurred the destructive invasions of the Huns from the northwest. These invasions, like the later Mohammedan ones, proved much more damaging to Buddhism than to Brahmanism and Hinduism. For while the latter were rooted in an hereditary system of castes and families, Buddhism centered in the monasteries and depended on the effective support of these by rulers. When that failed and the monasteries were either neglected or else destroyed by enemies, the laity easily drifted away to cults independent of the Order. For Buddhism had never denied them these and, unlike Jainism, had not organized the laity into specifically Buddhistic groups. The Chinese pilgrims Sung-yün and Hui-Sheng, who visited northwest India between 518 and 521, refer to the ravages of the Huns. A century later, 629 to 645, Hsüan Chuang, while still enthusiastic, writes of numerous deserted monasteries and of the prevalence of temples to Hindu deities in many provinces. In some places, such as Nepal, Buddhist and Hindu temples were closely joined and the populace visited both. In the neighborhood of its original sites, in Magadha, etc., Buddhism was still strong, and the university of Nalanda still flourishing. The emperor Harsha, who reunited north India from the Panjab to Bengal (606-648), favored and promoted Buddhism, but encountered active criticism from Brahmans and Jains for his preference, and he had to accord at least secondary patronage to their cults. At the end of the century another Chinese pilgrim, I-Ching, notices further decline within the period of his own stay from 671 to 695.

In the next century teachers like Kumarila and Śankara greatly strengthened Brahmanism by philosophic reinterpretation of its an-

cient scriptures, reconciling its higher wisdom with popular religion and instituting Hindu monastic orders for the maintenance of learning and discipline. The reform of Hinduism, though in all points indebted to Buddhism, was at the expense of the latter. After 800 Buddhism in most provinces of India was rapidly engulfed and submerged in the rising tide of Vishnu, Śiva and Śakti worship. It remained a dominant religion only in its ancient holy land (now Bihar), where it continued to be fostered by the Pala kings from 730 to 1193 A.D. But even here the court ministers were often Brahmins who favored the introduction of Hindu features into Buddhism. In 1193 a Mohammedan invasion destroyed the monasteries of Bihar and massacred the monks. The surviving teachers were scattered, and vestiges of Buddhism appear subsequently in various places; in the neighboring province of Orissa some can be found to this day.

Long before its outer destruction, however, Indian Buddhism had been subject to internal corruption. Monastic practices, like chanting the Law and the various postures of meditation, etc., originally not intended as worship, when combined with the cult of Bodhisattvas and deities, gave rise to relatively mechanical, quasi-magical techniques of devotion. The idea arose that in the repetition of proper formulas and gestures the worshiper became united with a deity and exercised his supernatural powers. This type of ritual mysticism, so prevalent in Hinduism also, became particularly characteristic of Śaktism, the cult of goddesses as the consorts and creative energies of the gods, giving rise to various forms of erotic worship, both direct and sublimated. In Buddhism the goddess Tara attained prominence as the Śakti of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and the concept of the three Buddha bodies was extended to include a fourth body of supreme bliss (*Mahāsukhākāya* or *Vajrakāya*), in which the Buddha is united to his consort. Monks who followed this cult in a direct ("left-hand") form kept their own consorts and aimed not so much at practising the traditional Buddhist virtues as at becoming great wizards (*Mahāsiddhas*), versed in occult knowledge and controlling the elements by their magical powers. The cult was systematized and rationalized in the Buddhist Tantras, which began to appear about 600 A.D.

Tantrism flourished in the late Buddhism of Bihar, from whence

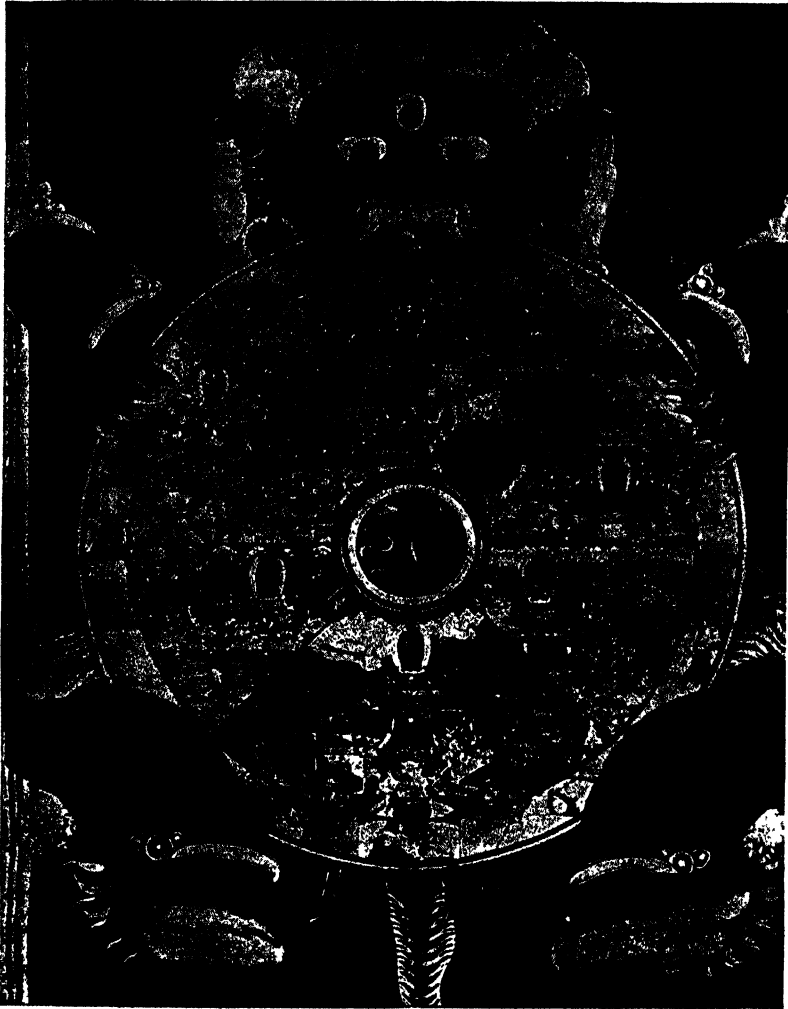
it passed directly into Nepal and Tibet. The religion of Nepal in recent times, where Tantric Buddhism still abounds, and where Brahman priests as well as monks sacrifice to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas as avatars of Vishnu or aspects of Siva, preserves a picture of Indian Buddhism in its late phases.

From at least 400 A.D. Indian civilization, including both Hinduism and Buddhism, was also an active influence in Cambodia, Champa and certain islands of the Malay archipelago, notably Java. Java contains some of the most magnificent Buddhist monuments in existence. Those in middle Java, of Prambanan and Borobudur, date from about the ninth century and were dedicated to an advanced, but not decadent, type of Mahayana Buddhism. The presence of Hinduism in Java at this time is also indicated by the temples of the Dieng plateau, and the later monuments of eastern Java (*c.* 1150-1350) imply a mixture of the late Mahayana and Hinduism not unlike that suggested by the wonderful Khmer temples in Cambodia (*c.* 800-1200). After 1300 the influence of Hindu culture in all these regions declined, though it is not entirely gone. About this time Hinayana Buddhism began to spread from Siam into Cambodia, while Champa was invaded by the Mongols from Annam and later by Mohammedans. Java also was largely Mohammedanized. On the small island of Bali, to the south of Java, Hinduism remained a more vital force mingling with the native culture to produce a remarkable local synthesis.

III. THE WORLD OF BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY AND SPECULATION

It is impossible to present a single, comprehensive picture of the world as the Buddhist world-view, since Buddhism produced more than one philosophic system and adapted itself to the popular outlook of more than one time and place. Nevertheless, no matter how many modifications and additions were made, Buddhism everywhere had as one source of its world-view a common fund of basic components originating in India. A brief description of these is given here, as a link between Indian Buddhism and the discussion of other countries and also as an introduction to the most elementary features of Buddhist iconography.

A. THE SIX REALMS (GATI) OF BIRTH AND REBIRTH. The world is divided into six realms, in one or another of which sentient beings



Roerich Museum, New York

75. Wheel of life, showing the six realms of existence in the jaws of desire: above, the paradise of the gods and the two other upper realms of men and demons; below, the hells and the two other lower realms of animals and hungry ghosts. In the center are the serpent, pig and bird, representing anger, greed and folly as the sources of enslavement. Tibetan temple painting on silk.



After Fenollosa

76. The Buddha. Clay statue, Udzumaza, Japan; probably T'ang period, 7th century.

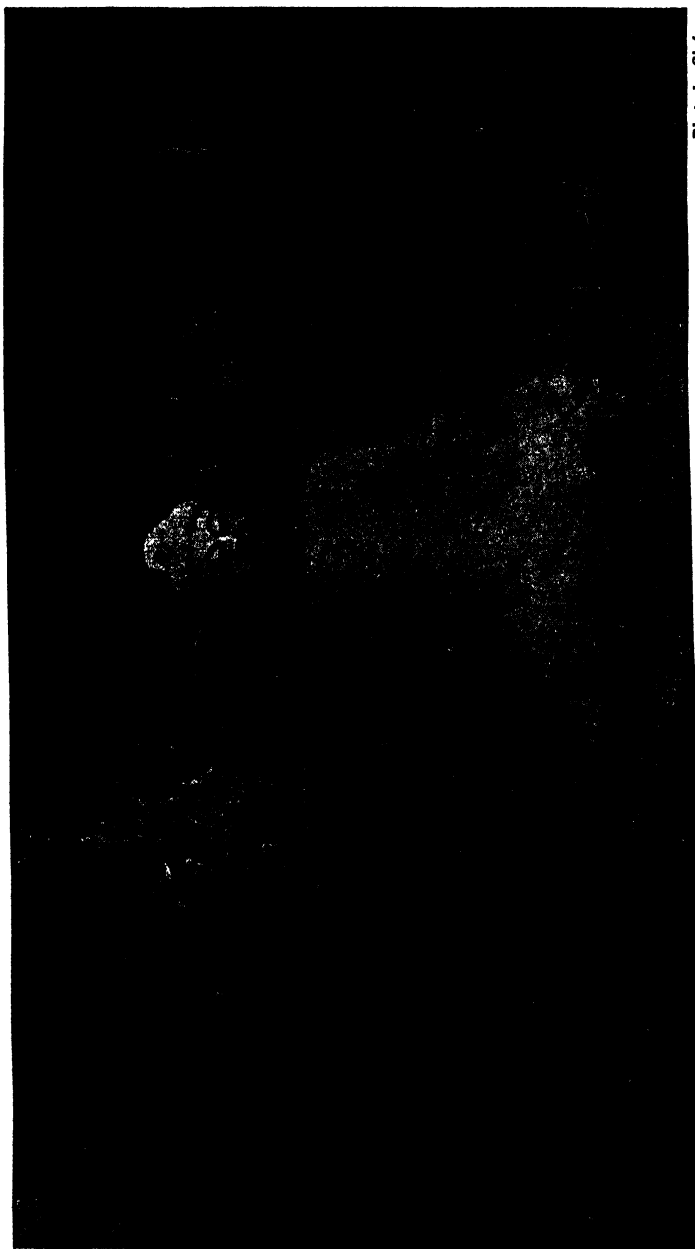


Photo by Sirén

77. Colossal Buddha accompanied by the disciples Ananda and Kassapa and by two Bodhisattvas. At Lung Mên, Honan, c. 7th century.

are born and reborn until released from ignorance and desire. These are the *Narakas* or hells, the realm of *Pretas* or hungry ghosts, the animal realm, the human realm, the realm of Asuras or great demons, and the realm of Devas or gods. Many of the early Buddhists' ideas about these realms were held in common with other people of India. (Cf. the mythology of Hinduism.) Thus, they conceived the principal hells, the eight hot hells and the eight cold hells, to be at various depths beneath the earth in a region presided over by Yama, the Vedic god of the dead. Again, as to the heavens, they believed that at the center of the earth's surface there rose the mighty Mt. Meru. Half-way up the slopes of this mountain are the earthly paradises of the four *Lokapala*, the kings who guard the directions: Kuvera, the *yaksha*-king of gold, who guards the north; Dhrtarashtra, the white or silver king of the Gandharvas, who guards the east; Virudhaka, the blue or green king of the giants, who guards the south; and Virupaksha, the red king of the *nāgas*, who guards the west. All these are known to the Indian heroic epics and were probably patron deities of various warrior clans. On the summit of Meru, which reaches beyond sun and moon to the fixed stars, is a second heaven of the Thirty-three Gods, the Vedic deities of the elements. Beyond this are four still higher heavens where desires are miraculously fulfilled, the most popular of these among Buddhists being the Tusita heaven, for it is here that Bodhisattvas repair before their final rebirth as Buddhas. The highest of all these heavens, however, is the abode of Mara, lord of lust and cupidity, the tempter, for all the worlds thus far mentioned, from the hells up, are worlds of desire (*Kāmadhātu*). Above all these are the *Rūpadhātu*, worlds of pure form, sought for and attained by contemplation rather than by desire; there are said to be eighteen such worlds, and they are sometimes called the Brahma heavens, for they are the realms assigned by Buddhism to the Hindu Brahma. But Buddhism knows of another four worlds beyond Brahma, the *Arūpadhātu* or formless worlds, where there is neither desire nor contemplation of form, but only one or another of the four tranquil states or trances.

In none of these worlds is there supreme bliss or perfect enlightenment. The duration of existence in the higher realms is exceedingly great but not immune from decay, change and death, for all

these worlds are subject to destruction and restoration in the course of the cosmic cycles. Buddhism, like Hinduism, assumes that the different worlds, just described, recur endlessly throughout infinite time and space.

B. MUNDANE AND HOLY DESTINIES. The various realms of existence are suited to different groups of beings according to their relation to the Buddhist path. Those who do the opposite of what the Law enjoins will suffer punishment awhile in one of the hells, and then may be reborn as demons, or as animals, or hungry ghosts. But those who have entered on the Buddhist path will escape such punishment and will be reborn either in the human world or in one of the *kāma* heavens, according to their merits; while those who have advanced to the point of extinguishing sensuous desires and have devoted themselves to contemplation or to the tranquil states will enter one of the *rūpa* or *arūpa* heavens.

All these, however, are mundane destinies and will not be sought by those who have true enlightenment. They are not the goals of the Buddhist saints or holy ones, who strive rather to become emancipated *arhats*, emancipating Bodhisattvas or perfectly enlightened Buddhas.

C. ARHATS. These are monks who have come to the goal of *nirvāṇa*. Tradition accords this distinction first of all to "ten great disciples" of Śākyamuni, among whom the best remembered are: Sāriputra, Moggallāna, Kassapa, Ananda and Rāhula. However, unnamed *arhats* in great numbers are assumed in the early scriptures. Assemblies of five hundred *arhats* are frequently mentioned, and this number has continued to influence the later tradition and cult of the *arhats*. Relatively late another tradition appears that Śākyamuni at his death entrusted the Law to the protection of sixteen great *arhats* who were to preserve it until the coming of the next Buddha. Whatever may have been the origin of this tradition, it passed through the northern countries into China and gave rise to a belief that somewhere secluded in the mountains were these sixteen (or eighteen) wonderful *arhats*, immortal and self-sufficient. From very early times the *arhat* was held to attain magical powers of seeing, hearing, remembering, etc., as a result of his discipline.

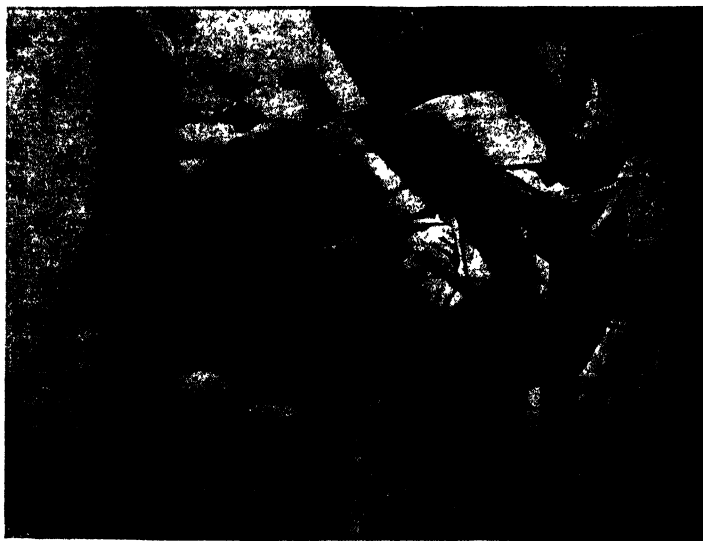
The vague character of these traditions, together with the miraculous powers attributed to *arhats*, made *arhat*-lore an ample repository for miscellaneous legends about wonder-working recluses of all



Metropolitan Museum of Art

79

79. *Lohan* or *arhat*. Chinese porcelain.



After Hirshman

78

78. An old Burmese monk, *punggi*.

sorts. Different names appear from time to time among the five hundred, and even among the sixteen *arhats*, indicating the frequent introduction of various local characters into the group or at least into the legends at different places. The characters so introduced were by no means confined to the early eminent disciple type, but included celebrities of many kinds; such as, for example, the great wizards (*Mahasiddhas*) of Tibet and the eccentric *lohas* of China.

Arhats are regularly represented in monastic habit, unadorned, with shaved heads, and often with one or another of the monk's legitimate possessions, a staff, an alms bowl or a rosary. They are sometimes depicted with markedly complacent, self-satisfied countenances, and in Mahayana Buddhism the asocial ideal of the *arhat* was often reproachfully contrasted with the benevolent Bodhisattva ideal. But at the same time interest persisted in the *arhat* as a fascinating type of being. Though his miraculous powers were recognized, he did not become an abstract ideal or theological symbol, but remained a human character frequently portrayed with considerable realism.

D. THE MĀNUSHI BUDDHAS. Those who, like Gautama, attain perfect enlightenment on earth and manifest it while they are still in sensuous form, are the *mānushi* Buddhas. They are sometimes called the human in contrast to the heavenly Buddhas. They are the only Buddhas recognized by the Hinayanists. The cyclical view of the universe gave rise to the idea that, just as Gautama became a Buddha in the present age of world-history, so did other men in previous ages. A list of seven, and then later of twenty-four, such mythical *mānushi* Buddhas appears, and at least a few of them acquired cultic significance. But Gautama, the historical founder of Buddhism for our world, remains the central and dominating figure among the *mānushi* Buddhas, if not among all Buddhas whatsoever.

Gautama is the only Buddha whose recorded life on earth has both fullness of detail and universal significance for the Buddhist imagination. The incidents of his career are not only remembered and repeatedly portrayed, but become definitive in large measure of the Buddha character. In Buddhist art and ritual, for instance, many of the hand postures (*mudrās*) are associated with events in Gautama's career, the essential qualities and actions of his life being

symbolically repeated wherever these gestures occur. Thus, for example, there is:

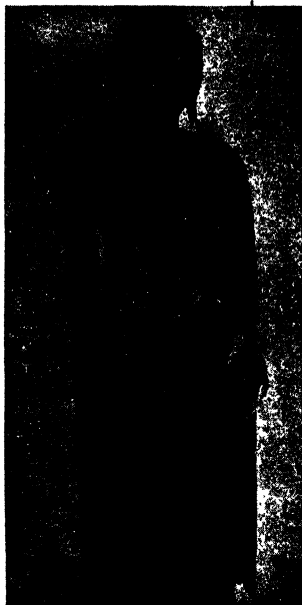
1. The meditation, *dhyāna, mudrā*—in which the Buddha is seated, as under the bodhi tree, and both hands lie, with palms upward, on his lap.
2. The earth-witness, *bhūmisparśa, mudrā*—the Buddha calls the earth to witness his resistance to Mara's temptations, by touching the ground with the tips of the fingers of his right hand, the palm being turned inward.
3. The teaching, *dharmachakra, mudrā*—the Buddha instructs his disciples, both hands are raised before his breast, the index finger and thumb of the right hand touching the tip of a finger of the left hand.
4. The fearless or protecting, *abhaya, mudrā*—the Buddha calmly stops the rush of a mad elephant, raising his right hand, palm outward, like a traffic officer.
5. The charity, *vara, mudrā*—in which either the right or left arm is pendent, with the palm outward, and all the fingers extended downward.

Amid the many variations in images of the different Buddhas, certain features remain fairly constant marks of Buddhas as a class, for example, the *ūrnā* or auspicious mark on the forehead between the eyes, the *ushnisha* or elevation of the crown of the head (or head-dress), and together with these the monastic robe with few, if any, ornaments. The character of Buddha images also indicates the attempt to portray absolute perfection, while those of *arhats* and Bodhisattvas by comparison show a perfection still confined by certain accepted limitations. While the seated image of Buddha became by far the most prevalent, the earliest Buddha images are more often standing figures, and in all periods there are found the standing and also some reclining-figures, the latter representing the death or *parinirvāna* of the Buddha. Among the early images which served in considerable measure as norms, there is a Gandharan type with marked Hellenistic features and a central Indian one for which *yaksha* images seem to have furnished the prototype (fig. 73). When Buddha images are colored, gold is the usual color given to Śakyamuni.



Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin

(a)



Kamakura, Japan

(b)



Sarnath Museum, India

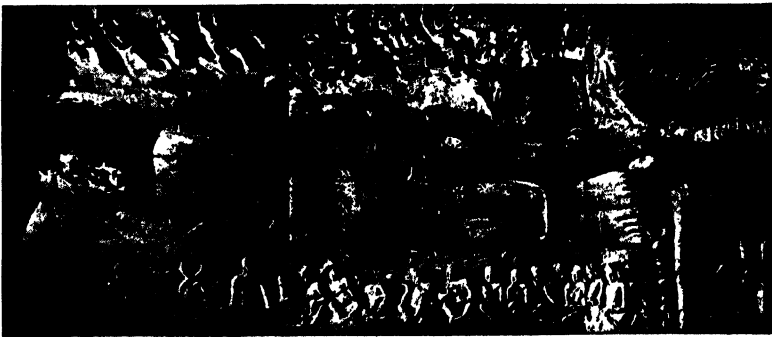
(c)



Musée Indo-Chinois, Paris

(d)

80. Buddha types: (a) Græco-Gandharan stone figure of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. (b) Japanese wood figure in modified Indian style, *c.* 13th century; the hands in postures of fearlessness and charity. (c) Indian stone figure in the Gupta style, *c.* 5th century; the hands in posture of instruction. Below, the disciples "revolve the Wheel of the Law." The statue is at Sarnath near the traditional site of Gautama's first sermon in the Deer Park. (d) Cambodian stone figure of the 11th century. Buddha in posture of meditation, protected by the hood of the *nāga*. (e) Indian cave relief at Ajanta, 7th century, representing the *parinirvāṇa* or death of the Buddha. Above, the heavenly musicians (*apsaras*) and below, the disciples, especially the faithful Ananda at the feet of his master.

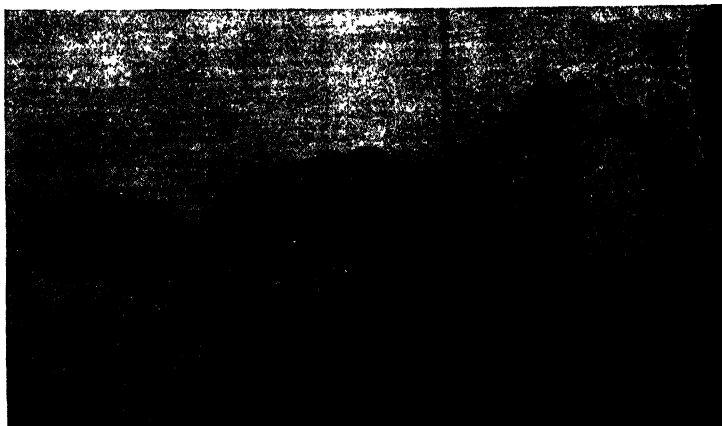


80 (c)

Ajanta, India

Among the numerous mythical *mānushi* Buddhas of previous ages, the one whose cult appears to have spread most widely is Dipaṃkara, the Buddha of lights. His image is sometimes covered with numerous lamps kept constantly burning. He is sometimes listed first of the twenty-four previous Buddhas. Kanakamuni and Kassapa also attained prominence as the Buddhas reputed to have come in the two ages immediately before Gautama. And finally, a unique position is occupied by Maitreya, who is regarded as at present a Bodhisattva in the Tusita heaven, as was Gautama immediately before his descent into the human world. In the next age of the world Maitreya is destined to become, as did Gautama, a Buddha in human form. He is, therefore, a Bodhisattva in the early Buddhist sense of a human Buddha-elect, and this perhaps explains why his cult appears early, and especially why he is the only Bodhisattva recognized in Hinayana countries such as Ceylon, Burma and Siam, where his image quite often appears in company with that of Gautama. Even in the northern Mahayana countries images of Maitreya represent him, not only as the present Bodhisattva, but quite commonly as the future human Buddha.

E. THE DHYĀNI BUDDHAS. The world-view thus far described is held by Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism alike, but the additional features which follow are exclusively found in the Mahayana. Besides worshiping the *mānushi* Buddhas, who were once visible to the senses since they attained perfect enlightenment while still in human form, the Mahayanists developed the cult of *dhyāni* Buddhas, who are more lastingly present to contemplation in the heavenly forms in which they realize their Buddhahood. This development was the result of speculation and the absorption of theistic elements. In addition the Mahayanists included among their holy beings a great number of Bodhisattvas very diverse in their attributes and spheres. Thus, Mahayana Buddhism makes a much more liberal distribution of saving grace than does the Hinayana. The realms of existence are much the same for both, but within these realms Hinayana finds only at rare intervals a Buddha and his *arhats* pursuing the path of holiness, while Mahayana, on the other hand, tends toward a conception of Buddhas which involves their omnipresence and supplies all regions of existence, including the lowest hells, with aiding Bodhisattvas.



Boston Museum of Fine Arts

(a)

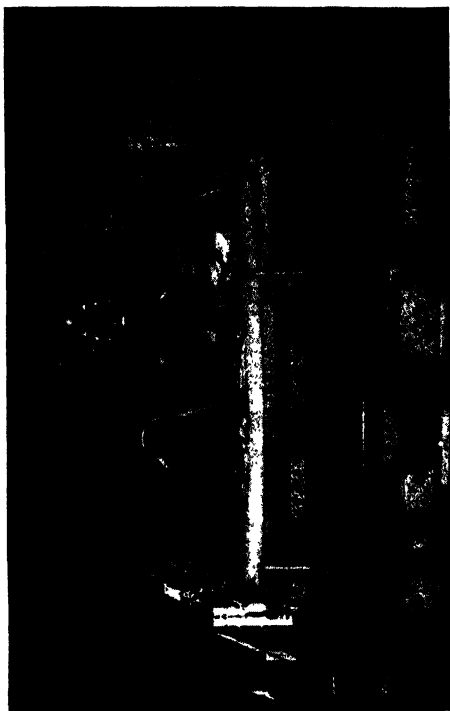


Photo DeCow, Living Gallows

(b)

81. Maitreya (Mi-lo-fu) : (a) As Bodhisattva. Chinese sculpture, T'ang period. (b) As future Buddha, in the jovial form in which he represents a fusion with a native Chinese god of contentment. Image in Lama temple, Peiping. Note the incense sticks and flower offerings before the image.

The heavenly or *dhyāni* Buddhas figure prominently in two chief aspects: as lords of paradises and as representatives of the absolute and eternal Buddha-essence. The idea of paradise involved certain difficulties for Buddhism in view of the ultimate goal of *nirvāna*. Even when *nirvāna* was held to imply an unlimited kind of being instead of mere cessation, it was impossible to identify this being with a transient existence in one of the limited heavens. Indeed, existence in such a heaven, if of great duration, might embarrass the ardent Buddhist, for it would long delay the complete release of *nirvāna*. Nevertheless, the finite heavens had various appeals too strong to be denied. As a solution of such conflicts between the idea of *nirvāna* and the idea of heaven, there arose in Mahayana thought a new and distinctively Buddhistic paradise-concept. It was held that each Buddha upon attaining *nirvāna* acquires a field (*kshetra*), a sphere throughout which his presence and his vast accumulation of merit continue to exert a saving influence upon all who call upon him. In strict thought such Buddha-fields were not localized but were regarded as so many spiritual realms, each coextensive with the entire universe. The most famous of these realms, however, such as Sukhavati, the land of bliss, were popularly spoken of by spatial names, such as "the western paradise" of Amitabha, and their blisses were very concretely described. A paradise of this kind was the ideal resort for Buddhists after death; it was flawless, since it forever combined conditions most favorable for those who wished to advance quickly toward *nirvāna* with perfect happiness for those who tarried. (Cf. the conception of paradise which became dominant in popular Hinduism, p. 82 above.)

One of the most popular aspects of Mahayana Buddhism became the worship of the *dhyāni* Buddha Amitabha, "Boundless Light" or Amitayus, "Boundless Life," whose field is the western paradise, Sukhavati, Land of Bliss, also called the Pure Land. There are indications of Persian and perhaps other Western sources of this cult, but by the first century A.D. in the *Lotus* and the Sukhavati scriptures one finds a story assimilating the name of Amitabha to thoroughly Buddhist ideas. Innumerable ages ago, it is said, a pious monk sought instruction from the Buddha of that period regarding Buddhahood and the Buddha-fields. He requested that if he should attain Buddhahood, the qualities of all fields might be combined in

his own, and he took forty-eight vows conditioning his own perfection upon his ability to bring all beings into his paradise. Having obtained Buddhahood on these conditions, he can now cause them to be fulfilled. Thus the Amitabha cult offers the most to its devotees on the simplest terms. All who have faith in Amitabha and call upon his name, he will protect day and night from all harm and fear, he will gladden their hearts and prosper them, and at death they will see him coming to take them to his paradise. This coming of Amitabha to fetch the faithful is sometimes depicted, but more usually he is represented seated in meditation in the Land of Bliss, surrounded by Bodhisattvas amid the pavilions of those whom he has saved.

The *dhyāni* Buddhas, however, do not figure only as lords of paradise, but in another aspect also represent the eternal Buddha-essence in which everything absolutely abides. This aspect is closely connected on the philosophical side with the Yogacharya idea of the all-embracing "receptacle consciousness." On the side of practice this aspect of the heavenly Buddhas was widely associated with various rites and disciplines, wherein, it was held, the worshiper acquired or put on the Buddha nature. These tendencies were especially strong in the cult of the *dhyāni* Buddha Vairochana, Illuminator, also called Great Sun. The origin of his cult is unknown, but is thought by some to be in Central Asia; it became important in China and especially in Japan.

In the system which assigns the Buddhas to different ages of the world, Amitabha is generally regarded as the *dhyāni* or heavenly Buddha reigning over the present age in which Śakyamuni appeared as *mānushi* or human Buddha. Vairochana belongs to the first age of the present world cycle. The *dhyāni* Buddhas Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi of the second, third and future ages respectively are of much more limited cultic significance. There was indeed, as has been said, a strong tendency toward monistic absolutism in the cult of the *dhyāni* Buddhas, so that both Amitabha and Vairochana were regarded by many of their devotees as the sole all-embracing Buddha of which all others were but manifestations.

Of somewhat anomalous status theologically is another Indian Buddha, Bhaishajyaguru, who is sometimes mentioned as an *arhat*,

and again as a Buddha, and also as a Bodhisattva. But he became important and popular, at least in China and Japan, as the "Healing Teacher" or Medical King.

F. BODHISATTVAS. It was in the cult of Bodhisattvas that Mahayana Buddhism attained its greatest catholicity and variety. The idea of *nirvāṇa* determined the basic features of Buddhas and *arhats*, but the conception of Bodhisattvas as holy beings who, although emancipated, voluntarily postpone entrance into *nirvāṇa* to remain in some sphere of existence as guardians and saviors of others provided a very flexible category into which Buddhism readily gathered many deities, saints and heroes of the various lands to which it came. The continued application of the concept in the course of time left no quarter of existence untenanted by a Buddhist agent. Not alone celestials, but earth gods and goddesses, warrior kings and even demons as officers of hell became Bodhisattvas and exercised their hold over the imagination by retaining their respective pre-Buddhistic virtues and qualities along with their new specifically Buddhist functions. In Buddhist art, while there is considerable variety in the portrayal of Bodhisattvas, they can most often be distinguished by their princely appearance and ornaments, such as diadems, necklaces, earrings, bracelets and embroidered garments, all of which are foreign to the Buddha and *arhat* images. Often too the image of a seated Buddha appears in the central leaf of their diadems.

Individual attention is due at least to the following great Bodhisattvas, whose cults have attained a very wide prominence: Maitreya, Manjusri, Samantabhadra, Avalokiteśvara (in China known as Kuan-yin), Vajrapani, Mahasthana, Akāśagarbha and Kṣitigarbha (in Japan known as Jizo).

The cult of Maitreya, which we mentioned above, is very early and developed with the concept of *māmushi* Buddhas. For Maitreya is unique among the Bodhisattvas because he will attain his Buddhahood as a human Buddha in a coming age of the world. He is the future Buddha for humanity, but the idea of future humanity has not played a great rôle in historic Buddhism, so that Maitreya is celebrated more as one of the Bodhisattvas than as the future Buddha.

Another Bodhisattva who early attained prominence is Manjusri. His transcendent wisdom presides especially over the propagation



Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin

82. Manjusri with sword of wisdom and book (*Prajnaparamitasutra*). At his left the blue lotus from which he was born. Stone relief made for Indo-Aryan ruler of Java, 14th century.

of the Buddhist Law. He is represented carrying a sword and a book and riding on a lion, a very majestic figure. He is often accompanied by the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Universal Kindness, who was also regarded by some as a special patron of ecstatic meditation. Samantabhadra rides on an elephant and holds a lotus and jewel. These two figures, standing on either side of the Buddha Śakyamuni, form a triad that well symbolizes the essential aspects of the Buddhist Order and mission in their pristine vigorous form.

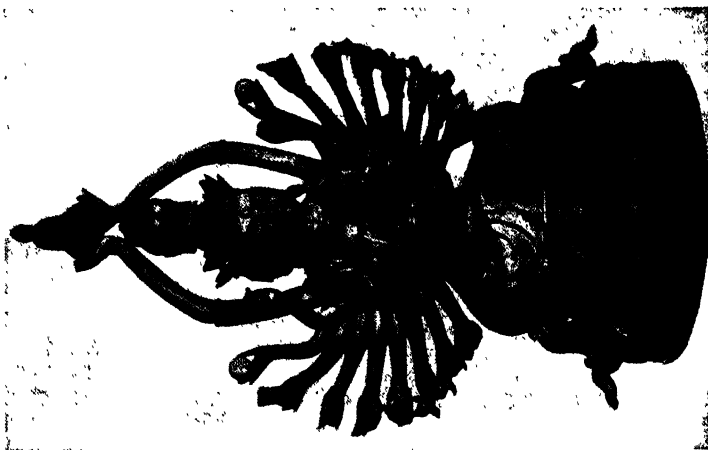
But these Bodhisattvas, and indeed all others, were eclipsed eventually in popularity by the manifold cult of Avalokiteśvara, whose name probably means "the lord who is beheld," *i.e.*, the lord revealed to this age. His name appears early in Mahayana scriptures, and his worship was becoming popular by the third century. In its origins his cult may possibly be related to that of the hill gods, but he became chief among the great lords of salvation. There is a legend that he appeared 333 times on earth (always in human form save once as a miraculous horse) for the purpose of saving mankind, and this scarcely exaggerates the number of aspects in which his saving power is actually celebrated. He saves from shipwreck and execution, from robbers and sickness, in fact from all violence and distress. He saves too from moral evils, such as passion, hatred and folly. Invoked by the simple *mantra*: *Om, mani padme, hum!* (O the jewel in the lotus!) he is most commonly represented as Padmapani, the lotus-hand. He may have the natural form of a slight, graceful youth, or he may be represented in Tantric form with numerous heads and arms—even as many as a thousand arms in some cases.

In China the cult of Avalokiteśvara, combining with local elements which will be described later, gave rise to the very pervasive cult of Kuan-yin, goddess of mercy, which also spread to Japan. Avalokiteśvara or Kuan-yin and another Bodhisattva called Maṣa-thana became intimately associated, especially in China and Japan, with the cult of the Buddha Amitabha and his western paradise. These three form a triad frequently seen, which well symbolizes the form of Buddhism that eventually became most popular, a religion of compassion and benevolence and of salvation by faith.

In the system which assigns special Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to the different ages of the world, Avalokiteśvara joins Amitabha and

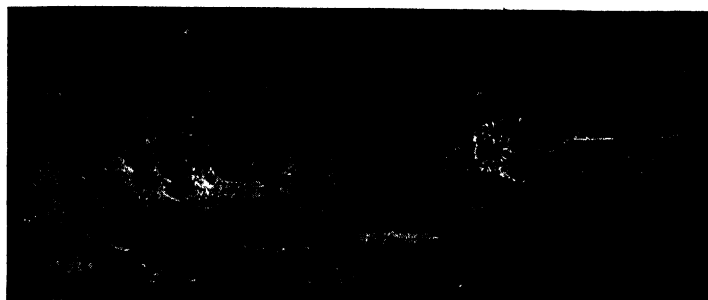


(a)



(b)

After Getty



(c) *Freer Gallery*

83. Avalokitesvara: (a) Padmapani. From Orissa, c. 11th century. (b) Tantric, holding many attributes and Amitayus over head. Tibetan. (c) Eleven-headed. Chinese, 8th century.

Śakyamuni in presiding over the present or fourth age, while Samantabhadra, Vajrapani, Ratnapani and Viśvapani are the Bodhisattvas of the first, second, third and future ages respectively. Of the last three Vajrapani, Thunderbolt-hand, is by far the most important, as he has special power in the vital sphere of rain and storm, the province of so many major gods (*e.g.*, Indra). He takes several ferocious (*Dharmapala*, "law-guarding") forms, assumed to combat various kinds of evil.

Earth and sky or ether also appear in the Buddhist pantheon as the Bodhisattvas Kṣhitigarbha and Akāśagarbha. Of these the former has by far the most important cult, especially in China and Japan where the great Earth Bodhisattva as a lord of the nether regions is second only to Kuan-yin.

In the sixth century A.D. the worship of goddesses as Śakti, consorts of the gods, appeared within Indian Mahayana, and thereafter permeated the Buddhism of Bihar, Nepal and Tibet. The Bodhisattvas and even the Buddhas were associated with goddess consorts. The most prominent of these is Tara, the consort of Avalokiteśvara, who herself takes on a number of different forms symbolized by various colors.

IV. THE HINAYANA DOMAINS OF CEYLON, BURMA AND SIAM

Ancient Indian influences superimposed on the primitive native cultures in the main shaped the civilizations of these three countries. Among the Indian influences Buddhism of the Hinayana type was early a strong factor. Some Mahayanist tendencies and still more Hindu features also appeared. But strong native rulers repeatedly championed the Hinayana system and kept it ascendant. In all three of these countries Hinayana institutions are, therefore, associated with heroic traditions and patriotism. Here it is a national custom to regard religion under the double aspect of the monk's duty "to revolve the wheel of the law" and the layman's duty to support and venerate the Buddha, the *Dharma* and the *Sangha*.

A. HISTORICAL SURVEY.

I. CEYLON. The earliest extant chronicles of Ceylon, such as the *Dipavaṃsa*, *Mahavaṃsa* and Buddhaghosa's writings, date from the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., but presuppose the influence of north Indian culture before the time of Aśoka (273 B.C.) and the

introduction of Buddhism at least as early as his time. Between the third century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. native Ceylonese rulers had welcomed Buddhistic missions, had encouraged the establishment of great monasteries in and around the capital at Anuradhapura and had received important relics (*e.g.*, a shoot of the bodhi tree, an alms bowl and a tooth of the Buddha). Tamil invaders



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84. The disciple Ananda standing beside the reclining Buddha. Near Polonnaruwa, Ceylon.

from south India had captured the throne in 177 B.C. but were driven out again after about forty-five years by Dutthagamani, whose deeds are an epic theme in the Mahavamsa chronicle. The Abhayagiri monastery, founded about 80 B.C., became associated with tendencies, perhaps of a laxist and Mahayanist character, which were regarded as heterodox. It was not suppressed, but the controversies engendered led to the fixing of an orthodox canon of the Law and to orthodox commentaries. It was these that Buddhaghosa consulted in the fifth century for his unparalleled expositions of the Hinayana system.

After this time there came a period of decline and of renewed Tamil invasions in which Anuradhapura was again taken and south Indian influences extended. A restoration occurred from 1065 to 1250 under the lead of able monarchs who pressed back the invaders and revived both Buddhist religion and agriculture. Then followed another decline during which time the Portuguese appeared. In the sixteenth century they occupied the coasts, propagandized for Roman Catholicism and used much violence against the native religion. The native capital was moved inland to Kandy, which has remained the chief Buddhist center ever since. In the next century under the Protestant Dutch, who curbed Catholic dominion, Buddhism had a chance to revive, and with the help of Burmese and Siamese regulation took on its present main forms. The British who became masters after 1795 abrogated the kingship in 1815 but respected the native religion, and Buddhism has at least held its own since then, in some respects making gains.

2. BURMA. The Ceylonese chronicles and some native evidences imply that Hinayana Buddhism existed in south Burma around Pegu at least as early as the first century A.D. and probably earlier, but little knowledge of it remains. Even more obscure is the early history of north Burma, which was probably exposed to miscellaneous influences from India and perhaps also from China. There are some indications of Tantric Buddhism and Hinduism having entered before 1000 A.D. A more definite and continuous record begins with the rule of Anawrata (*c.* 1050), who brought Hinayana teachers from the south to his capital at Pagan and instituted a Buddhist reformation. Thereafter, the Hinayana system increased its hold on the country, partly under Ceylonese influence, and spread eastward through the Shan states into Siam. At the same time (*c.* 1300) wars between the Burmese and the Shans brought the dynasty more or less under the control of the latter, and a new capital arose at Ava. Beginning with Alompra in 1752 an able Burmese dynasty regained control, founded the modern centers at Rangoon, Amarapura and Mandalay (1857) and gave new support to Buddhism not only in Burma, but also in Ceylon. In 1886 the British deposed this dynasty and sought to separate the Buddhist hierarchy from politics. But movements for independence have had strong Buddhist backing.

3. SIAM. Before 1300 the region of modern Siam was largely under the control of the Khmer kings of Cambodia, and the composite of Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism recorded in the Khmer temples also penetrated into Siam, where traces of it remain to this day. But in the thirteenth century the Tai tribes (perhaps driven from the north by the Mongols) migrated into the country and set up an independent kingdom at Ayuthia (1350), successfully throwing off the Cambodian yoke. The Tai were perhaps Buddhists before their migrations, but in any case through the Shan states they came under the influence of Burmese Buddhism and increasingly identified themselves with the Hinayana system. After the decline of the Khmers this system also spread from Siam into Cambodia. In 1767 the Siamese capital was established at Bangkok, and since then an able dynasty has maintained independence and sought to modernize the country under native auspices. The monarch remains a defender and in a measure a regulator of Buddhism.

B. TRADITIONAL RELIGIOUS PRACTICES IN THESE COUNTRIES.

1. THE MONKS. In Ceylon today there are about 8,000 monks among approximately three million Buddhists; in Burma, about 90,000 among eleven million; and in Siam 50,000 among about nine million. While there are some large monasteries in the great centers, the majority of the monks in these countries live in small village establishments, the average number in each being in Ceylon about three ordained monks and their novices, in Burma about six, and in Siam about twelve. The monks are supported and venerated as holy men by the laity, who provide them with their houses, their yellow robes and their food. The prescribed morning round of begging for food is continued mostly as a form, however, since what the monks eat is now very generally prepared for them by a lay servant in the monastery. Thus, the monks enjoy immunity from all ordinary work and ordinary regulation. Their essential duties are their meditations and scripture recitations, but in all these countries they have also taken on the instruction of children in the scriptures, reading and writing, devotions, manners and morals. In Burma this function is quite thoroughly and widely carried out, resulting in a high degree of literacy and of popular attachment to the Order. The monks also give public readings, *bana*, of the scriptures, especially during the months of *Was*, the north-Indian rainy season.

They hold private audiences with laymen and conduct various ceremonies. Among the latter are the *pirit* rituals, the reading of sacred texts as charms and spells against evil spirits.

Scripturally the only distinctions recognized between monks are those of seniority: the novices, the newly ordained and the elders. But in each of these countries there developed, in connection with civil regulation, a hierarchy of overseers and abbots. In both Burma and Siam the system is headed by a single ecclesiast, appointed by the king in Siam, as formerly in Burma. In Ceylon and Siam the caste system of society has a hold, and there are aristocratic monasteries which are closed to the lower groups. The Burmese Order is more democratic. Monks who commit serious offenses are excommunicated from the Order and socially ostracized. The funeral ceremonies of elders of the Order are festival occasions for popular celebration.

2. MONASTERIES AND DAGOBAS OR PAGODAS. In Ceylon a monastic establishment has two essential parts: a temple hall (*vihara*) for devotions where the images are set up, and a dwelling house (*pan-sala*) for the monks. In fairly large monasteries there is also a special hall (*banage*) for preaching, which otherwise takes place in the open. The larger monasteries have courts about these buildings in which one commonly finds lotus-ponds, bell-towers, bodhi trees, and often *dagobas* or relic mounds of a form derived from the ancient *stūpas*. At Kandy the relic of the "sacred tooth" is a famous object of pilgrimage. Veneration is also widely given to representations of the foot-print of Buddha; on the sole of the foot are symbols of his previous lives as told in the popular *Jātaka* tales. The modern establishments in Ceylon are ordinarily simple, artless buildings of brown and white plaster. At some of the ancient and medieval sites, however, there are imposing structures of stone and impressive ruins.

In Burma the monasteries are generally built of teakwood and, like other houses, are raised from the ground on pillars. The buildings are one-storied but often have multiple roofs giving a characteristic storied tower effect. Elaborate carving and brilliant colors, especially gold and vermilion, are lavishly used in decoration. The principal hall (*kyoung*) is generally divided into two

parts: one for sleeping on mats, which in daytime are rolled against the walls, and the other for the images and manuscripts. Around the *kyoung* there is generally a veranda, sometimes large and fitted with images in recesses before which laymen place flowers and offer their devotions. In Burma too, while the cult of relics is not especially prominent, that of the relic shrine or pagoda is very popular. Everyone who can afford to do so wishes to build a pagoda as an act of

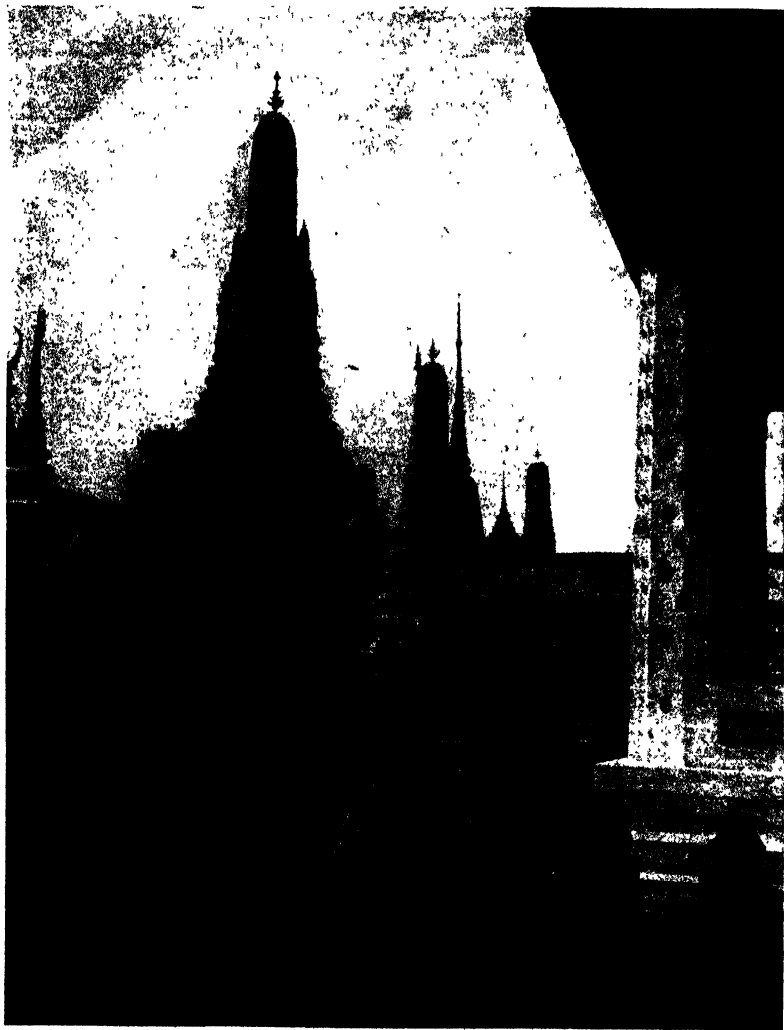


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85. Ananda monastery, Pagan, Burma.

merit, so that the country is crowded with them from all periods of its history. Pagoda shrines are likewise popular places to offer devotions.

The pagoda cult is also prominent in Siam, but the pagodas are distinctive, being often solid bell-shaped domes with slender spires above. The Hindu temple architecture of Cambodia has influenced the *wats* or religious establishments of Siam. Within the gate of a *wat*, which is generally guarded by gigantic and grotesque figures, there are usually several courts and buildings. The chief building of worship is the *bot*, which has a colonnade of pillars outside and characteristic talon-like finials at the roof ends. The monks live either in single cells around the courts of the *wat*, or in larger quarters outside the walls.



86. Courtyard of Wat Arun, Bangkok, Siam. The pillars at the right are in front of the *bot* or chief hall of Buddhist worship. The slender spires are Buddhist pagodas. The large towers are shrines derived from Cambodian Hinduism.



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87. Colossal Buddha. Siam, before 13th century. 88. Pagodas with numerous Buddha images. Ava, Burma.

In Burma the images are almost all of the Buddha and his disciples. Such images are repeated in almost endless series around the platforms of pagodas or in the worship halls, where a large one generally stands in the center. In Ceylon and Siam, while these are the main figures represented, the presence of stronger Hindu influences is very evident. In the *vihāras* the walls are often painted with Indian mythological scenes, and representations of Vishnu and Brahma are especially common. In the *wats* images of Brahma and of Yama are sometimes found. The Buddha images are found in all three postures, standing, seated and reclining. They are generally of Gautama, but images of Maitreya and of previous Buddhas are common.

3. LAY RELIGION. The laity, both men and women, place flowers before the images at pagodas and shrines and offer prayers and devotions there. They further respect the Buddha and his Order by their charitable gifts to the monks. They do penance or obtain additional merit by taking upon themselves some of the monastic vows for limited periods. They receive instruction from the monks. In Burma and Siam it is customary for every boy at the end of his schooling (that is, sometime between the age of twelve and twenty) to enter a monastery for a time; it may be only for a few days or for one *Was* season or for three such seasons. Some then decide to become monks. But in any case, until he has had this initiation or confirmation, the boy is not considered a man.

Lay religion in all these countries also includes some pronounced animistic traits. It is believed necessary to propitiate spirits, especially those dwelling in trees and vegetation. In Ceylon there are devil-dancers who specialize in the exorcism of demons whom they conduct back through themselves from the possessed into the vegetation. In Burma the *nats* may be divided into three groups: local nature spirits, ghosts or ancestral spirits, and superior spirits among whom are certain heroes and also some of the Hindu gods. Anxious to check the development of a rival priesthood, the Buddhists have in part discouraged the cult of spirits and in part compromised with it. The monks recite texts as charms (*piri*) to protect against evil spirits and also recognize certain spirits as guardians of places and of the Order (*lokapāla* and *dharmapāla*).

Compared with India, the atmosphere of religion in these countries does not appear oppressive. The Buddhist system is mild and relatively free of sinister elements. In Burma especially the cheerful light-heartedness of the people is often remarked. In Siam the many



89. Flower offerings and prayers before a shrine of the Shwe Dagon pagoda. Rangoon, Burma.

festivals are celebrated with “splendor-loving gaiety” (Eliot). Among the chief holidays observed in these countries, and in Ceylon also, are those of the Buddha’s birth, enlightenment and death; those of the *Was* season; and those of the clothing time when new robes are presented to the monks. Other occasions are the ordinations and funerals of monks, which are celebrated with popular fêtes as well as by monastic rites. In Ceylon the outdoor reading of *bana* during *Was*, a pleasant season of the year there, is especially

popular. The Perahera festival in Ceylon, like some of the Siamese holidays, includes Hindu features.

C. RECENT TENDENCIES. Movements for the reform and purification of the Order, the promotion of Buddhist learning and science and the cultivation of patriotic attachment to national traditions have appeared in all three of these countries during the past century. Western influences have been an important factor. Since the middle of the nineteenth century each country has had minority sects or parties advocating a stricter observance of monastic rules, renewed study of the ancient scriptures and elimination of alien corruptions. In Burma the Chulla-gandi, in Ceylon the Ramanya (which came from Rangoon) and in Siam the Dhammayut sect, founded by King Mongkut (also in part under Burmese influence), uphold this program. These are all native reform movements. At Colombo there exists also the Vidyodaya College, a leading center of Buddhist learning, which attracts scholars, not only from the Hinayana countries, but also from China and Japan and from Europe as well. Because of its preservation of the Pali canon and the abundant commentaries of Buddhaghosa and others, Ceylon has an importance for all who, like Rhys-Davids and his associates in the Pali Text Society, share interest and enthusiasm in the early sources and forms of Buddhism. A number of Buddhist and semi-Buddhist societies have arisen among such intellectuals, both European and Asiatic, to spread the knowledge of Buddhism, and there are also some European and Europeanized Buddhist communities.

V. THE LAMAISM OF TIBET AND MONGOLIA

In great contrast to the semi-tropical countries just considered is the mountain wilderness of Tibet, most of it over ten thousand feet above the sea. The climate is very harsh, with severe and sudden storms but comparatively little rain. The inhabitants are largely Mongolian and many of them live a semi-nomadic life. The Buddhism which took hold here came partly from Kashmir and China but chiefly from Nepal and Bihar; it was predominantly of the late Tantric Mahayana type. It combined with a native religion in which demonology was pronounced and developed an ecclesiastical system with distinctive features. There arose large monastic settlements or lamaseries, which in course of time gained political control of the

country, and whose heads were eventually regarded as "living Buddhas."

A. HISTORICAL SURVEY.

1. THE INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM (c. 600-900). According to native ideas Tibet was and is a land of spirits and fierce demons. The ancient devices for controlling and propitiating these spirits still continue, in part as a rival system, called Pönism, but mostly within Tibetan Buddhism itself. The skull cups, skull drums, thigh-bone trumpets of the priests and especially the rites for the dead suggest that cannibalism existed at one time. The people recite an old saga about the hero Kesar who savagely smote his enemies. The date referred to is unknown, but by 642 A.D. a strong line of kings appears with Song-tsen Gam-po, who established his capital at Lhasa and conquered territories in China and India. A Chinese and a Nepalese princess whom he took as wives were both Buddhists, and he was led by them to adopt and promote this religion. Its progress was slow and difficult, but during the next two centuries Buddhist monks of various schools from both India and China taught in Tibet. The most celebrated of these was Padma-Sambhava, a native of Kashmir who came to Tibet in 747 A.D. after attaining proficiency in Bengal as a Mahasiddha or Tantric magician. He is represented as bringing the demons of numerous places and cemeteries under the spell of his *mantras* and magic thunderbolt, binding them to become beneficent defenders of the country and of Buddhism. He established the first large monastery at Sam-ye (749), but he himself traveled with female consorts and did not require his followers to observe celibacy. Many texts were translated into Tibetan with notable accuracy, the exact formulations being treasured as potent spells. Buddhism long had to encounter an influential opposition, and towards the close of the ninth century the king Lang Dar-ma authorized a persecution. He was assassinated in A.D. 900 by a monk, but it was not until a century later that the persecution subsided and Buddhism became securely established.

2. THE ESTABLISHMENT (c. 1000-). The monarchy and its policy of conquest now declined, and Tibetan leaders devoted themselves increasingly to Buddhism and the organization of monasteries. Many went to India to learn, and from India (where conditions were growing unfavorable to Buddhism) many teachers were willing to

come. Among the latter was Atisa (979-1052) who spent the last thirteen years of his life in Tibet and introduced the Kalachakra system. This was another variety of Tantric Mahayana, wherein, however, lesser powers were subordinated to the supreme power of a primordial carrier of the magic thunderbolt, the Adi-Buddha. Atisa was a man of considerable Buddhist learning; he lived as an ascetic and made further translations. Closer to the native demonism and black magic was a Tibetan contemporary, Marpa, who was little less influential as a teacher. His most noted pupil, Milaraspa (1038-1123), after learning magic, became a hermit and mystic poet; he lived cotton-clad among the snows, and his "Hundred Thousand Songs" have made him the best beloved of Tibetan saints. Another notable development of the same period was the founding of the Sa-kya monastery (1071), whose hierarchs remained uncelibate and set up an hereditary principality. In the thirteenth century they were called to minister to the Mongol emperors in Peking, the beginning of an important connection. The various groups and sects of Tibetan monks that derive from the leaders of this period (such as the Sa-kyapa, the Kar-gyu-pa of Marpa and the Ka-dam-pa of Atisa) are sometimes called the semi-reformed in contrast to the old or unreformed groups and to the reformed school which next arose.

3. REFORM AND ECCLESIASTIC ABSOLUTISM (*c.* 1350-). In the fourteenth century a leader from Am-do on the Chinese border, named Tsong Ka-pa (1358-1419), preached a number of reforms and founded a new monastery at Ganden near Lhasa. Tsong Ka-pa revived Atisa's emphasis on the supreme power and saw it embodied in Chenrezi, the Tibetan Avalokiteśvara. He required celibacy of the monks and suppressed the more extreme Tantras. He introduced an annual convocation of monks called "The Great Prayer" in connection with the New Year festival at Lhasa. His followers adopted the name Ga-luk (joyous) and then Ge-luk-pa (the virtuous way); discarding the traditional red hats for yellow, they were popularly called the Yellow Hats. Two disciples of Tsong Ka-pa established the Drepung and Sera monasteries near Lhasa, making the whole neighborhood a stronghold of the Yellow Hats. Not far off they made another center called Tashi Lhünpo. The abbots of these reformed monasteries, being celibate, could not establish an hereditary rule like the Sa-kya hierarchs. But shortly after

1500 the theory was advanced that the abbots of Drepung monastery were reincarnations of its founder, and this led to an ingenious system of recognizing the succession by miraculous signs. This system conferred a supernatural status and authority upon the monastic ruler and was soon imitated by other monasteries, each of whose heads or Grand Lamas now claimed to be a recurrent manifestation of some patron divinity. The ecclesiastic reformation thus evolved a monastic theocracy which became a characteristic feature of Lamaistic Buddhism not only in Tibet but also in Mongolia.

In this theocracy the abbots of Drepung won a position of supremacy, in part through Mongolian and Chinese support. The third abbot undertook missions in Mongolia and converted the leading chief, who honored him with the title of Dalai. The fourth was relieved by Mongols of a powerful antagonist, a Tibetan chief of the Kar-ma-pa sect who from 1610 to 1642 was persecuting the Yellow Hats. His famous successor, the fifth, moved his residence from Drepung to Lhasa and built the Potala on the site of the ancient palace of the Tibetan kings. The Dalai Lamas were thus enthroned at Lhasa, but they had to contend with rivalries between monasteries and sects. They had to suffer the protection of a foreign guard kept at Lhasa from 1720 to 1911 by the Chinese, who were interested in supporting a power that could mollify the Mongolian tribes. Finally, being chosen to office in infancy, they had to share their control with regents. During the nineteenth century it was suspected that the regents had usurped all the power and would not allow the Lamas to reach maturity, for the ninth died at the age of ten, the tenth at twenty, the eleventh at seventeen and the twelfth at eighteen. The present Dalai Lama, the thirteenth, has, however, held his throne since 1874. He has survived the fall of the Chinese Empire in 1911, and since 1904 has entered into conciliation with the British. Some of his internal policies have been to popular advantage and have involved restriction of monastic privileges. The Tibetans have shown nationalistic attachment to the Lama in their resentment of foreign interference; their policy of exclusion rests on the belief that foreigners seek to control or undermine their institutions. The spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama is recognized not only by four million Tibetans, but by an almost equal number in Mongolia, Manchuria and China, as well as by smaller groups in Ladak, Bhotan

and Sikkim along the Indian border, the Buriats in Siberia and the Kalmuck Tatars in Russia.

B. THE LAMASERIES. The monks or lamas of Tibet and Mongolia have congregated in relatively large monastic establishments, in fact the largest now existing in Buddhistic countries. Some of these are in and around towns, while others are virtually monastic towns in the mountains or desert. They frequently are fortresses, and the monks have been spoken of as "Tibet's third army." At Urga in Mongolia there are said to be 14,000 lamas, while of the monasteries around Lhasa, Drepung has 7,000, Sera 5,500, and Tashi Lhünpo 3,800. The monastic buildings generally front on a courtyard with a central hall of worship approached by steps. The monks' cells frequently line an upper story of the buildings with a balcony on the court. *Chortens* (*stūpas* or pagodas) usually adjoin the buildings and contain relics. The nomad people from far and near contribute to the raising and maintenance of these establishments and make pilgrimages to them especially at festival times. The monks specialize in different classes of rites and services to the laity. At Kounboum monastery, near Tsong Ka-pa's home on the Chinese frontier, the Abbé Huc found students divided into "four sections or faculties: the faculty of mysticism or contemplation, the faculty of liturgy or worship, the faculty of medicine, and the faculty of prayers or special rites, the most esteemed of all, the best paid, and, as a matter of course, the most numerous." For purposes of common worship the lamas are also divided into choirs (at least in the Yellow Hat sect); their chants and processions in the temples and even their ministrations at the high altars have frequently been said to have a striking external resemblance to those of the Roman Church. In the discipline of the monks the Grand Lama of each monastery (usually venerated as a divine incarnation) is assisted by monastic police, censors and tribunals.

C. MYTHOLOGY. Tibetan Buddhism took over the entire late Mahayana pantheon from Nepal with its numerous heavenly Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, their Śaktis or female consorts and other Hindu divinities. But it also elaborated this pantheon in several characteristic directions. The idea that each divinity manifested himself in multiple aspects was employed, both to assimilate new local spirits into the system and to animate aspects of Buddhist doctrine and



90 *Musée Guimet*



91 *Musée Guimet*



92

Roerich Museum, New York

90. Gyun-ston-rdo-rje-dpal, Tibetan sorcerer causing the appearance (on the right) of the terrible Mahākāla (Śiva), assisted by Buddhist saints and divinities. A Tantric Śiva appears in the upper left corner. Painted temple banner. 91. The miracle of Śrāvastī. Buddha multiplies his appearances to confound six heretic magicians. Painted temple banner. 92. Masked dancers in a Lamaist drama.

philosophy which had remained abstract concepts before. Thus, for example, the monastic practice of bi-monthly confession gave rise to the Thirty-five Buddhas of Confession. Fierce manifestations of the divinities (with horrendous heads, necklaces of skulls, drinking blood and trampling on bodies) were especially cultivated in continuation of the local demonology. It was held that beneficent saints, Bodhisattvas and Buddhas took these forms to command the demon hosts and divert their malice. The cult of tutelary or guardian spirits (*Yi-dam*) was thoroughly developed. Each individual monk and layman had his guardian spirit to whom he paid special devotion, while some *Yi-dam* were honored besides as tutelaries of communities, monasteries and regions. Thus, Yamantaka, the god of death, who appears with many arms, legs and heads, the central head being that of a raging bull, is *Yi-dam* of the Ge-lug-pa or established church. The great saints and sorcerers of Tibetan history and the abbots of leading monasteries, as has been said, are regarded as manifestations of special divinities: the Dalai Lama of the four-armed Chenrezi (Avalokiteśvara) whom Tsong Ka-pa elevated to a supreme position; the Tashi Lama of Amitabha; the abbess at Yamdok of the diamond sow Vajravarahi (an epithet of Gautama's mother); and the Jetsun Dampa at Urga of Taranatha, the Indian Buddhist historian who preached in Mongolia. The Tibetans have also developed the Śakti cult of the goddess Tara in many forms, and likewise that of a group of Buddhas called the Medical or Healing (*yakushi*) Buddhas.

The most distinctive and pervasive theme of Tibetan mythology may be said to be the control of the demon world by Lamaism. This is celebrated in especially vivid and dramatic fashion in the so-called mystery plays enacted several times in the year at leading monasteries. Ancient demon dances, performed by monks wearing grotesque and terrifying masks, are a basic element in these plays. A central episode depicts the dead assaulted by demons, who seek to devour the corpse but are repulsed by lama magic. The reformed sects have emphasized the historical and political theme of Buddhism's triumph over its royal antagonist, Lang Dar-ma, in their version of the drama, but popularly the play is still called the "Dance of the Red-Tiger Devil" and undoubtedly preserves many features of an old Pönist rite. The ample buffoonery in the play is



After Getty

(a)



Musée Guimet

(b)

93. The Tibetan Tara: (a) White Tara of the Seven Eyes; (b) Tantric Tara with wheel, arrow, lasso, bow, parasol and other attributes.

in some respects an illustration of the way in which Buddhistic Tibet has transcended the primitive demonism of the country and transmuted certain of its features into an entertaining tradition.

D. POPULAR RELIGION. Besides embracing the principles of morality and merit common to Buddhism in all countries, the laity of Tibet employ the lamas for numerous special rites and prayers. The special devotions to Amitayu to secure long life are an instance. And still more characteristic are the elaborate and manifold precautions taken on behalf of the dead. These aim, on the one hand, to secure a successful reincarnation, but still more to protect both the dead and the living from the demonic powers that are abroad in the event of death. Protection is sought by propitiatory offerings, by magic charms and spells, and from the superior power or virtue present in the lamas. Another conspicuous feature of popular religion is pilgrimage to the monasteries. This sometimes has a penitential character, and pilgrims are known to travel long distances, prostrating themselves every few feet on the way. At the chief holiday seasons, notably at New Year's and throughout the whole first month, pilgrimages are made *en masse* and in a festival spirit. People congregate in the larger centers, bringing supplies (such as butter and clothing) to the monasteries. At Lhasa over 30,000 monks are said to assemble at this time, holding special worship on behalf of the country at large. Besides witnessing the processionals and masquerades of the monks, the lay pilgrims are allowed to pass before a platform on which is seated the Dalai Lama, who touches their heads in blessing with the tassels of his scepter. On the fifteenth day is held the Feast of Flowers, in honor of the Buddha's conception or incarnation. The "flowers" at this time displayed by many monasteries consist of remarkable mythological and historical representations wrought in butter which has been variously colored and stiffened for the purpose. Among other historical events celebrated in the course of the year are the Kalachakra revelation, the birth of Padma-Sambhava and the ascension of Tsong Ka-pa.

Lamaism imposed itself heavily on the people of Tibet and Mongolia, drawing an unusually large percentage of the male population into monasteries, collecting large tributes and restricting intercourse and commerce with the outside world, but in doing these things it evolved distinctive institutions which made the nomad peoples of

these regions a cultural force in Asia and gave them an extensive system of indigenous political relations and control.

VI. CHINESE BUDDHISM

A. HISTORICAL SURVEY.

I. THE RECEPTION OF BUDDHISM IN CHINA. Buddhism reached China relatively early, coming especially into Kansu and Shensi over the Central Asian trade routes. Recent excavation of ancient cities (Khotan, Turfan, Chotscho, etc.) in the Tarim basin of Central Asia shows that this region was once well-populated, and that as a highway of travel it was influenced by numerous cultures and religions, including Buddhism which came there considerably before the first century A.D. Official dynastic history, however, puts the introduction of Buddhism to China in the time of the emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) of the eastern Han dynasty, whose vision of a "golden man" was interpreted as being an image of Buddha, and who brought two Indian monks with holy books and statues to his capital at Loyang.

The native civilization of China was already old and highly developed. The Han period presents certain aspects comparable with the contemporary Roman age in Europe. An era of imperial unification and expansion, it was also a time when the works of earlier teachers (Confucius, Mencius, Mo-tse, Chuang-tse, etc.) began to be respected as classics and yet were studied with a new spirit and freely elaborated on. It was a period open to new influences of which Buddhism was one; the translation of Buddhist literature into Chinese was begun and steadily prosecuted thereafter. Of the earliest translations there remains the so-called *Sūtra of forty-two sayings*, a remarkable selection of excerpts, essentially Hinayanist, epitomizing the way of Buddha. During the Later Han dynasty it is said that 350 works were translated by monks from India and Central Asia. Upon the overthrow of the Han in 221 A.D. there followed several centuries of political instability with incursion of foreign peoples in the northwest and the setting up of a number of limited kingdoms (Wei, Tsin, Chao, Liu Sung, Liang), some of them under Tatar rulers. The latter were generally under Buddhist influence and promoted its spread. One of the Chao rulers in 363 A.D. removed the prevailing restrictions and granted a general permission to his Chi-

nese subjects to enter the monasteries. By 381 A.D. nine-tenths of the people in the northwest provinces were reported to be supporters of Buddhism. Many monasteries and shrines were built, and Chinese Buddha images from this time are still extant. From 401 to about 410 Kumarajiva worked at Changan and won many disciples to his easy Mahayanist ideas. He proved a skilful adapter of Buddhist texts to the Chinese and was also reputed for his marvels, if not for his morals. About this time the bold Chinese pilgrims mentioned above began to undertake the long and hazardous journey to India to get Buddhist scriptures and improve their knowledge of the religion.

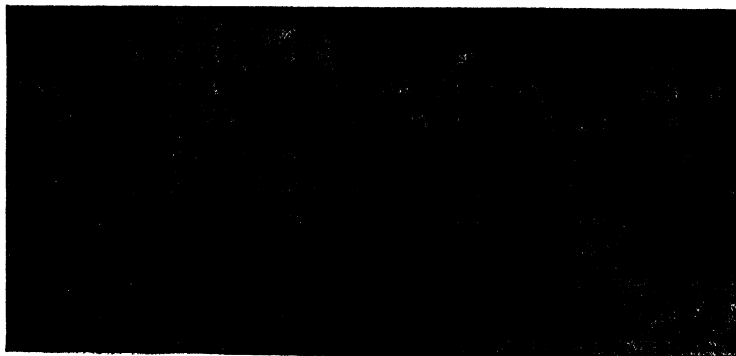
2. THE SCHOOLS AND THE MAIN STRAINS IN CHINESE BUDDHISM. The period from about 400 to 800 A.D. was marked by the further spread and penetration of Buddhism into the centers of Chinese culture, and by its reworking under native auspices into various distinctive and permanent Chinese forms. There were some checks and persecutions brought about partly by the opposition of Confucian scholars and aristocracy, and partly by the influence of rival religions, especially Taoism. But on the whole, the ferment of new religious movements (Taoist, Manichean, Nestorian and Moham-medan) created an atmosphere favorable to Buddhism, which reached a high point of influence in the Tang dynasty (620-907). During this time Chinese Buddhism flourished also in Japan. In 518 the emperor Wu-ti ordered the first Chinese collection of the *Tipitaka* to be made, and there were six others produced between then and 730, all of them in manuscript and each comprising some thousand or more works.

In this period various distinct schools of Chinese Buddhism emerged. These schools have not preserved themselves in China as sects, as they did in Japan, but some of them established forms of Buddhism which became more or less pervasive and remain as major strains in Chinese Buddhism. Among the oldest of these schools is the *Ching'u* or Pure Land school, which is said to have been founded by Hui-yüan (333-416), a converted Taoist, although the leading idea of the school must have been already known, since Central Asian Mahayanists had translated into Chinese the scriptures it chose as basic. These scriptures are the Land of Bliss (*Sukhavati* and *Amitayu*) Sutras, and the essential doctrine of the school

is faith in Omīto-fu (Amitabha) as the beneficent Buddha who has vowed to save all sentient beings. He saves his followers from all disaster and distress, conducting them at death to his paradise, the Pure Land. The school propagated the invocation of the Buddha by the formula *Namo Omīto-fu* as the essential act of devotion and produced a considerable body of prayers and devotional poetry. Some find Nestorian influences in its hymns. This type of devotional Buddhism was easily spread among the laity and readily embraced the cult of savior deities as merciful Bodhisattvas, especially the cult of Kuan-yin. From this school derives the Jodo Buddhism of Japan.

The *Ch'an* or Meditation school traces itself to Bodhidharma (Ta-mo), who is called the twenty-eighth patriarch after Śakyamuni and is said to have come from India to China about 520 A.D. He is unknown to Indian literature, though his teaching has some resemblance to Indian Vedantism. The Buddha in every man's heart is the sole reality. This Buddhahood can be realized by concentrated intuition, for which a regimen of meditation is favorable, but not the use of books, images or other external aids. Such teaching to a certain extent encouraged hermit asceticism and eccentric tendencies, but at the same time appealed widely to that sense of natural sufficiency, simplicity and quiet spontaneity already expressed by the Chinese Taoists. It therefore became a pervasive strain in Chinese Buddhism, in fact one of its most potent influences. The *Ch'an* school soon broke up into a number of sub-divisions but continued to spread, and its doctrine and practice of meditation gradually found its way into most Chinese monasteries. Well over half the Chinese monks of today are said to belong to *Ch'an*. Its offshoot in Japan is called Zen.

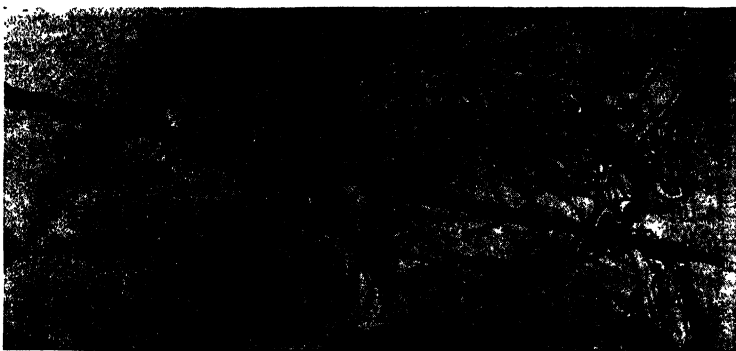
In contrast to both the Pure Land and the Meditation schools (and partly in reaction against them) the *Lü* or Vinaya school stresses the discipline of conduct and observance of the rules of monastic life as contained in the Vinaya texts. Its founder was Tao Hsüan (595-667). At about the same time that he was studying the Vinaya texts other Chinese scholars, among them the celebrated pilgrim Hsüan Chuang, were seeking a more accurate understanding of the Mahayana philosophers of India. From their interpretations of Nagarjuna and Vasubandhu a number of schools arose,

*After Kohka*

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*Orientalisches Museum, Berlin*

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*After Kohka*

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94. Mountain hermit (Sung). 95. Ta-mo (Bodhidharma). By Sō-ami. 96. Lohan (Mongol).

whose distinctive traditions were philosophical rather than practical. Such were the *Chü-she* which based its teaching on the *Abhidharma-kośaśāstra* of Vasubandhu, the *Fa-Hsiang* which took a work of Hsüan Chuang's on Vasubandhu as its chief text, and the *Hua-yen* which built on the *Avatamsakasutra* and Nagarjuna.

More indicative of the general form which Chinese Buddhism took is the eclectic teaching of Chih-k'ai (d. 597), the founder of the *T'ien T'ai* school. He was a disciple of Bodhidharma and accepted the view that the Buddha mind is present in everyone. But different men need different kinds of instruction to gain effective knowledge of this mind. Chih-k'ai combined the various aspects of Buddhist practice (meditation, study, ceremonial, ascetic and moral discipline and devotion) and justified them all by the theory that Buddha taught different ways of salvation to different groups in the course of his career; for three weeks after his enlightenment he taught the philosophical *Hua-yen* doctrine to heavenly beings; then for twelve years he taught the Hinayana discipline to earthly disciples capable of becoming *arhats*; for another eight years he preached the Bodhisattva ideal and way of salvation; then during twenty-two years he revealed the *Prajnaparamitasutras*, showing there is no contradiction between the Hinayana and Mahayana methods; finally, in old age he taught the most profound and complete truth, that of the *Saddharmapundarika* or *Lotus* scripture—which Chih-k'ai adopts as most authoritative. The *T'ien T'ai* synthesis also showed tolerance for other religions and especially stressed deeply rooted Chinese sentiments such as filial piety. The school produced numerous scholars whose teachings prevailed not merely as those of a sect, but as a general formulation of the eventually composite character of most Chinese Buddhism. These doctrines were also developed by the Tendai sect in Japan.

One further element, besides those already mentioned, was added to the Buddhist panoply, and that was the elaborate system of *mantras* and ritual magic developed by the Tantrists. This contained special rites, gestures and formulas for every purpose, but was particularly well developed for influencing the weather, affairs of passion and for aiding the dead. These techniques were cultivated especially by the *Chen Yen* or Mystery school, which appeared about 719 and soon became wide-spread, reinforced by influences

from Tibetan Buddhism. The practices required specialization of the monks as priests and involved a large pantheon of specialized divinities. Their systematization involved a new cosmological theory. The Shingon sect developed the system in Japan.

By 730 A.D. the main schools and forms of Chinese Buddhism were all present. Their development involved an exchange of influences and also much rivalry with Taoism. There were also able Confucian critics of Buddhism, among whom Han-Yü was especially celebrated. In 845 the Tang emperor Wu Tsing, under Taoist influence, ordered a large-scale suppression of Buddhism, but since he was rendered dumb by the Taoist elixir of immortality in the following year, the persecution was abandoned. The Tang period, on the whole, was the most creative period of Chinese Buddhism. The mystic idealism and other-worldliness which it imparted to life are infused in all the cultural productions, the lyrics, sculpture and painting, which distinguish the age.

3. THE CHINESE ASSIMILATION OF BUDDHISM. During the Sung dynasty (960-1280), a time of relative isolation for China and return to indigenous culture, there occurred a Confucian revival, whose philosophical spokesmen (among them Chu-Hsi and the brothers Cheng) reacted against the transcendental idealism and nihilistic tendencies in Buddhist speculation and sought to build up a more realistic cosmological moralism in line with Confucian classics. The goodness of human nature and the importance of fundamental human relationships were reaffirmed, and an attempt was made to derive them from the nature of heaven and earth. The following passage from the *Literary Remains* of the Cheng brothers gives an idea of the controversy with Buddhism and also of the influence which the latter was exercising in China:

As our yesterday's meeting was largely devoted to Chan-like sophistications, I could not help feeling disappointed. This kind of talk has already become a fashion, and there is little one can do to remedy the situation. Formerly, though Buddhism was also popular, yet its effort was confined to idol-worship, and therefore the harm done was not very great. Today, the Buddhists talk first of all about the fundamental problems of nature and morality, and consequently a large number of intelligent persons feel drawn to it. As a matter of fact, the more intelligent a person is, the more deeply he gets involved in this. Please, do not say that you are merely trying to find out,

for in so doing you may yourself get converted to it. At any rate, it is not worth your effort, because Buddhism is a system which denies human relationships, and is therefore most unacceptable. It proposes leaving this life, but we must ask: where to? Further, the Buddhist forsakes his family. But what is family? It is nothing more than the normal relationships between the master and servant, parents and children, husband and wife, and brother and brother. If you regard such relationships as temporary, then of course they become meaningless and distasteful. To desire to leave this life of ours is certainly very foolish. At best, one can perhaps approximate Buddha himself. But who is Buddha? He is only a cunning foreigner. At first, he was only a hermit, seeking his own salvation. In that case, he merely left the world. But unfortunately, after he claimed to have won his salvation, he started to spread his ideas, thinking that the whole world needs them. How presumptuous! The trouble today is that it is attracting many intelligent persons, who because of their high intelligence are hard to change. . . . These people want to annihilate human relationships and desires and emotions. . . . But in the end, they will fail, because such things are rooted in nature, and are therefore not extinguishable. Chih Kuo has studied this for thirty years, but, when asked, claims to have only a vague idea, and can not show any first-hand knowledge, upon self-examination. . . . Though the Chan Buddhists claim to have received illumination, yet they have not any. Sometimes, the Buddhists are willing to admit that Buddhism will not help man to govern the empire and to regulate the family, and yet they assert that when the truth is arrived at, it must be spread all over the world! ²

As the above passage suggests, the influence of Buddhism was by this time quite pervasive in Chinese thought, so that it is not surprising to find it an important factor within much of neo-Confucian philosophy itself. The Sung philosophers teach the doctrine of universal sagehood, that every man has within his nature the potentiality for enlightenment, a doctrine parallel to the Buddhist belief in universal salvation and Buddhahood. They likewise interpret the good nature which Heaven imparts to man as a law or principle (*Li*) of perfection, a conception comparable to that of *dharma*. Again, some of them explain evil as due to passions and desires and adopt the Buddhist and Taoist idea of the diminution of desires as a mark of enlightenment. Desire is connected with matter (*chi*), and this leads naturally to an emphasis on meditation, inward cultivation and observation of the mind as methods of approaching the

² Translated by P. C. Hsu in an unpublished manuscript.

good. All the Sung philosophers value meditation, although they seek to differentiate it from the objectless absorption of the Buddhist trances. The two Chengs and Chu-Hsi recommend also "the investigation of things," but the teaching of Lu Chiu-yuan (which culminates later in that of Wang Yang-ming) traces all knowledge of truth to a source in the mind. Meditation, however, should not prevent attachment to the fundamental human relationships. According to Wang Yang-ming:

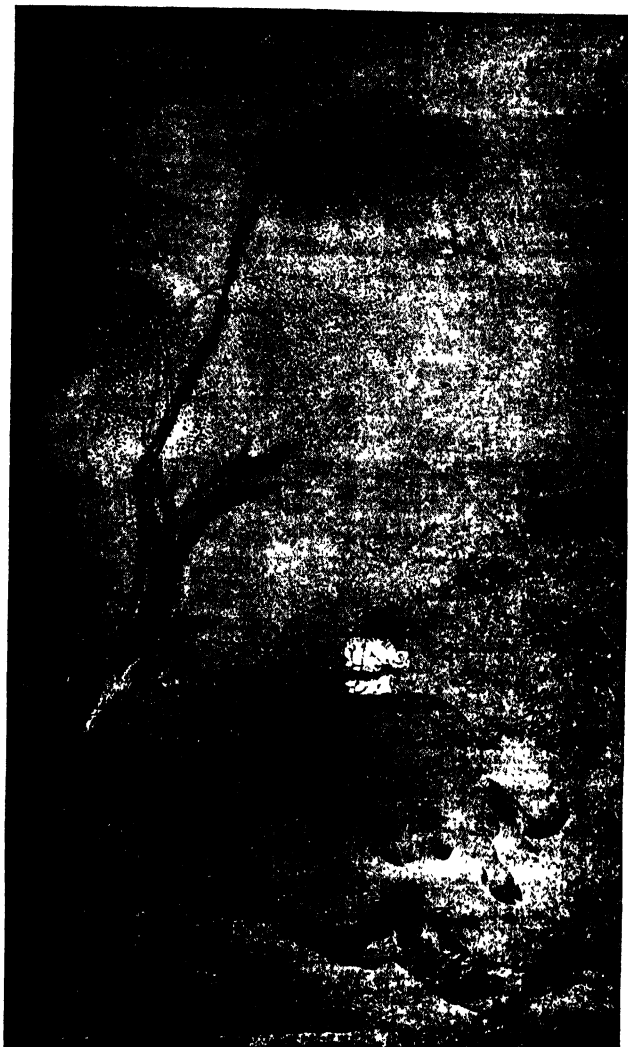
When we Confucianists preserve and nourish the mind, we do not leave affairs and things. We need only comply with heaven's mandates in order to carry out the task. In contrast to this, the Buddhists desire to cast aside and abnegate all things, and view the mind as subject to metempsychosis and as gradually entering the state of nirvana. Since this has no relation to this earth, they cannot rule and govern the Empire.³

Thus, there arose in this period a native non-Buddhistic form of Chinese thought which was nevertheless strongly tinged with Buddhistic qualities. The same outcome is manifest also in Sung painting, which largely forsook iconography and turned with enthusiasm to landscape, treating natural scenes both as the setting and symbols of inward vision and experience. Among the Buddhist writers of the time some replied to their Confucian critics and denied that Buddhism was indifferent to human relations. The three religions of China, they argued, are supplementary rather than conflicting, for "the ultimate goal of the Confucianists is moral and social achievement in this world, that of the Taoists is to achieve longevity, and that of the Buddhists is to transcend transmigration, to enter nirvana, and to save all creatures. . . . Uprightness is the characteristic of Confucianism . . . and grandeur is that of Buddhism."⁴

The realistic trend of Chinese thought continued after the Sung period and manifested itself in new forms of the drama and later in new developments of critical scholarship. Among Buddhistic themes popularized in the drama was *The Journey to the West*, an adventurous and imaginative narration of Hsüan-chuang's famous pilgrimage to India. It well illustrates the popular synthesis in Chinese religion, for of all the wonders of the world a pilgrim may en-

³ F. G. Henke, *Philosophy of Wang Yang-Ming*, p. 168.

⁴ Translated from the Chinese of Liu Mi by P. C. Hsu.



Freer Gallery

97. "Coming home on the cow's back," the sixth of the ten stages of "spiritual cowherding" of Zen Buddhism. Painting by Tai Sung, 9th century. "Riding the cow he leisurely wends his way home. Enveloped in the evening mist, how tunelessly the flute vanishes away! Singing a ditty, beating time, his heart is filled with a joy indescribable! That he is now one of those who know, need it be told?" (Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism*, p. 362.)

counter the three greatest are said to be the Buddhas, the Taoist immortals and the Confucian deities. The drama probably dates from the Mongol period (1280-1368) when relations with the West were again important, and Lamaist Buddhism was fostered by the Mongol rulers. With the restoration of native rule under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) a reaction ensued and Confucian orthodoxy was favored. However, the leading school of Confucian thought, that of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528), was of all neo-Confucian schools closest to a contemplative idealism of Buddhist coloring. This strain of thought continued its influence in the ensuing Manchu or Ching period (1644-1911), although outstanding scholars were less speculatively disposed, and some able historical critics severely attacked neo-Confucian orthodoxy as distorting the classics through Buddhist and Taoist importations. The Sacred Edict issued in 1668 by the emperor K'ang Hsi condemns and criticizes Buddhist doctrines from the Confucian point of view, but the same ruler, like most others of the last two dynasties, granted many favors to monasteries and summed up his practical attitude in a characteristic message to the monks of P'uto island, sacred to Kuan-yin, in which he said:

We since our boyhood have been earnest students of Confucian lore and have had no time to become minutely acquainted with the sacred books of Buddhism, but we are satisfied that Virtue is the one word which indicates what is essential in both systems. Let us pray to the compassionate Kuan-yin that she may of her grace send down upon our people the spiritual rain and sweet dew of the good Law: that she may grant them bounteous harvests, seasonable winds and the blessings of peace, harmony and long life and finally that she may lead them to the salvation which she offers to all beings in the Universe.⁵

In fine, one must say that China absorbed large draughts of Buddhism yet remained fundamentally Chinese. Buddhism has long exerted a wide and pervasive influence but has never become national tradition to the extent that it did in some other countries, and it produced no basic revolution in native Chinese thought. The native religions of China found an essential goodness in nature, and taught various ways of accommodation to it. Buddhism did not displace this

⁵ As quoted by Eliot, vol. III, pp. 237-8.

orientation of the Chinese; its doctrine of *karma*, if anything, encouraged the attitude of accepting one's lot by interpreting inequalities of circumstance as the inevitable consequence of men's own past actions. Buddhism by its staggering conceptions of the manifold universe, its imaginative power in depicting the heavens and hells and their various populations and by its intensive disciplines undoubtedly added a strenuousness and range and variety to Chinese religious effort and devotion, but scarcely changed its elemental evaluations. The native ideal of peace and contentment was deepened rather than supplanted by the added vision of transcendent peace in *nirvāṇa*. The monk could devote more time than the farmer to weather-magic and prayers; thus the two together cared better for the good earth. Even between monasticism and filial piety an alliance was made, for the monastery could serve as a refuge for the homeless and for children of overburdened families, and the monks could reinforce ancestor-worship by their rites and prayers for the dead. Finally, the ideal of universal benevolence which the Chinese sage Mo-tse had failed to establish as a principle of social practice (corrective of Confucianism and Taoism), the Buddhists succeeded in some measure in cultivating as a religious sentiment of sympathy and compassion.

B. BUDDHIST PRACTICES IN CHINA. Though its basis and organization remained monastic, Chinese Buddhism entered the life of the layman in numerous ways. In many homes the ancestral shrines were supplemented by shrines of Buddha and Bodhisattvas to whom worship was offered daily. The Chinese emphasis on ancestor-worship naturally led Buddhists to stress their conceptions of the after-life and especially to cultivate various ministrations for the dead. The employment of Buddhist priests at funeral ceremonies became common, and in addition monks engaged to institute prayers and other rites on behalf of the departed.⁶ An autumn Feast of the Hungry Souls was promoted chiefly by Buddhists and became one of the chief popular holidays, marked by offerings to all "homeless souls" who have no descendants to care for them, by benefactions to the monasteries and other works of charity. The cult of the Bodhisattva

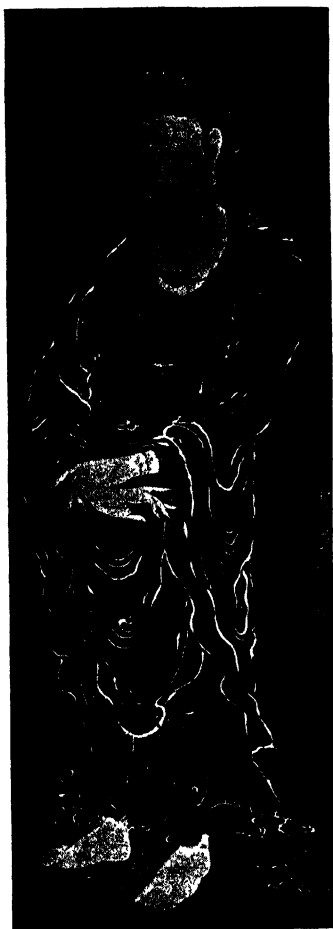
⁶ In some of these rites the influence of Tibetan Tantrism strongly appears, while others are sometimes thought to indicate Nestorian influence by their resemblance to Christian masses for the dead.

Ti-tsang (Kshitigarba) spread and developed notably. This former "earth-spirit" became prominent in China as overlord of the infernal regions or hells. The Chinese popular mind conceived the heavens and hells as so many celestial and infernal provinces, each having its official governors much like the terrestrial provinces of the Empire. There are ten hells in each of which a tribunal metes out appropriate punishments to those whose *karma* leads them thither. Ti-tsang presides over all these courts of hell, and though his justice as judge is terrifying, his compassion as Bodhisattva can be invoked.

Another aspect of lay Buddhism which became popular in China was pilgrimage to famous monasteries and shrines. Pilgrimage, especially to sacred mountains, was an ancient custom of the Chinese, and it already had a conspicuous place in the Buddhism of India and other countries. Since there were many reasons for placing monastic retreats in the mountains, the Buddhists naturally fostered some of the native Chinese mountain cults and associated them with the worship of their own Bodhisattvas. Hence, many local cults of this kind arose, most prominent among them being "The Four Famous Hills," each of which became identified with a great Bodhisattva who served there to watch and protect one of the four quarters of the empire. In the northern province of Shansi is Wu-t'ai-shan, associated with the element air and regarded as the sacred seat of Wên-shu (Manjusri). The cult here came largely under the control of Mongol Lamaism. In central China is Chin-hua-shan, associated with earth and sacred to Ti-tsang (Kshitigarba). To the southwest in Szechuan is Omei-shan, associated with fire and sacred to P'u-hsien (Samantabhadra). And in the east on the island of P'uto is P'uto-shan, where the element is water and the reigning Bodhisattva is Kuan-yin (Avalokiteśvara). The monasteries in the hills of T'ien T'ai, Wutang and Wu-i are historically famous and are visited annually by numerous pilgrims. The pilgrimages combine devotion and excursion. They are generally organized by local "mountain societies," some of which represent in a measure religious sects. Some individuals undertake arduous penances and develop extreme religious zeal on the way. But for the majority the journey is made interesting by the many sights that can be seen: shrines, natural wonders, foreigners, holy men, soothsayers, magicians, story-tellers, plays and pantomimes.

Of the various cults mentioned by far the most popular and most significant in all China is that of the compassionate Kuan-yin. All the saving grace attributed in Indian Buddhism to Avalokiteśvara is preserved in the cult of Kuan-yin, and, moreover, the many different aspects of Avalokiteśvara which developed in India, Tibet and Central Asia have with few exceptions been transmitted to China. But in China this varied tradition was further enriched by converting the Bodhisattva into a supreme goddess of mercy. The male Avalokiteśvara is known in China, and Buddhist theology would have no difficulty in ascribing either or both sexes to one god, but in the popular Chinese cult the feminine aspect predominates decidedly in both the form and the functions of Kuan-yin. In Chinese legend she is linked with the maiden Miao-shan, who in filial piety tore out her eyes to restore the sight of her father, which he had lost in opposing her desire to enter a convent. In a future incarnation Miao-shan became a Bodhisattva. But Kuan-yin is not only the self-sacrificing maiden (a counterpart of the gracious Indian youth Padmapani, the lotus-hand); she is also a mother goddess (perhaps the successor of the mountain mother at Tai Shan), and she is very generally besought as the giver of sons. Again, in Chinese popular cosmology the female nature is associated with water and with the moon, so that these spheres have also been brought under the sway of Kuan-yin. Still other local manifestations and variations of her cult are too numerous to mention. The diversity of her forms in iconography and art is even greater than that of her functions. She is represented in all the following ways: seated on a lotus with her hands folded in the posture of meditation; standing on a lotus and holding a roll of prayers or a willow spray or a vase containing the water of life; holding a child; standing on a cloud or on the sea; accompanied by a dragon; seated on a throne generally in the posture of "royal ease"; or seated on a lion. She may also be shown with many arms, sometimes outstretched in the gesture of charity, sometimes holding Tantric symbols.

The layman makes his offerings to the Buddhist divinities both at home and at public temples. Village temples generally belong to the village but are managed by the monks who serve them as priests and sometimes treat them as their property. On festivals or in times of public need crowds will gather at the temples, but as a rule wor-



*Louvre
Editions Albert Morancé, Paris*

(a)



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

(b)

98. Kuan-yin: (a) On cloud. T'ang period. (b) On lotus. Sui dynasty. (c) Thousand-armed Kuan-yin of the four cardinal points in the Monastery of the Five Hundred Lohans, Suchow. (d) Kuan-yin as giver of sons. Ch'ing period. (e) Kwannon of contemplation at Horiuji, Japan. Korean, 6th century. (f) Kuan-yin in posture of "royal ease." Chinese, 10th century.



After Boerschmann
(c)



Musée Guimet
(d)



After Penollos
(e)

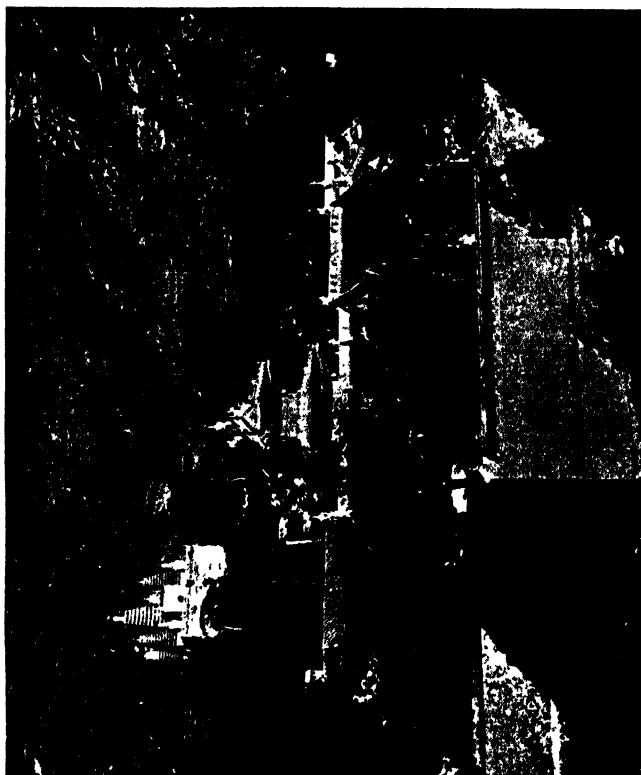


University Museum, Phila.
(f)

ship is individual (or on behalf of a family) and not congregational.

The monasteries of China vary much in size and in regimen. To some extent they can be divided according to schools or sects, but more outstanding is the independence of each monastery in managing its own affairs. Their organization much resembles that of Chinese society at large. The abbot is theoretically an unlimited patriarch, but he must constantly consult custom and regard the opinion of the group. His term of office is generally but three years, so that each monastery usually has a number of ex-abbots, and these headmen are the leaders in a fairly typical Chinese democracy. The novices and younger monks stand obligated to the older much as sons to fathers. The majority of the monastic population has been dedicated to monasteries in childhood by parents in straitened circumstances. The novitiate period in most cases is, therefore, of long duration, but the required study of the Law before ordination can be completed in two or three months of intensive application by an adult. There are three degrees of ordination; the Hinayana term *bhikshu* is applied to those taking the second; the Mahayana term Bodhisattva (*p'usa* in Chinese) is applied to those taking the third. The latter are branded on the top of their shaved heads during the ceremony. An ordained monk will be received in all Chinese monasteries and by many in neighboring countries.

The majority of the monasteries lie apart from the towns. The preferred site is a wooded height, but in any case trees are planted about the buildings wherever possible. The precincts are always surrounded by a wall. Within this a quadrangle of two-storied houses, containing the dwelling-rooms of the monks and separate apartments for the reception of guests, is generally found. And, within the court thus formed are the temples or halls of worship, varying in number according to the size of the monastery. A fairly large monastery will have an entrance hall with images of the Guardian Kings and other tutelaries, a principal hall of worship with images of the chief Buddhas and Bodhisattvas there worshipped, and a hall of the Law, adjoining the abbot's quarters, for the community convocations, where decisions are taken and disciplines imposed. These halls are often arranged on ascending terraces in the order mentioned. Often there is also a special hall of meditation. And in the larger compounds are found separate libraries, rooms for in-



99

After Tokios



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After Tokios

99. Pi-yun-sū monastery with "Five pagoda temple" in the Western Hills of Peiping. 15th century. 100. Sung-yüeh-sū pagoda in Hōnan. 6th century. Said to be the oldest in China. Near monastery in which Bodhidharma lived.

struction, subsidiary shrines and chapels, devoted to the worship of particular Bodhisattvas and saints; pagodas, adapted to Chinese architectural styles; lotus ponds; archways and pavilions for pilgrims on the approaches; gardens and fields and accessory buildings for the personnel.

The abbot is generally assisted by an administrative department of several senior monks who manage funds, property and purchases; by a guest department headed by a main host and an inspector; and by a department of instruction and worship, which regulates hours of meditation, study and rites. During worship and at meal times the monks are grouped in two divisions: a west party, headed by the administrative and guest departments, and an east party, headed by the department of instruction and worship. Important guests are placed with the west party, which has the greater dignity.

The overthrow of the Manchu empire in 1912, the decline of orthodox Confucian society and the turmoil of modern forces in China have created relatively free and stimulating but at the same time enormously difficult circumstances. In the disturbances of revolution and war many Buddhist establishments have suffered destruction or neglect and deterioration. Buddhism has also encountered a new opposition from free-thinkers who classify it among the superstitions of the past. On the other hand, the changed situation has fostered some new positive interests in Buddhism, which have been interpreted as indications of a Buddhist revival. The all-inclusive critical spirit and unlimited curiosity of modern scientific thought have drawn the attention of some scholars and intellectuals to Buddhism who might formerly have ignored or disdained it. Apologists have not failed to point out the affinity of Buddhist doctrines and metaphysics with ideas in Western science and philosophy. On the practical side some Buddhist centers have adopted methods akin to those of progressive Western churches for popular religious education, social service and reform. Such centers circulate printed tracts in large numbers. Their reform activities include a campaign against opium, alcohol, tobacco and meat, also efforts to improve conditions in prisons, to care for orphans and for the welfare of young people generally. The Hankow Buddhist society, started in 1921, is the center of a young men's Buddhist association. An out-

standing figure among Buddhist reformers is the monk T'ai Hsu, who sponsors both the reconstruction of Buddhist doctrine along lines of modern thought and the program of social reform. He believes Buddhism is intrinsically better qualified to become a modern religion than Christianity. Besides his movement an almost bewildering number of other reform projects have appeared within Chinese Buddhism during the last unstable years.⁷ It is impossible at present, however, to judge which of the many tendencies they represent may become a significant part of Buddhism.

The more traditional features of that religion have not been without their appeal in recent China. The uncertainty of existence has led individuals of all classes to seek temporary or permanent refuge in monasteries. A small group has also been interested in reviving the mystic ritualism of the *Chen Yen* school, which became extinct or corrupt in China during the Ming dynasty, but which still flourishes in the powerful Shingon sect of Japan.

VII. JAPANESE BUDDHISM⁸

A. THE EARLY IMPERIAL BUDDHISM (c. 600-800). Buddhism played a very great part in the making of Japanese civilization and acquired new forms in the process. It was introduced from Korea and China in the sixth century. There had been Japanese colonies in Korea for some centuries, and Buddhism had come into that country from China toward the end of the fourth century. The culture of Japan was at that time relatively primitive compared with that of China and Korea. The imperial family and its clansmen realized the opportunity for promoting their ascendancy in the islands by cultivating friendly relations with and importing the arts of the mainland. They were opposed in this policy by a more conservative military and priestly party, as well as by rival clans, but the opposition was subdued in 587. Thus Buddhism was at the outset connected in Japan with the court. The Prince Shotoku, regent from 593 to 622, proclaimed Buddhism as an official religion and at his capital founded a Buddhist institution (Tennō-ji) embracing a temple and monastic school and also a house of refuge, a hospital and a dis-

⁷ Cf. F. Rawlinson, *Revolution and religion in modern China*.

⁸ The following account is greatly indebted to the admirable *History of Japanese religion* by Masaharu Anesaki.

pensary. He promoted the study of the *Lotus* scripture, with its doctrine of benevolent Bodhisattvas, and introduced their images into his shrines. Other Buddhist leaders who extended the work of the court, notably Dosho (629-700) and Gyogi (670-749), not only cultivated scholarship and founded monasteries and alms-houses, but also promoted such enterprises as harbors, ferries, highways, reservoirs, irrigation canals and orchards. Buddhism was thus linked with a social program of intercommunication, pacification and construction.

The culminating achievement of this early imperial Buddhism was the great temple Tōdai-ji, completed at the capital of Nara in 752. It was dedicated to the Buddha Lochana, a heavenly manifestation of Śakyamuni. "In the Central Cathedral in Nara he is represented in a bronze statue more than fifty feet in height, seated on a gigantic lotus pedestal. The enormous halo is studded with minor statues of Buddhas and saints, while on the petals of the pedestal are engraved scenes of the twenty-five realms of existence with the figures of celestial and terrestrial beings—all united in adoration of the central figure and glorifying the majesty of the Supreme Enlightened. The temple structure covering the gigantic statue was originally surrounded by pagodas and other minor sanctuaries enclosed in galleries, the whole structure being intended to symbolize the communion of Buddhist saints and at the same time the unity of national life. The dedication of the completed structure (in 752) was the most brilliant event in the history of Japanese Buddhism. The whole court attended the ceremony and thousands of priests are said to have participated in it."⁹

Among the monks and priests at Nara at least six different schools of Buddhism are known to have been represented. They were schools taken over from China rather than religious sects, but three of them survive in Japan as minor sects to the present day: the Hosso, the Keron and the Ritsu.

B. THE HIERATIC SYNTHESIS. Perhaps in order to escape the domination of rival priestly factions of foreign origin, the capital was moved to Miyako (Kyōto) in 794. In any case, there in the neighboring mountains of Hiei and Kōya, native leaders founded new monasteries and developed the Tendai and Shingon teachings, which

⁹ M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese religion*, pp. 89-90.

first provided for a comprehensive priestly system well suited to serve the Japanese aristocracy and to assimilate native cults. The basic ideas of the new teachings were still taken from Chinese Buddhism, but they were developed by Japanese who went to China to study for themselves. Saichō (767-822), known posthumously as Dengyō Daishi, "the propagator of the true religion," introduced the inclusive doctrine of the Chinese *T'ien T'ai* school, according to which the various types of Buddhism are so many valid stages of enlightenment through which all beings can realize their participation in the Buddha as the basic spiritual unity of the universe. The highest realization is the vision of this spiritual community of all beings in Buddha. The *Lotus* scripture was regarded as the supreme revelation of this truth.

This doctrine was carried a point further by Kukai (774-835), posthumously famous as Kōbō Daishi, "the propagator of the law." In China he studied the *Chen Yen* school of "mysteries" and embodied their Tantric *mantras* and *mudrās* into his own system. According to this Shingon, "True Word," teaching the supreme Buddha is manifested not merely in the spiritual community of the universe, but also in those cosmic and esoteric powers which man can wield over the material community of natural forces. The cosmic body of the supreme being is made up of six elements: earth, water, fire, air, ether and consciousness. These elements are made to appear by means of his marvelous acts, words and thoughts. And the priest, reënacting these three mysteries of Buddha's body, mouth and mind, by three forms of ritual, by gestures, incantation of the true words and meditation on the hidden truths, can become a Buddha, controlling the elements and producing the manifestations he desires. To Kōbō Daishi himself great miracles were attributed.

On the basis of these principles Shingon elaborated a vast theological and ritual synthesis. Its monks undertook to exercise every kind of power by performing the appropriate *mantras* and *mudrās* of different Buddhas. They became a highly specialized priesthood, different monks ministering to different wants according to the sphere and power of the divinities whose powers they could control. In systematizing its practice and theology Shingon grouped the Buddhas on two charts or *mandalas*: the Diamond *Mandala* and

the Womb *Mandala* which represented respectively the "realm of indestructibles" and the dynamic activities of the universe. At the center of the Diamond *Mandala* is the supreme Buddha, the Great Illuminator, Dainichi (Vairochana), seated in contemplation on a white lotus and surrounded by other Buddhas as his emanations. The divinities of the Womb *Mandala*, whose sphere is the changing world, are regarded as partial manifestations of the indestructible realm (fig. 101). The Shinto gods were gradually assimilated to this latter group. In fact, under Shingon auspices the system of *Ryobu-Shinto*, whereby the native Shinto deities were regarded as special appearances or manifestations of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, received its widest sanction and development.

Thus besides lending itself indefinitely to the elaboration of formal ceremony, Shingon appealed to the Japanese aristocracy as an inclusive higher doctrine. Its occult mysticism was congenial to the large element of sorcery and spiritism in native religion and folklore, while its emphasis on outward manifestations of supernatural power accorded with the active ambitions of warriors. Its view of the universe under the double aspect of eternal spiritual Buddhas and their outer appearances in the material world was taken to justify a twofold way of life, on the one hand hieratic and monastic, on the other civic and profane. Buddhism had always included both monks and laity but generally viewed lay virtues as approximations to monastic ones. In Shingon the intrinsic virtues of the lay sphere were admitted as Buddhistic powers. Among Japanese monks and nobles it now became a recognized tendency for the same persons to combine monastic training and lay responsibilities, to cultivate both secular and priestly powers for the realization of their ambitions. Under these circumstances the Tendai and Shingon monasteries (for the former school adopted many of the latter's practices) acquired great temporal power, while the court and aristocracy were drawn to sacerdotal ideas.

Some of these characteristic features of Japanese Buddhism can be graphically illustrated by religious art and iconography. The figure of the Bodhisattva Fudo (fig. 102) is a famous image attributed by tradition to Kōbō Daishi himself. Fudo, the Immovable One, is regarded as a special Japanese manifestation of the Buddha Dainichi (Vairochana) to champion the righteous and combat the wicked. He holds a sword and a lasso, and his aspect of rigid severity



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After Getty

101. *Mandala* with Vairochana in the center. 102. Fudo the Immovable. Shingon temple, Kyôto. Note thunderbolt symbol in both figures.



102

Toji Temple, Kyôto

and watchfulness strikingly epitomizes warrior ideas of responsibility and discipline. The handle of the sword is in the form of the *vajra* or indestructible "diamond" thunderbolt, a common Indian and Tibetan symbol of thunderers and other "fierce" deities, manipulated by the Shingon priests as a ritual instrument. Besides appearing in such "fierce" and destructive forms the eternal Buddhas have their "mild" or beneficent manifestations. Of this kind the outstanding figure original to Japan is the Bodhisattva Jizo, who is second only to Kwannon (Kuan-yin) in the popular importance of his cult. Jizo is identified with the Chinese Ti-tsang, but in Japan his functions are distinct. He is not, as in China, the overlord of hell, but rather a beneficent guide in the underworld and more especially a protector of those who have died as children. He is also regarded as a guide of travelers in general, his image being often placed at cross-roads. The phallic worship of the country has also entered into his cult. He is generally represented as a smiling or gentle monk, carrying an alarm staff like that used by some monks in walking to clear the path of living creatures that might otherwise be trodden. (See fig. 106.)

The assimilation of the native solar cult and of mountain gods to the Buddhist pantheon finds ample illustration in Japanese art, as, for example, in the paintings which depict Buddhas seated in great orbs of light above the summits of the sacred mountains. (See fig. 103.)

C. BUDDHIST PIETISM AND POPULAR AWAKENING. The formalism and externalism of Shingon, together with growing decadence in the court and corruption in monasteries, led by the tenth century to the appearance of other religious currents. The ideas associated with the name of Amida (Amitabha) began to exercise a particular appeal. A contributing factor was the Buddhist tradition that a time was approaching when the world would be so corrupt that salvation could only be gained by another coming of the Buddha. Genshin (942-1017), the Abbot of Eshin-in, promoted the contemplation of Amida and wrote vivid descriptions of his paradise in a treatise, *Birth in the Land of Purity*. In this treatise he explained the merits of calling on Amida by the frequent repetition of the phrase *Nembutsu*. Amidism spread at first not as a complete system but as a particular aspect of Buddhism offering hope for the future life.



After Fischer

103. "Sunrise Amida." Amida, the Buddha of Infinite Light, attended by the Bodhisattvas Kwannon and Seishi (Mahasthana), appearing above the mountains. Japanese painting by Yeishin Sozu, 13th century, in Zenrinji temple, Kyôto.

It became customary to place a picture of Amida before the dying man and to put in his hand a string fastened at the other end to the image.

By the end of the eleventh century individual monks devoted to Amidism were leaving their mountain retreats and preaching this simple faith in the saving grace of Amida to people in the villages who had been but lightly touched by the aristocratic Shingon cult. Among such evangelists was Ryōnin (1072-1132), who was persuaded that "there is a thousand million times as much merit in the *Nembutsu* when repeated for others, as there is when said for one-self. For if with this idea you teach others to repeat it, their *Nembutsu* merit will become your own."¹⁰ The names of all whom he could persuade to repeat the prayer he enrolled in his Yuzu Nembutsu sect.

The great Amida sect founder, however, was Hōnen (1133-1212), who after nearly thirty years spent in the Tendai monasteries on Mount Hiei became convinced that trust in Amida availed more for salvation than all other Buddhist practices and devoted himself thereafter to spreading the practice of *Nembutsu* and interpreting it as a comprehensive faith. His emphasis on repetition of a formula in a sense perpetuated the Shingon reliance on magic words, but the principle involved was entirely different. For instead of trying to accomplish every purpose by proper formulas, he saw in the one word *Nembutsu* essentially a confession of human insufficiency and of complete dependence on Amida. "We must not think," he says, "that the expression *Namu Amida Butsu* means anything but simply 'Save me, Oh! Amida Buddha.'" The spirit of Hōnen's pietism is simply expressed in the following verses attributed to him:

The Pure Land's glorious vision
Is bliss that man may claim,
If he but worthily repeats
Amida's sacred name.

First in the Blessed Pure Land
When I attain my birth,
Shall be the precious memory
Of friends I left on earth.

¹⁰ H. H. Coates and R. Ishizuka, *Honen the Buddhist saint*, pp. 140-1.

Dear life itself is not too dear
 For woman's love to give.
 For joys eternal, then, why fear
 To sacrifice and live?

Ill seems each occupation
 That would free the heart from blame
 Compared with invocation
 Of Buddha's sacred name.¹¹



104. Death of Hōnen. Amida and attendant Bodhisattvas approach on clouds to take him to the Western Paradise. At the right, the mourning disciples. Japanese scroll painting, 14th century.

Hōnen's most famous disciple, Shinran (1173-1263), also went from the Tendai teachings to evangelical Amidism. With or without Hōnen's approval he discarded his monastic robes and married, thus teaching by example that secular life is no obstacle to salvation. He particularly emphasized that sinful souls could yet be saved through faith in the boundless love of Amida. He carried his gospel to the country-folk in remote provinces. His numerous followers became organized as the Jodo Shin Shu or True Pure Land Sect, while the more conservative disciples of Hōnen established a smaller sect known simply as the Jodo Shu or Pure Land Sect. The followers of Shinran came to regard him as a manifestation of Amida, and this reverence for the founder has not only persisted but bestowed a certain aura upon succeeding heads of the sect. The confession of

¹¹ *Ibid.*

faith drawn up by one of these successors in the fifteenth century well expresses the essential principles of the Shin Shu:

We have now entirely given up any thought of relying upon our own capacity (for attaining the final bliss) through various practices and manifold training; and we trust ourselves whole-heartedly to (the compassionate hand of salvation extended by) Buddha Amita, believing that He will surely save us and bring about the great consummation for our future life. We are convinced that our birth in His Land of Purity is assured and His saving act established, at the moment when our minds are centered upon Him, and that we have henceforth only to repeat His Name, as expression of gratitude. That we have been able to hear this gospel and to believe in it, is solely due to the gracious advent of the Saint, the founder of our religion, and to the precious instructions given by the patriarchs who have descended from him—this indebtedness is deeply impressed upon our minds. As this is so, we shall henceforth faithfully observe the prescriptions laid down by them all.¹²

The Amidists, however, were not the only ones who undertook to preach a popular Buddhist gospel. In the fiery prophet Nichiren (1222-82) they found a bitter antagonist. Nichiren was born the son of a fisherman in southeastern Japan and was sent as a boy to a local monastery. He became perplexed over the disputes between rival Buddhist factions and troubled by the political and social unrest which accompanied the overthrow of the imperial dynasty in 1185 and the rise to power of new provincial clans. He shared the widespread feeling that in the degenerate stage which the world had reached the country's salvation depended on a popular awakening. But at Mount Hiei he came to the conviction that the Amidists were no longer following the historic Śākyamuni as revealed in the *Lotus*, and that a popular revival of this only true Buddhism in its simplest terms was his mission. Thereafter he poured forth denunciation upon the Amidists, and in a time when invasion by the Mongols was threatening, he prophesied doom for Japan unless its falsity were corrected. The destiny of the nation was bound up in his eyes with a universal restoration of the true Buddhism. He narrowly escaped execution for his attacks upon the government and was driven into exile, but he persisted in his view of his mission, and his many followers still repeat his cry: "I will be the Pillar of Japan. I will

¹² Quoted in Anesaki, p. 231.

be the Eyes of Japan. I will be the Great Vessel of Japan. Inviolable shall remain these oaths."

D. BUDDHISM AND THE NEW MILITARY RULE. Critical changes were indeed taking place in Japan. The rising power of provincial clans had overcome the court aristocracy and in 1186 a new military government was set up at Kamakura under the dictatorship of the Minamoto. Though the imperial court was maintained at Kyōto, real power came into the hands of the Shōguns or military dictators. In the next centuries this power was held successively by various clans whose exercise of it involved more or less constant warfare against rivals. A new class of feudal soldiery, the *bushi*, thus came into social prominence and gave rise to new cultural, moral and religious standards.

Neither the high-church ritual mysticism of Shingon Buddhism nor the secular culture of court romance could hold sway over the *bushi*, whose manners were simple and severe, if not crude. In general the leaders were devoted to their clan gods and primitive ancestral cults. Some of them were in addition Amida pietists. But Buddhism attained its greatest influence over the military neither in the form of priestly ceremony nor in that of popular pietism, for another form of Buddhism had but recently been introduced from China by Yeisai (1141-1215) and Dōgen (1200-53). This was the *Ch'an* or, as it was called in Japan, the Zen practice of meditation. Under the circumstances now presented in Japan, this teaching acquired new significance. Its advocates were opposed equally to external ceremonies and to the "easy methods" of salvation favored by the pietists. "Dōgen once said to one of his disciples: 'People nowadays say: Go in for the religious discipline that is easily performed. Nothing could be more beside the mark. There is nothing Buddhistic about it. Things easily done and easily understood have precious little value even in the common experiences of life. Instead of leading men to enlightenment, such teaching can only result in illusion, and drive men further into the eternal transmigratory round.'"¹⁸ Dōgen and others founded small monasteries, where they introduced the Zen training in meditation and mental exercise to secure serenity and silent realization of the Buddha nature within the heart. They extended their teaching to warriors

¹⁸ Coates and Ishizuka, p. 178.

as well as to their monastic disciples. In the latter half of the thirteenth century some of the leading military statesmen had Zennist preceptors, and it became more and more usual thereafter for the Samurai or captains of armies to receive such instruction. Their feudal code of loyalty and chivalry was thereby supplemented by a spiritual discipline, which they could take into the field since it required no priest, book or other paraphernalia, and which inculcated calm resolution and transcendence of a personal viewpoint. The Zennists also promoted Confucian ethics and in their imitation of *Ch'an* poetry and art contributed to a revolution of esthetic taste in the direction of natural simplicity. A simple formality and reserve sufficed them in their democratic manners and sentiments of natural equality. They introduced the use of tea, at first as an aid in their monastic meditations, but soon tea-drinking became a social cult and almost a religious rite expressive of the new spirit.

The warrior's code of conduct, known as Bushidō, combined fidelity to leaders with Confucian moral ideas and stoical Zennism. Its religious and moral features are well revealed in the "family instructions" (*Kakun*) left by leaders to their children, in the hope that even among shifting circumstances it might be possible "to persist in one's ideal aim through seven lives to follow." "These instructions were confessions of faith on the part of the writer, as well as rules of conduct and principles of life for himself and his kinsmen. Naturally these documents were held in reverence by descendants and retainers as sacred embodiments of family ideals. The faith expressed therein was mostly Buddhistic, amounting to confession of faith in Buddha as the protector of the righteous. Another important point in this faith was the belief that any thought or ardent desire could produce its effects not only upon the life of the individual but upon the processes of the universe, and thus work, somewhat mysteriously, for the final attainment of the aim. More immediate help was asked for and expected from Shinto deities, especially the ancestral or tutelary deities of the respective clans. Loyalty to the sovereign and fidelity to family traditions were strongly admonished, and the virtues of charity, justice, honesty, modesty, valour were also inculcated. Advice was given to the heirs of military leaders as to the administration of feudal territories,



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After Kokka



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After Kokka

105. "Monju in a vegetable garment." A depiction of Manjusri according to Zen art and ideals. Painting by Hsüeh Chien, 14th century. Contrast the Manjusri of fig. 82 as well as the more conventional iconography of the next figure. 106. The Bodhisattva Jizo. In his right hand is an alarm staff and in his left, the "inexhaustible jewel" of divine compassion. Japanese *kakemono*, 12th century.

treatment of the soldiers, care of provisions, and as to codes of honour in peace and war.”¹⁴

An aspect of the social upheaval and political conflicts which lasted through much of the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was sectarian strife. The followers of Shinran and of Nichiren, each having their provincial strongholds, fought each other for predominance at the capital. The soldier-monks of the older Tendai monasteries on Mount Hiei took part rather unscrupulously in these and other battles, especially against the Nichirenites. Toward the end of the sixteenth century Shōguns arose who determined to put an end to this warfare. In 1571 Nobunaga reduced the monasteries on Mount Hiei to ashes and subsequently also imposed terms on those of Mount Kōya. It is interesting that this dictator encouraged the Jesuit missionaries who were then making many converts. But Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, the dictators who followed him, became convinced that this new sect was also connected with a potentially dangerous power, and beginning in 1587 an increasingly hostile policy was inaugurated, culminating after 1614 in the exile or extermination of the Christians.

E. BUDDHISM IN MODERN JAPAN. Feudal fighting was generally held in check during the Tokugawa Shōgunate (1603-1867), and the local Samurai became governors rather than warriors. The central régime patronized all the Buddhist sects, but also subjected each in secular affairs to the regulation of a definite code. Under these conditions the sects were pacified and made prosperous, but they became traditionalist and relatively sterile. Scholars compiled their histories and formalized their doctrines; preaching became mannered and rhetorical. Besides this emasculation Buddhism suffered from the encroachment of rival doctrines. In public life Confucian teaching became ascendant and molded the governing ethos. In the eighteenth century the revival of Shinto and the attempt to purify it of Buddhist accretions were launched, and finally with the abolition of the Shōgunate and the Imperial Restoration in 1868, Buddhism was disestablished. Privileges granted to Buddhist clergy under the old code were abolished and much property of Buddhist establishments was confiscated. For a few years an attempt was even made to put all religious activities under the control of a national Ecclesi-

¹⁴ Anesaki, pp. 221-2.

astical Board, which was called neither Buddhist nor Shinto. But this expedient proved artificial, and in 1877 the autonomy of religious sects was once more recognized.

The Buddhist sects are too much a part of Japanese life to be uprooted by any superficial force. In the main they still hold to their historic positions. According to statistics for 1919 the Shingon sect is credited with having the largest number of lay adherents, but its following, like that of most high-church groups in Europe, represents in large measure traditional attachment of families and communities rather than individual participants. It draws upon both high and low classes. The adherents of the Zen sects are in large part descendants of former Samurai families. Among the evangelical sects the Shin is decidedly first in the number of its clergy, lay adherents and temples. It makes a wide appeal to the masses, as does also the smaller but very active Nichiren sect. The Jodo sect remains somewhat more conservative and aristocratic in its following. The Tendai, though permanently weakened by Nobunaga's attack on Mount Hiei, is still a strong monastic sect.¹⁵

The maintenance of traditions, however, is but one side of contemporary Japanese life. More striking has been the remarkably pervasive assimilation of Western ways and ideas and the rapid development by the Japanese of modern science, industry and public education. These have brought to the fore in Japanese culture a new set of secular conditions and interests. Practically every tendency which Western religions have manifested under the circumstances also appears in contemporary Japanese religion. Indifference to religion and free-thinking criticism of it are very common, but still more wide-spread are the modernized interpretations and reconstructions of it. A growing phenomenon is the spread of new popular sects based on fresh revelations and prophecies ministering to elemental needs of healing, confidence and release. The popular sects are mostly of mixed Shinto and Buddhist background, and some of them have been mentioned in the discussion of Shinto. The official imperial cult and its implications for national solidarity have also been indicated there.

On the side of Buddhist thought it may be noted that Japanese scholars are taking the lead in the critical study of Buddhist history

¹⁵ Cf. J. B. Pratt, *The pilgrimage of Buddhism*, pp. 520-1.

and philosophy. Among those who take an interest in the modern restatement of Buddhist ideas there are some who develop the Tendai and Shingon philosophies so as to bring out their accord with evolutionary science and more especially with the dialectic of evolutionary idealism. This line of thought was espoused as early as 1890 by Enryō Inouye, who belonged to a Buddhist group that reacted against the identification of Western thought with Christianity. Kiyozawa in his life and writing gave the new Buddhist idealism a more living and mystic expression. More recently naturalistic philosophies have gained favor with liberals and radicals, and attempts have been made to combine them with the Buddhism of Nichiren and Shinran especially. At the beginning of this century Takayama eloquently proclaimed Nichiren as a prophet who spiritualized for him everything which he had been seeking in Nietzsche, in the gospel of beauty and in secular nationalism. Much more recently Shinran's gospel of love as the salvation of sinful souls has been given an interpretation which reflects the disillusioned individualism and the sentimental glorification of eroticism of post-War years. A gospel of individual poverty and a religious version of Communism has also been espoused by the Shinranist Tenkō Nishida and his Ittōen fraternity.

Of more lasting significance than these interpretations and extravagances of intellectuals is the practical adaptation of Buddhism to modern culture. In Japan Buddhism has gone furthest in providing its institutions with modern physical equipment and instrumentation. But furthermore, the disciplined sect organization of Japanese Buddhism, as well as other features of Japanese tradition, has enabled it quickly to parallel the institutional philanthropies and social service work of Christianity and other Western religions. Buddhist activities of this kind in Japan are too numerous for individual mention. A more distinctive interest attaches to the issue of conflicts between traditional Buddhist ethics, on the one hand, and modern ideas of enterprise and efficiency, on the other. Thus, Buddhist priests have been urged to institute services on behalf of departed silkworms and even rats, to overcome prejudices against sericulture and the use of rat poison. The propaganda in favor of meat to strengthen the nation was a capital issue of this kind.

Some Buddhist-Christian fraternization has taken place in Japan,

an instance being that of the Ittōen group. But for the most part liberals take the view that Buddhism itself can include all the desirable features of Christianity. The expansion of Japan's horizons and influence has been accompanied by the tendency of many Buddhist leaders to cultivate the idea that Japanese Buddhism today represents the Oriental spirit as a whole in its most vital form, which includes the power to assimilate what is wanted from the Occident. On the whole Buddhism is strongly allied with nationalism. The emphatically nationalistic temper of Nichiren tradition leads its followers into frequent alliance with chauvinism, but this must not be regarded as typical of Japanese Buddhism as a whole.

Judging from contemporary evidence and past history, Buddhism in all countries will no doubt adapt itself to modern culture, and many of its distinctive traditions and features will continue to have their appeal. There remains much question, however, as to the place it will occupy and the forms it will take in relation to other forces of equal or of greater vitality.

CHAPTER VI

GREEK RELIGION

I. ORIGINS AND SOURCES OF GREEK RELIGION

Greek religion in its origins is a mixture of at least three main elements.

A. NATIVE ÆGEAN RELIGION. Before the coming of the Hellenes into Greece there was already an Ægean culture, sometimes called Minoan-Mycenæan from its two principal centers, Minos in Crete and Mycenæ on the Greek mainland. Remains of these ancient city-states have been found at Knossos, Mycenæ, Tiryns and Athens. After the destruction of the maritime empire of Crete (about 1400 B.C.) the Ægean kingdoms of Asia Minor and Greece continued to play an important part in politics, but their culture gradually declined. The chief divinity worshiped by the Ægean peoples was a goddess, presumably the mother of all life, whose symbols were the double ax, the bird, the snake and various kinds of trees and flowers. She is also accompanied frequently by a youth, who may represent her consort or may be merely a worshiper. A holy child was also worshiped and was later identified with the infant Zeus or with Hyakinthos, the nursling of Artemis. There were cults of sacred stones, pillars, groves and caves, as well as animal sacrifices. The bull appears to have been a sacred animal.

Many survivals of this early religion are found in the later Greek cults, and it may be that Artemis, Demeter and possibly some of the forms of Athena were derived from the Ægean goddess. Such typically primitive rites as the bear dance of little girls in honor of the Brauronian Artemis, the magical flogging of youths before Artemis Orthia and the olive-branch fetish of Artemis Korythalia reveal early elements in Greek religion whose origins are unknown. The phallic symbols and sacred stones of Hermes, the pillar cults of Zeus, as well as certain rites of purification and fertility magic, are also vestiges of the indigenous primitive cults.



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After Evans*After Farnell*

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107. Mycenaean goddess seated under sacred tree, holding poppies. Priestesses (?) make offerings of flowers. The characteristic double-ax symbol appears in the center. At the upper left is a military hero or divinity. Sun and moon above. Signet ring from the Mycenaean acropolis. 108. Cretan mountain goddess with lions, male attendant and an altar of "horns of consecration." Signet ring from Knossos. 109. Bæotian Artemis, mistress of wild animals. Note swastika symbols and other indications of Oriental influence. Vase painting, c. 1000 B.C.

Besides the agricultural religion, with its fertility magic and propitiation of the powers of nature, there was also the cult of the dead. The custom of burying useful objects with the dead and of making sacrifices at their graves was wide-spread. Heroes and kings were buried in "beehive tombs" accompanied by rich treasures, and they apparently became protecting spirits or divinities. In some places the royal ancestor became a protector of the whole state, and the domestic shrines of royal families became city temples. But since the temples of this period were practically royal chapels and too small to accommodate large numbers of worshipers, the ceremonies and dramatic celebrations in which the religion of the city-dwellers found its expression were held in the courtyards of the palaces. The remains of such a pre-Hellenic royal dwelling were found on the Acropolis at Athens, near the Erechtheion or Temple of Erechtheus, and show the development of a royal dwelling into a civic shrine. Associated with Erechtheus was a female divinity, who was, no doubt, originally an agricultural earth-goddess, later incorporated into the state cult and identified with Athena.

B. THE RELIGION OF THEHELLENES. During the second millennium B.C., the Hellene invaders came in several waves from the northeast and conquered the whole of the Greek peninsula. They brought many religious elements similar to those found among the Indo-Aryans. Their deities were personifications of forces of nature and were located chiefly in the upper atmosphere. The most important of these was Zeus, the sky-god, wielder of the thunderbolt and father of gods and men. Besides these "high gods" the newcomers brought with them a tradition of migration and conquest, which later found classic expression in various hero myths, for example, the Herakles and Theseus cycles.

The fusion of races consequent upon the conquest of the Ægean city-states resulted in a new culture, known as Hellenic. That the old religion was absorbed in that of the conquerors in various ways may be inferred from the myths and epics. The conquest is symbolized in the great war fought between the gods and the Titans, the latter being perhaps indigenous earth divinities or heroes which the new religion encountered. The cult of Zeus gradually absorbed various local divinities, chiefly mountain-gods, and along with them certain primitive rites and functions. In the cult of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia there is definite evidence of human sacrifice. The cult of

Zeus Meilichios in Attica is an interesting example of syncretism, for in it the god is sometimes represented in the form of a serpent, perhaps a chthonic deity of the underworld of the dead. The Argive form of the goddess became Hera, the bride of Zeus; the local goddess of Attica, associated with Erectheus on the Acropolis, became the great Athena; the ancient "mistress of the animals," the "mother of the wild," was assimilated into the Olympian pantheon as Artemis, sister of Apollo; and, most important, the "earth mother" and giver of fertility continued to hold sway in popular religion in the forms of Gaia and Demeter. Many other local divinities were incorporated into the Olympian family and assigned their proper bounds and dominions.

C. FOREIGN IMPORTATIONS. There was also a continuous infiltration of foreign cults which began long before the Persian wars. The influence of Crete on Greek culture and religion was great from the earliest times, but the influence of Egypt seems to have been much less direct than Herodotus and many historians following him believed. Foreign philosophical schools from Asia Minor and other Mediterranean shores introduced new ideas and rival systems into Greek religion. Both Hesiod and Herakleitos were under Persian influence, and Pythagoreanism contained Oriental elements. Another stream of influence came from the northeast, from Phrygia and Thrace, bringing a different type of religion, the orgiastic mystery cult. The most important of these was the cult of Dionysos. A Thracian form of the great goddess, Bendis the Mountain Mother, came to Athens at an early date and became assimilated with the cult of Artemis, but its form of worship seems not to have been orgiastic. The chief event in the annual festival of Bendis was a torch race.

Out of a mixture of these elements four types of religion emerged during the classic period: (1) the agricultural rites of fertility and purifications; (2) the cult of the dead; (3) the mysteries, the rites of fertility, regeneration or immortality practised secretly by initiates; and (4) the civic religion, the worship of the Olympian gods by the citizens of the *polis*.

II. AGRICULTURAL RELIGION

A. AGRICULTURAL MAGIC. The religious practices of the agricultural classes, like those of other races, were based mainly on magic,

on devices for controlling the elements and furthering the reproductive processes in plant and beast. The classic compilation of such tabus, prescriptions and superstitions is contained in Hesiod's *Works and days*. From this work we take the following: never to cross a stream without praying and washing the hands; never to cut the finger nails at a festival; never to put the ladle upon the mixing bowl at a wine party; and, above all, never to make a mock of mysteries. For success in agriculture it was essential to observe carefully the auspicious and inauspicious days, according to the phases of the moon. "The eighth and the ninth, two days at least of the waxing month, are especially good for the works of man. Also the eleventh and twelfth are both excellent, alike for shearing sheep and reaping the kindly fruits." The thirteenth day is bad for sowing but the best day for setting plants. The tenth is the proper day for taming sheep, oxen, mules and dogs to the touch of the hand. The twenty-seventh and the fourth are good days for opening wine-jars. "That man is happy and lucky in them who knows all these things and does his work without offending the deathless gods, who discerns the omens of birds and avoids transgression."

B. DEMETER AND FERTILITY RITES. Mother Earth, Gaia, was worshiped by the Greeks as the universal source of life, mother of gods and men, but she was seldom associated with the specific function of promoting agricultural fertility. This latter domain belonged to Demeter and to the many lesser divinities with whom she was associated. She was primarily the giver of grain and fruits, though animal fertility was also attributed to her. Probably one of the most ancient features of her cult was the Thesmophoria, the feast of seeds, celebrated in the autumn and later connected with the mysteries. It was celebrated by women only and retained its primitive character down to late times. It was a three days' festival in connection with the fall sowing. On the first day the rotten flesh of sacrificed pigs, which had previously been let down into clefts or chasms, was brought up and mixed with the seed as a fertility charm. On the second day the women fasted, seated on the ground. On the third day the seed and the flesh of the pig were sown, with music and rejoicing in anticipation of the crop that was to come.

C. DIONYSIAC RELIGION. The cult of Dionysos was probably of Thrako-Phrygian origin, having its rise in Thrace and coming into Asia Minor at an early date on a wave of Phrygian migration. It

seems to have entered Hellas from two directions, from Thrace, by way of Macedonia, and from the coasts of Asia Minor. The latter mode of approach is suggested in the representations of Dionysos seated in a boat and in the legends concerning his Asiatic origin. The fact that in the *Iliad* Dionysos is spoken of as the child of Zeus and Semele, daughter of the king of Thebes, shows that the foreign god had already been assimilated into the Olympian religion at that early date. But in the *Bacchæ* Euripides tells the story of the opposition against which the cult of Dionysos had made its way. According to historical tradition it was officially received at Athens by Peisistratos in the sixth century and made part of the state religion. In its original Thracian form the cult of Dionysos was no doubt wildly orgiastic, containing elements of animal (and even at some remote date, human) sacrifices. The ecstatic madness in which the mænads tore wild animals limb from limb and devoured their flesh probably did not survive in the historic period but was celebrated as a theme of orgiastic dancing. Descriptions of the rural Dionysia seem to suggest rather the simple peasant folk-festival, with its gay carnival spirit of intoxication and ribaldry, its songs and dances and improvised dramatic presentations of well-known stories. But the god was regarded not merely as a wine-god but also as the life-spirit in all vegetation and in the animal world as well. For example, the bull was his special symbol. Consequently these rural Dionysia were full of primitive fertility magic: the sacrifice of a bull or goat; the eating of his flesh for the purpose of receiving his *mana* or power; the phallus carried on a pole from door to door; the songs and mimetic dancing. There was also an improvised dialogue between the leader and the chorus, accompanied by appropriate pantomime. The plot was based on the story of the death and rebirth of the god, which symbolized the death of the vegetation spirit in the fall and his rebirth the following spring. The first half of the story, relating the defeat and destruction of the god at the hands of his enemies, was accompanied by lamentations, and it was from this portion of the story that classic tragedy was born. By degrees it became separated from the other half, which, even in its highest development as Attic comedy, still retained the old riotous vulgar atmosphere of its earthy origin. When Peisistratos introduced the festival at Athens, an "orchestra" or dancing place was provided,

*After Cook*

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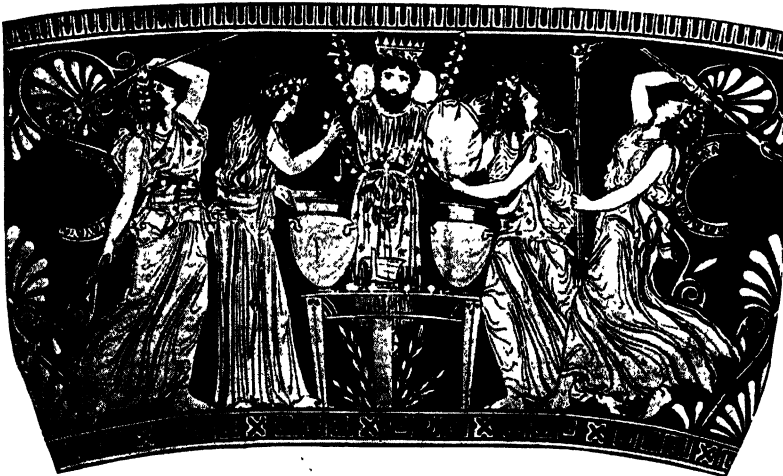
*After Harrison and MacColl*

111

110. Dionysos as god of the vine, on winged car, preceded by satyr. Black-figured amphora. 111. Dionysos on bull, pouring wine on the ground. (Poseidon, likewise on a bull, is represented on another part of the same amphora.)



112

After Harrison

113

After Furtwängler and Reichhold

112. The cult of Dionysos. The god is holding a flowering and garlanded branch. An image of him with a thyrsos stands behind the altar. A maenad is sacrificing a goat, others are bringing offerings of wine and fruits, while still others are dancing. A satyr and a mask used in the Dionysiac Mysteries are also represented. 113. The draped figure of Dionysos on the post receives offerings of wine, fruit and eggs from dancing maenads. Attic red-figured vase.

with an altar to Dionysos, and a century later a theater in honor of the god was built. In this form the cult of Dionysos became an important part of the state religion.

D. PURIFICATION. Another aspect of Greek agricultural religion is illustrated in the festival of Anthesteria celebrated at the end of February. Besides being a wine festival in honor of Dionysos, it was a festival of "all souls." On the first day the wine-jars of the last vintage were opened and a libation made to the gods. On the second day the wine was drunk ceremoniously in the precinct of the temple, after which there was revelry and rejoicing. But on the third day a pot of seeds of all kinds was boiled and offered to the spirits of the dead, who were freely roaming about the city during the three days of the festival. The god to whom the *panspermia* (pot of seeds) was offered was Hermes, who was both a fertility-daimon and a chthonic deity, the guide of the dead in the underworld. The Anthesteria was a time of fear, and the Athenians chewed buckthorn, performed various rites of purification and anointed their doors with pitch to keep away evil spirits.

This element of dread appears in a number of other rites in which the spirits of the dead appear in connection with the fruits of the earth. In the Thargelia (*thargelos*, a pot of grain), which came in midsummer just before the harvest, the first-fruits were offered in the same form as at the Anthesteria. These "fireless sacrifices" are characteristic rites of both the vegetation deities and the spirits of the dead. They were not eaten by the worshipers as a form of communion with the god, but were sacrificed to him as a placation. There were also rites of purification at this time, of which the most important was the *pharmakos* or scapegoat. Two selected men, probably criminals, were beaten and expelled from the city never to return, the theory being that they bore with them all the accumulated evil of the year.

III. THE CULT OF THE DEAD

Agricultural religion and the cult of the dead are so closely connected that it is difficult to treat them separately. The dead are called both *chthonioi*, earth-people, and *demetreioi*, Demeter's people. Likewise the serpent, with which the dead are associated, is both a fertility power and a symbol or embodiment of the dead. The an-



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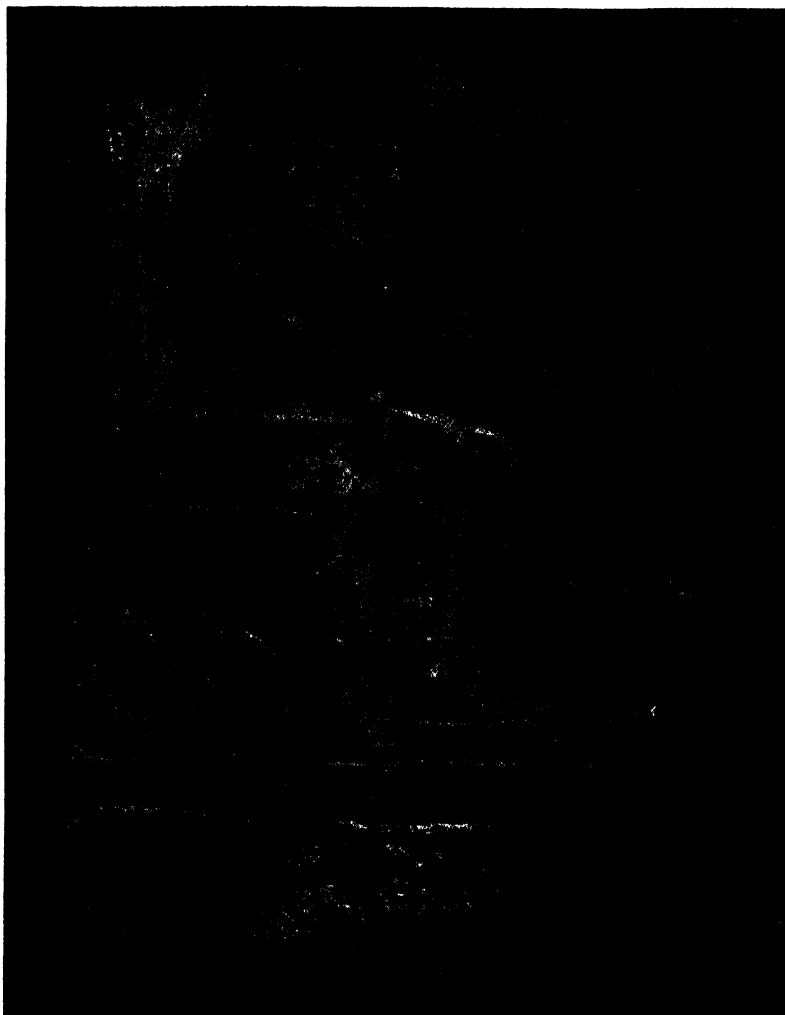
After Harrison

115

After Furtwängler and Reichhold

114. Sacrifice of Polyxena on the tomb of Achilles. The nearest kin of the slain kills the nearest kin of the slayer to appease the ghost of the slain. The blood of the victim flows on to the grave and the body is burned on it. Below are harpies and other symbols of the realm of the dead. Tyrrhenian amphora, 6th century.

115. Purification of Orestes at Delphi. Apollo drips the blood of a pig on his head. Artemis stands at the right. The shade of the murdered Clytemnestra tries to wake the sleeping furies.

*Berlin Museum*

116. Deceased represented in heroic stature receiving the offerings of their descendants. Behind them rises the chthonic serpent divinity. Grave relief, 6th century.

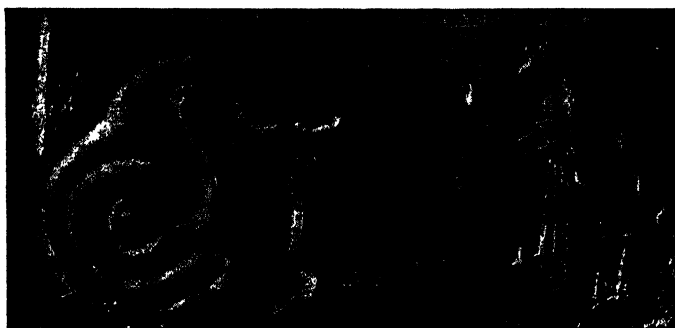
cestors are depicted sometimes in heroic style, enthroned and receiving offerings from their descendants, with a serpent rising behind them. That this serpent is also a fertility-daimon is plainly shown on certain coins where he is surrounded by ears of corn and poppy heads and named Agathos Daimon, the good spirit. The dead are represented as small winged human figures living in their burial mounds.

In the pre-Hellenic period the shades of the dead were propitiated or honored by human sacrifice, as may be seen from the stories of the killing of Trojan captives at the funeral of Patroklos in the *Iliad* and the sacrifice of Polyxena at the tomb of Achilles. A dual attitude toward the dead persisted throughout the classic period: on the one hand, a pious veneration of ancestral spirits; and on the other, a fear of ghosts as bearers of disease and misfortune of all sorts.

The cult centering about tombs was one of the most important and persistent aspects of Greek religion. The Mycenæan tombs were lavish monuments and contained treasures and household articles of all kinds. Apparently the dead were supplied with the equipment to which they were accustomed during life, ranging from slaves to toilet articles. Only the upper classes could afford such burial, and as time went on cheaper substitutes or symbols were introduced for many of the interred objects. At stated seasons votive offerings were brought to the tombs and animal sacrifices made. The evidence indicates that the dead were believed to reside in their tombs, even in the case of those who had first been cremated and only their bones buried. Nevertheless, the incompatible belief was also current that the shadowy forms of the dead went to the gloomy realm of Hades. Varying accounts are given of the location and nature of this realm. It was not a place of punishment or reward, but merely a ghostly continuation of this life. Except for the mysteries and the Oriental influences of the Hellenistic period, the Greeks were little concerned about the future life. Their concern was for an honorable death and for being held in honor by their descendants and countrymen. The tomb cults were primarily rites in honor of the dead and secondarily services for the comfort or appeasement of their spirits. It was not until relatively late that the Greeks de-

*Jena Museum*

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*Berlin Museum*

118

117. Hermes with his magic wand summoning souls from the burial urn. He carries his serpent staff and acts as guide to the realm of the dead. 118. Chthonic serpent (Zeus Meilichios?) receiving offerings. Attic grave relief, 4th century.

veloped the idea of the soul and its immortality and became interested in theories of the future life and judgment.

IV. THE MYSTERIES

Out of the worship of Demeter and Dionysos there arose several private societies whose rites were open only to initiates and consisted of "performances and readings" symbolizing the esoteric myths and the benefits conferred upon the members by initiation. These mysteries, as they were called, combined the ancient agrarian rites of fertility with the later interest in immortality and blessedness in the after-life.

A. THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES, celebrated at Eleusis, near Athens, were the most famous and probably the oldest. The Mysteries of Andania, described by Pausanias, were no doubt affiliated with these and similar to them. Though the Eleusinian Mysteries were originally a local cult of Demeter, possibly conducted by the royal house of Eleusis, they became Athenian in the seventh century and later were celebrated by initiates from the entire Hellenic world. There were two annual celebrations: the Lesser Mysteries at Agræ, held in the early spring in honor of the return of Persephone; and the Greater Mysteries, celebrated at Eleusis in the autumn. Participation in the Lesser Mysteries was required of the hierophant before his initiation at Eleusis. The initiation rites consisted of two stages, the first being mainly composed of rites of purification and the second of the revelation of the most sacred mysteries. The festival at Athens lasted eight or nine days, beginning with a day of purification on which all the participants bathed in the sea, each carrying his own *pharmakos*, a sacrificial pig. On the fifth day the festal procession started for Eleusis, a distance of fourteen miles, carrying certain unnamed "sacred things" and an image of Iacchos (the Eleusinian name for Dionysos). As the celebration was originally and essentially a harvest festival, an important part of the ritual was the offering of the first-fruits to the two goddesses, Demeter, the Corn Mother, and her daughter Kore, the Corn Maiden, who was lost in the underworld of the dead during the winter months and restored to life in spring. The initiation rites were based on the myth of the rape of Kore (identified with Persephone, queen of the dead), which probably furnished the plot for the dramatic celebrations. The hiero-

phants roamed the hills by night with lighted torches, seeking the lost maiden, fasting as the grieving mother fasted and like her, breaking their fast with a ceremonial meal of barley and water. By a simple analogy the eternal cycle of nature becomes the cycle of man's death and after-life. In the myth it is recounted that Demeter



After Furtwängler and Reichhold

119. Triptolemos on winged car with Demeter and Persephone. He holds bowl, staff and grain and is being sent out to bring agriculture to men. Red-figured vase.

attempted to confer immortality on Triptolemos, the infant son of the king of Eleusis, by anointing him with ambrosia and passing him through the fire, a story which may have grown out of a ritual practice. Triptolemos thus became the Eleusinian hero of the rebirth of life in spring, who is sent out by Demeter in his winged car to carry the knowledge of agriculture to all the world. The Eleusinian mythology as it was used in the Mysteries has been preserved to us in the so-called Homeric Hymn to Demeter.

B. THE DIONYSIAC AND ORPHIC MYSTERIES represent a foreign cult which spread through Greece during the sixth century. Like

Kore of Eleusis, Dionysos was a vegetation spirit snatched away by death and later restored to life. Although the primitive Thracian cult of Dionysos had its secret rites which were performed by women votaries, the "wild white women" described by Euripides in the *Bacchæ*, and which no man was allowed to witness on pain of death, it came under the influence of Orphism and became definitely a mystery religion. In the more primitive aspects of the cult, mystic identification with the god was undoubtedly achieved by orgies of ecstasy and intoxication. But as this form of the Dionysiac religion became associated with purification rites and the techniques of the mysteries, this identification was sought by periods of rigorous fasting and chastity, followed by elaborate rites of initiation.

Orphism is variously regarded as a sect of the Dionysiac Mysteries, as a reform movement within them, or even as a rival cult. In any case its relation to Dionysos is the important fact. The myth of Orpheus may have had an historical basis, arising possibly from the career of a priest of Dionysos living in Thrace, though there is a tradition that he was originally a native of Crete. According to the legend he was torn to pieces by the mænads in their frenzy, either because of his attempts to reform the old barbarous rites or, as some claim, because he was a worshiper of Helios (Apollo) instead of Dionysos. At the time of Herodotus the followers of Orpheus were regarded simply as worshipers of Dionysos, but by the time of Peisistratos the Orphic leaders had achieved special influence at Athens and may have played a part in introducing visions of the after-life into the Homeric poems.

According to the Orphic version of the Dionysiac mythology, the child Zagreus (Dionysos), son of Zeus and Persephone, was torn to pieces and devoured by the Titans, his heart alone being saved by Athena. It was this divine heart, swallowed by Zeus to preserve it, which later was reborn as Dionysos, child of Zeus and Semele. The Titans were consumed by the thunderbolt of Zeus, and from their ashes, mixed with earth, the race of man was fashioned. Thus man inherited a dual nature: a divine portion from the divine child and a demonic portion from the Titans. On this myth was based the theory of mystic regeneration, with its dualism of soul and body. In order to attain freedom from this inherited Titanic sin, man must repudiate his lower nature and identify himself with his divine na-

ture, the god Dionysos, himself. By this mystic identification he achieved not only the immediate ecstasy of reunion with god but as a consequence of that reunion, he became immortal. The later teaching of Orphism undoubtedly contained many elements derived from the East, especially the doctrine of reincarnation, the doctrine that the soul is polluted by its contact with matter and the doctrine of future blessedness. To the Orphic initiate death was but the gate to a higher and more blissful life, for with Orpheus or Persephone as his guide, and equipped with the secret formulas needed to gain entrance to the realm of bliss, he need not fear the gloom of Hades. Thus the gulf which in the Homeric tradition separates the immortals from men was overcome, and even the commonest man could attain immortality.

V. THE CIVIC RELIGION

In sharp contrast to these various types of nature religion, with their emphasis on the cycles of birth, reproduction, death and rebirth, stands the official religion of citizens. Though class differences were significant in segregating cults, and though the civic religion was essentially the religion only of freemen, all classes and all city-states of Greece participated in the worship of the Olympian gods. This civic worship of the Olympian gods was a development of domestic religion, in which there was a fusion of the worship of the hearthfire, heroes and ancestors. The conflicts between the various royal families and their tribes, resulting in numerous conquests, alliances, fusions and hatreds, was reflected in a confused mythology and theogony. The confusion was aggravated by the fact that the agricultural religion and the cults of the dead played a part in the state religion, and their deities necessarily had to be assigned some place in the pantheon.

A. OLYMPIAN MYTHOLOGY. Two classic attempts to systematize this amorphous mass, the poems of Hesiod and Homer, present two quite different pictures. Hesiod portrays the powers of nature only slightly personified: Chaos, the yawning void, the creator of all things; and Eros, a cosmic life-force operating in all nature. From the marriage of heaven and earth, Uranos and Gaia, came Okeanos, Kronos, Rhea, Iapetos and many others of the great deities, as well as lesser deities such as Themis representing law and Mnemosyne representing memory.

Mingled with all this high cosmogony are cruder elements of folk-lore. Gaia and Kronos detested all this offspring, and Kronos decided to put an end to it, castrating his father, Uranos. But from Uranos' blood numerous furies, giants and nymphs were generated, and from his sex organs sprang Aphrodite (love). Then Kronos married Rhea, and to them were born Hestia (hearth), Demeter (earth), Hera (clear sky), Hades (underworld) and Poseidon (sea). But Kronos had the habit of swallowing his children. Finally Rhea, on the birth of Zeus, deceived Kronos by letting him swallow a swaddled stone in place of the child. When Zeus came to manhood, he gave Kronos an emetic, and the swallowed brothers and sisters reappeared. Zeus then overthrew Kronos and reigned supreme with the queen, Hera.

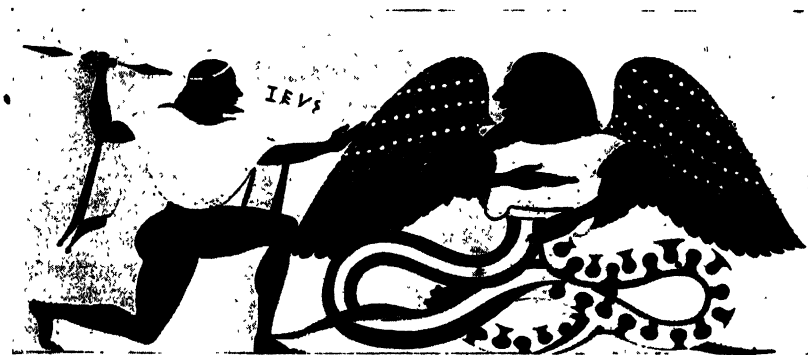
The child of Zeus and Hera, Hephaistos (the lame artificer), was married to Aphrodite, but unfortunately Aphrodite fell in love with Ares (war). Meanwhile, the sons of Iapetos, Prometheus (fore-sight), Epimetheus (hindsight) and Atlas, became over-ambitious and were punished by Zeus. Prometheus' sins were that he mocked Zeus at the sacrifices, stole fire from Olympus and gave it to man. In revenge Zeus created woman to plague man.

Zeus loved many goddesses, nymphs and mortals and thus became the father of practically all the gods and men. Mnemosyne (memory) bore to him the nine muses. Leto bore to him Apollo and Artemis. Alkmena (of Thebes) bore him Herakles. Maia bore him Hermes, who in turn married a nymph and became the father of Pan. The goddess Athena, however, sprang full-fledged from the forehead of Zeus.

From such primitive tales, often involving incest and murder, there emerged more orderly conceptions and more meaningful conflicts: a dramatization of the strife between natural forces (the laws and lawlessnesses of nature), the record of the conflicts and fusions of races and cultures in early Greek history and the projection and metaphorical transcription of Greek society, wars, laws and institutions. The whole scheme was vaguely conceived and the local versions varied, so that it could be developed in whatever direction happened to be desired.

In Homer, on the other hand, a different phase of development is represented, in which Zeus and his Olympian family triumph. The old cannibalistic Kronos had been overthrown and the earth-

born brood of Titans subdued at last. All sorts of local gods and demigods had been absorbed and duly anthropomorphized into dignified members of the new pantheon, and the old chaotic cosmogony reduced to order. Many of the more primitive divinities survived merely as attributes or local forms of the Olympian gods. Mt. Olympos became the ideal *polis*, a society of divine aristocrats organized on the basis of a patriarchal monarchy. Zeus, "father of gods and men," retains much of the old mythology in the legends



After Kurtwängler and Reichhold

120. Zeus slaying the monster Typhon with a thunderbolt. Black-figured vase, 6th century.

of his various amorous adventures with the daughters of men, and of his power as thunder-god, but his chief function is to rule. This Olympian mythology did not remain fixed but was constantly altered at the hands of poets, politicians and philosophers.

B. OLYMPIAN THEOLOGY. The dominant conceptions of Greek morality are those of *moira* and *hybris*. *Moira* denotes the natural boundaries or limitations which are placed on gods and men; *hybris* denotes the pride or ambition which drives gods and men to exceed their due bounds. Many of the gods, being departmental nature deities, have obviously their natural domains (for example, Poseidon, the sea), but others are defined by their social functions (for example, Hermes, the messenger of the gods and the guide of the dead; Hephaistos, the artisan; Aphrodite, love). Zeus combines both elements; he is a heavenly dispenser of justice, the wielder of the thunderbolt, and the sovereign ruler of gods and men. But Zeus, as well as others, must operate within the principles and bounds which are "natural" to his station or function. Obversely the attempt

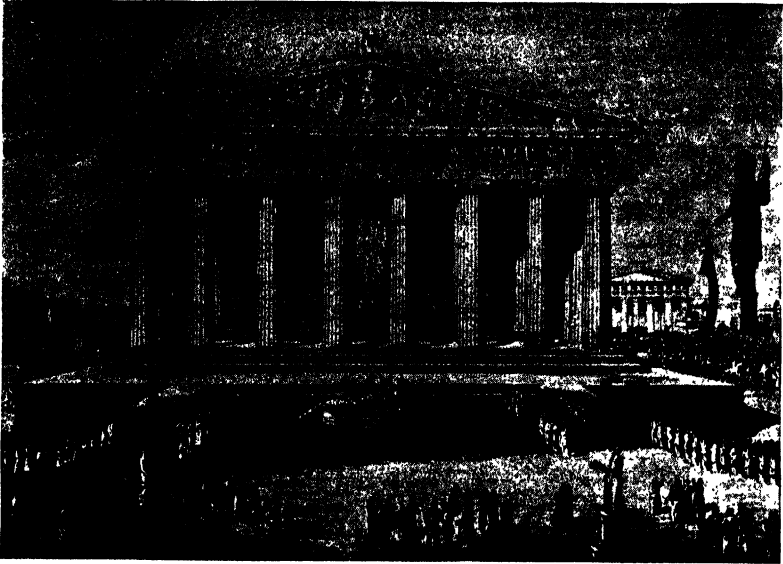
to exceed them (for example, Prometheus' defiance of Zeus' sovereign distribution of blessings) is the source of evil. Zeus, who established himself by violence, is able to maintain his sovereignty only so long as he rules justly. Hence, to learn one's own limitations and to avoid excess were regarded as the essence of both prudence and piety.¹

The same moral principles apply to men as apply to gods. The chief forms of human *hybris* are: impiety towards family relations, the attempt to escape the consequences of evil, rebellion against the gods and the desire for "too much" happiness. This conception of morality finds its highest expression in the odes of Pindar and the tragedies of Æschylus.

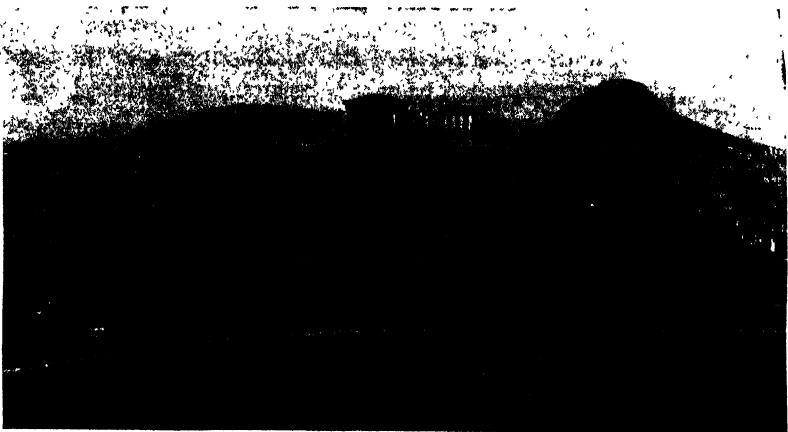
As moral standards changed in Greece, the gods were either changed accordingly, if possible, or they were criticized for their conduct. Moralistic criticism of the gods found its chief expression in the tragedians, the Sophists, the philosophical reformers and the artists. The artists, in making the paintings, reliefs and statues of the gods which dominated the popular imagination, gradually subordinated the mythological attributes and cult symbols of the gods and completely humanized them. Thus the gods became the concrete embodiment of Greek ideals. The tragedians refined moral ideas gradually, until in the plays of Euripides criticism of the gods, whom the plays were supposed to honor, became violent and derogatory. The traditional gods were no longer patterns for human morals; or rather, the gods themselves were refined to a point where the myths and traditions which clung to them were regarded as inconsistent with their characters. In Euripides the conception of *moira* was transformed from "the reign of natural and just boundaries" into "the reign of blind and cruel fate." Philosophical reformers like Socrates and Plato and some of the Sophists, who were interested in constructing a rational morality, retained the gods as ideal figures but repudiated the Homeric or mythological versions. Myths and gods were used, as far as possible, as poetic themes; their human content, not their literal truth, determined their value. Plato, especially, gave this mode of thought its classic expression; the Platonic forms or ideas are really the final stage in the intellectual and moral refinement of the gods.

C. THE CIVIC CULT. The absence of a permanent priestly group,

¹ Compare Æschylus, *Prometheus*.



(a)



(b)

121. The Acropolis of Athens. (a) Imaginary restoration of the Parthenon showing the statue of Athena Promachos at the right and a ceremony in the foreground. From an old engraving. (b) View of the Acropolis as it is today.

who might have a vested interest in maintaining orthodoxy, also made for flexibility. The community festivals were conducted by the community members, and the civic rites of the temples by officials of the state. The only important professional priests were those of the oracles. The worship of the Olympian gods was part and parcel of the life of the *polis* and was hence controlled by the political leaders. The most creative elements in Greek culture were at the service of the civic religion; for the *polis*, in its prime, was essentially an aristocratic institution, whose members were freemen and devoted themselves to politics, art, athletics and war. Without attempting a description of the civic cults, we can at least mention the chief modes of worship. At the Pan-Athenæan festival in honor of Athena all the Athenians marched up to the Acropolis in solemn procession, with sacrificial animals decked with flowers. They carried the sacred cloak (*peplos*) woven annually for the goddess by the maidens of the city. Assembled on the Acropolis and having performed the rites for Athena, they then listened to the reading of Homer. At the Dionysia and other religious celebrations the poets of the city competed in the art of tragedy. The theme and performance of the tragedy were part of the ritual and involved music and dancing as well as drama. The Pan-Hellenic games in honor of Zeus were the occasion of an armistice every four years and the meeting of all the Greek states in athletic rivalry. The religious festivals were occasions of a community feast (the poor man's only chance to eat roast meat), of state charity to the poor and of various other forms of community life. The temples, theaters and other public religious buildings called for the best efforts of the architects and sculptors. As a result of such worship the gods were continually subjected to a critical refinement in the hands of poets and artists; and, what is more, such refinement was intrinsic to the act of worship. The images of the gods in the temples and the character of the gods in public opinion tended to express concretely the changing ideals of the *polis*. Thus religion, art and morals coöperated in the cultivation of a unified civilization. In fact, it is an anachronism to speak of these as distinct institutions in connection with Greek culture.

D. ATHENA. Of the many gods on Olympos we shall select only two for more detailed discussion: Athena and Apollo. Athena is the



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After Farnell

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Photo Steadtner

122. Athena. An archaic painted terra cotta statue from an Attic tomb. The ægis or Gorgon's head is painted blue on a red mantle.
 123. The birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. Behind Zeus are Apollo and Hermes; before him, Eileithya, the goddess of child-birth, and Ares.



124

Berlin Museum

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After Farnell

124. The birth of Erichthonios. Gaia, the earth mother presents him to Athena, his foster-mother, in the presence of Cecrops, legendary first king of Athens. Terra cotta relief, 5th century. 125. Offerings to Athena Polias. She is represented as an armed figure behind the altar, together with the bird and serpent. Black-figured kylix, 6th century.

civic goddess *par excellence*. Her history is the history of the Greek city-states, and her cults embody the various aspects of Greek civic life. In Athens she was, as far back as we can trace her, the goddess of the city, Pallas Athena, symbolized by the erect armed figure known as the *palladium* and accompanied by the owl, the sacred bird of Athens. Though Athena is probably native in Attica, her



After Farnell

126. Athena and Poseidon, apparently disputing each other's claims to Attica. Their cults were closely associated on the Acropolis. Black-figured vase.

cult spread throughout the Greek world. She was variously identified with river-goddesses, the earth-mother, the thunder, etc. But as Athena Polias she always served to transform these cults into civic rites. In Athens itself she was associated with Erichthonios (symbolized by the snake), whose temple on the Acropolis she probably took over.

Athena was preëminently the patroness of war, not of savage war (represented by the Thracian god Ares), but of armed power as the guardian of civic life. The Gorgon-head was the symbol of her power to petrify the enemy. Her helmet, shield and spear express

her military authority, and the legend of her birth from the forehead of Zeus reveals the derivation of political power from the all-ruler.

Her other civic functions are to act as patroness and guardian of the law courts, commerce, weaving, learning and wisdom. Being a virgin, Parthenos, she looked after masculine interests of all sorts and after civic affairs. Any art or craft which might need particular attention could easily be brought under her protection by giving her an additional attribute; for example, Athena Hygeia (health and athletics), Athena Ergane (household crafts).

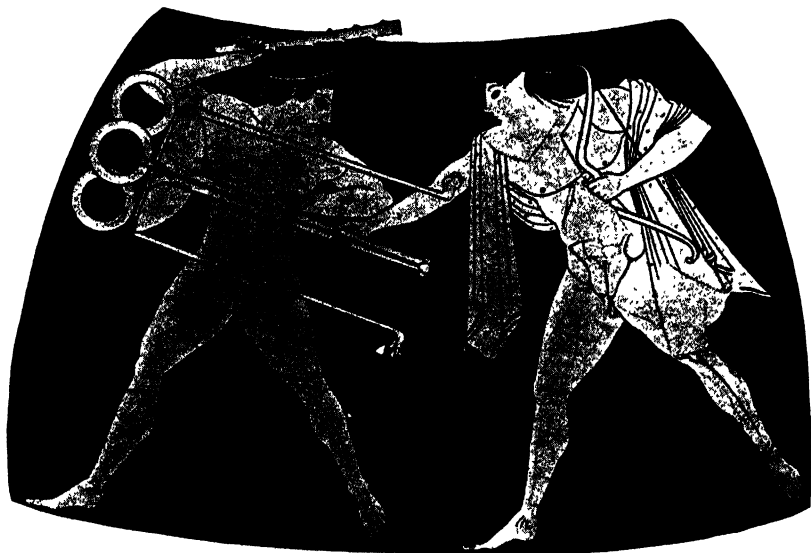
Apart from her cult forms and symbols, Athena became one of the chief art forms for expressing the fortunes and misfortunes of the city; for example, Athena Nike (holding a winged victory), the mourning Athena, the Athena of peace (removing her helmet), etc. She was thus developed by the sculptors into an ideal figure. Her religious symbols were treated freely as art forms. The politicians, artists and philosophers finally (fourth century B.C.) transformed Athena consciously into an almost impersonal ideal figure representing the spirit of Athens in the face of increasing corruption, democracy and defeat.

E. APOLLO. Apollo was the fusion of the northern god Phœbos (meaning "radiant" or "shining" and therefore probably of solar origin) with an Ægean hunter-god, protector of flocks. In later times he was identified with the sun-god Helios, but in Homer and Hesiod there is no reference to his solar aspect. In the *Iliad* he appears as an enemy of the Achæans and plays a hostile and somewhat fearful rôle.

The two important centers of his cult were at Delos and Delphi. Delos, his reputed birthplace, was probably the later of the two, having been settled by Ionian immigrants who carried the cult there. At Delphi Apollo attained his position of eminence among the gods of Greece, for there he found an ancient oracle belonging to the earth-goddess Ge-Themis and her attendant serpent, the Python. According to the custom of invaders he slew the Python and made the oracle his own, the Oracle of the Pythian Apollo. For this crime of slaying the chthonic daimon, Apollo was compelled to make a journey to the Vale of Tempe to find the purifying laurel by which alone he could be cleansed of the blood pollution. Consequently

the Oracle at Delphi became the center of an elaborate cult of purification from crimes, especially murder. This function of *katharsis*, belonging generally to chthonic deities, was here appropriated by a non-chthonic god, by the right of political conquest.

As the Apollo of the Oracle he played his greatest part in the life of the state. His advice was the guiding factor in the colonial ven-



After Furtwängler and Reichhold

127. Herakles attempting to steal the tripod of the Delphian Oracle from Apollo. Red-figured amphora.

tures of the Greek cities. The Oracle had both Doric and Ionic affiliations and early achieved a reputation for giving moderate advice in political issues. By following a policy of compromise the Oracle not only protected itself but finally wove the various city-states into a loose confederation, the Delphic Amphictiony, which, though primarily religious in purpose, exerted great power over Greek politics for several centuries. The Peloponnesian War, however, made it difficult to maintain this policy, and at Athens the Oracle was accused of favoring Sparta. For this and other reasons the political power of Delphi waned, but the Oracle maintained itself for several centuries along with Dodona and others, as a center for private rites of soothsaying and purification.

The Delphian Apollo had other important functions in the social order. As Apollo Hegemon (the leader) and Apollo Ktistes (the founder) he was the patron of the Greek colonies. As Apollo Kouros (the youth) he was the ideal hero and prototype of young men. So closely is he bound up with the athletic ideal that it is difficult to distinguish between statues of Apollo and those of victorious athletes. The education of a young Greek included also the arts of music, dancing and poetry, all of which belonged to Apollo, leader of the Muses. During Hellenistic times the rôle of Apollo as leader of the Muses became increasingly prominent, and the one-time civic god became essentially a symbol of the arts.

F. THE DISINTEGRATION OF CIVIC RELIGION. The disintegration of civic religion was an inevitable consequence of the destruction of the political life on which it was based. The lower classes became more powerful in the life of the city-state. Peasants flocked into the cities seeking protection from invading armies. Traders and sailors multiplied with the growth of Greek commerce and imperialism. The traditional economic balance and class distinctions were upset. Politics became democratic, and politicians became demagogues. The tastes, needs and cults of the masses came to the foreground. The increase of death, disease and poverty during and after the Peloponnesian War brought about a general demand for religions of excitement, comfort, salvation and communication with the dead. Increasing immigration from all parts of the Mediterranean made a few cities, like Athens and Corinth, cosmopolitan. The distinction between Greek and barbarian tended to break down. Foreign cultures invaded the very centers of Hellenism. The complete destruction of the city-state came with the victory of the Macedonian Empire (338 B.C.). From then on men no longer cultivated civic ideals, but fled from civil strife and political corruption to mystic cults and "personal" religion.

Long before this collapse of civic life, however, other forces had been at work criticizing and rationalizing the traditional ideas and standards of the educated classes. The brilliant art and thought of the fifth century loosened religion from its social moorings and set it adrift on the deeps of philosophic criticism and individual interpretation. Philosophers with their own systems of cosmology and ethics came into Greece from the colonies. From Ephesus came

Herakleitos with a doctrine similar to the Zoroastrian, teaching the conflict of love and strife not, however, as a conflict between anthropomorphic gods, but as an eternal rhythm of principles or forces. From Ionia came such men as Anaxagoras, representing a long and erudite tradition of investigation into the elements and laws of nature. From Thrace came the atomistic philosophy of Leukippos and Democritus. From Sicily and Magna Græcia came Pythagoreans and Eleatics whose schools of philosophy were associated with strange religious cults. No account can be taken here of the distinctive doctrines of these various schools; suffice it to point out that in none of them did the traditional gods play important rôles, and that all of them stimulated the intellectual curiosity and liberalism of educated young men, who felt themselves emancipated by such learning from the provincialism of their own tradition. Oriental types of thought became especially fashionable and were regarded as most profound. How much direct influence there was from the Orient we do not know, but there is no doubt that concepts similar to those in the Oriental religions were developed in Greece. There is much in Pythagoreanism which suggests Buddhism. But apart from particular doctrines, these philosophic schools had the general effect of substituting speculation for worship and of giving metaphysical and allegorical interpretations to the traditional theology. For example, Hestia, Poseidon, Hades and Hera became fire, water, air and earth, respectively, by which terms were meant neither the ancient gods nor the physical substances, but something intermediate: divine cosmic principles or substances of which all particular things are transmutations.

In addition to the imported philosophies there was a growing stream of native criticism. Euripides transformed the tragedy from a pious celebration into a penetrating satire. At the same time the Sophists launched a secular type of criticism which soon took morals, law and religion from their conventional foundations. They attacked the belief that human institutions are based on natural laws (*moira*) and proved them to be based on *nomos* (convention, human law). Though this discovery was not always intended as a disparagement of institutions, it served to undermine the old religious sanctions and stimulated a more critical attitude toward morality and theology.

This led to a general demand for reform and to a penetrating analysis of the basic ideals of piety, justice, love, etc. Such criticism was carried furthest by Socrates and Plato, who succeeded in freeing the civic ideals and ideas from the antiquated theology, in clarifying them and in putting them on their rational merits.

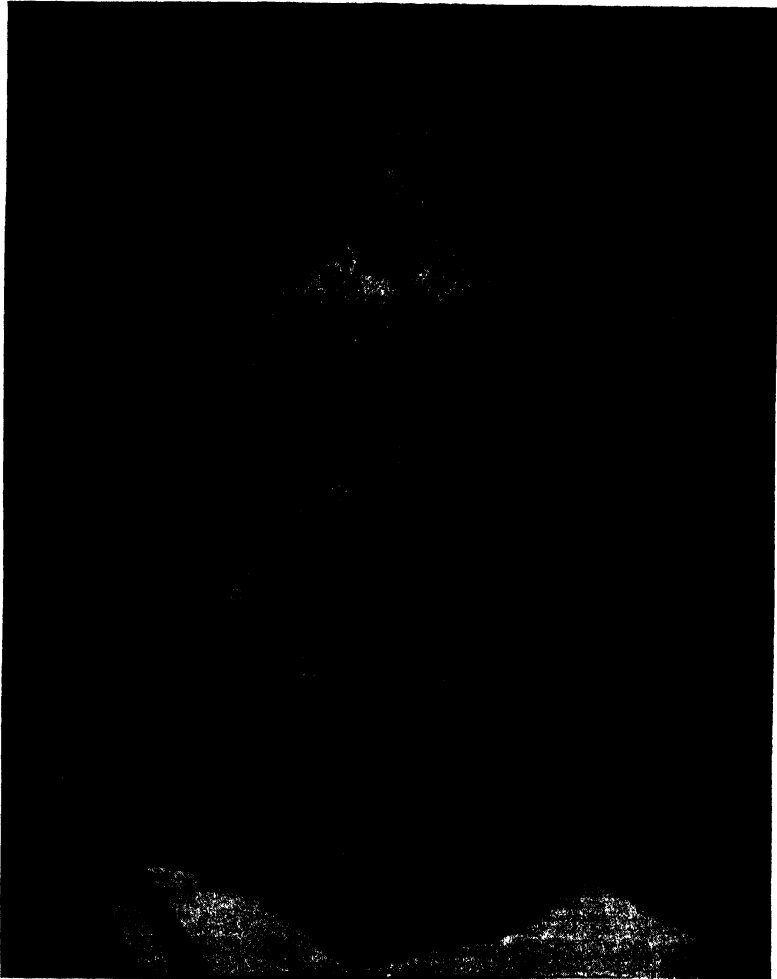
Artists like Plato and Praxiteles did not reject the gods absolutely. They continued to employ them as significant subject-matter for their arts and in so doing reformed them radically. The gods were thenceforth no longer the supreme objects of civic devotion but merely ideal forms, and consequently their worship as guardians of the state was supplanted by their refinement in the hands of individual poets and artists. Under these circumstances gods could be multiplied, dismissed, invented or improved almost *ad libitum*. Evidence of this general religious sophistication can be found in the decadent civic cults of the fourth century, for the custom of giving divine honors to heroes was abused and exploited by demagogues and generals until every new victory or special occasion called for a new divinity. Such loose and confused treatment of the divine and such a wealth of gods resulted in the habit of referring vaguely to "the god" without specifying any name. The gods rapidly lost their individualities and became submerged in the general, abstract and universalistic conception of the divine. This stage of Greek religious thought is reflected in the writings of Aristotle and the Peripatetics. They were primarily scientists, and in their systems divine beings are rational principles which serve to make the world intelligible but require no religious observances. Thus the profusion of divine principles and the confusion of cults combined to usher in a vague monotheism. Later, under the Roman emperors, an attempt was made to give this vague sense of unity a new political expression by the institution of emperor-worship. This attempt to create an imperial religious unity failed, however, to revive the ancient civic spirit, and instead of consolidating the Empire it finally contributed to the formation of a catholic church.

VI. HELLENISTIC RELIGION

The increasing confusion, complexity and intermixture of cultures produced a group of religions significantly different from the classic Greek and commonly known as Hellenistic. This culture followed

*Photo Alinari*

128. The Lemnian Athena. This Phidian Athena illustrates the effect of Greek art in humanizing iconography. The head, in the Bologna Museum, is a copy of the 5th century original.



• *British Museum*

129. Demeter of Cnidos. The work of an artist in Asia Minor influenced by Scopas and Praxiteles. 4th century.

the conquests of Alexander, then spread throughout the Roman Empire and survived well into the Christian era. Two aspects of Hellenism are of fundamental religious significance: cosmopolitan philosophy and mystic religion.

A. COSMOPOLITAN PHILOSOPHY. The general effect of the philosophic speculations referred to above was to shift the center of interest and imagination from the city-state, the *polis*, to nature and the *cosmopolis*. The idea of civic piety was maintained, but its object was universalized; the cult of the Olympian pantheon was transformed into the contemplation of the order of nature. This change was natural and inevitable, for in society citizenship had been destroyed by empire and law by force, whereas in nature the mysterious powers of Homeric theology had been replaced by universal intelligible principles. The collapse of classic Greek society drove some to despair and to a radical renunciation of all human intercourse and institutions. The Cynics represented this attitude in the extreme. They cultivated virtue by means of poverty, begging and itinerant preaching, denouncing the social vices of the time and acting as "soul physicians" to the poor and enslaved. Among educated persons, however, the search for consolation took a more positive form. The Epicureans, for example, though they also scorned society and its gods, cultivated the pleasures of the intellect and developed the atomistic physics into a general philosophy of nature. In understanding the causes of things and the mechanical structure of nature, they found a sense of release from the bondage of superstition.

By far the most important school was that of the Stoics, for their leaders were among the most influential religious teachers of the age, and their philosophy was for several centuries the most vital religion among educated Greeks and Romans. To the Stoics nature was literally a social order, governed by rational law. They called themselves world citizens and aimed to "live according to nature." They did not seek to escape the ordinary social relations and duties, but regarded them as external burdens to be borne with dignity and reason. By subjecting their wills continually to the universal and necessary order of things and by exercising a firm faith in the reasonableness of this order, they lived a life of piety, virtue and freedom. So long as this attitude and discipline of will is maintained, it matters little, they taught, whether the universe is conceived in

terms of God, fate, providence or matter: it is a harmonious system with which it is reasonable to be in harmony.

B. MYSTERY RELIGIONS. A quite different type of religion is found in the various mysteries, which sprang up here and there and achieved considerable popularity during the first centuries of the Christian era. The Dionysiac and Orphic Mysteries, of which we have already spoken, spread throughout the Græco-Roman world. Dionysos was combined or confused with many deities. For example, the Brotherhoods of Sabazios identified him with Zeus and even with the Hebrew Sabaoth. More important, however, than the spread of Greek mysteries was the importation of various Oriental mystery religions. Very popular was the cult of the Anatolian Mother Cybele and her consort, Attis. Their rites were celebrated chiefly by women and consisted chiefly in ecstatic mourning for the vegetation god, Attis. This cult of the Great Mother was brought to Rome as early as 204 B.C. and became very popular in spite of the restrictions imposed by the Roman authorities. The Mysteries of Hecate and the Samothracian Mysteries were similar. Apparently they involved purification by bathing in the blood of a bull and other magic rites.

Mithraism came in somewhat later and spread rapidly through the Roman Empire, though little in Greece. It was of Zoroastrian and Babylonian origin and represented Mithra as a savior in the service of Ahura-Mazda, fighting the powers of darkness. His chief exploit was the slaying of the Zoroastrian "primal ox," and the ritual symbolized this theme by the blood-bath and other rites based on the belief in vicarious atonement. Initiation involved seven degrees of trials of endurance. The rites were held in caves or underground sanctuaries. Only men could join the Mithraic fraternities; they were especially popular among Roman soldiers.

Most popular of all the mysteries were those of Isis and Serapis, which started from Alexandria and during the last three centuries B.C. spread through all the commercial towns of the Græco-Roman world. Isis, grieving for the lost Osiris and restoring him to life, became the most popular of all the mourning goddesses. As the mother of Horus she became also a mother-goddess, and the images representing her with the child in her arms became a prototype of the Christian Madonna.

Though the worship of Asklepios was a cult of healing and not



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Naples, Photo Anderson

130. The Sabazian Mysteries. Vibia, an initiate, escorted by the "Good Angel," enters the banquet of the blessed in the Elysian Fields. Roman fresco in the cemetery of Pretextes, 3rd century A.D. 131. Ceremony in an Egyptian mystery (Isis?). Fresco from Herculaneum, 1st century A.D.

a mystery, it had its mystic aspect, for the priests were physicians of the soul as well as of the body. A common feature of their ritual was sleeping in the sanctuary for the purpose of securing a dream revealing the cause or cure of the malady. The cult of Asklepios was an ancient one, espoused by Sophocles in the fifth century and developed by Hippocrates into a fairly scientific system of medicine. It degenerated, however, during the Hellenistic period and became increasingly overladen with magic ritual. Out of it came a body of writings known as the Hermetic Literature. It contains both the current mystic ideas and the Persian dualistic doctrines. Little is known of its origins and uses, but there is evidence that it had occasional cultic associations.

In addition to the mysteries there were many individual mystics, who taught systems of salvation and of esoteric wisdom. Most of these illustrate the general process of syncretism, the fusion of diverse religious traditions, which prevailed during Hellenistic times. Of such individual teachers we might mention three. Poseidonius of Apamea in Syria flourished in the first century B.C. As the teacher of Cicero and the eclectic expounder of Stoicism and several other Hellenistic philosophies he had a great influence on later writers. But in his day he was even more famous for his system of astrology and divination. Philo-Judæus of Alexandria, at the beginning of the Christian era, developed an allegorical synthesis of Mosaic tradition and Hellenistic mysticism. A century later, we find Apollonius of Tyana wandering about as a teacher of Stoic, Platonic and Oriental ideas. He traveled far and wide and, according to tradition, even paid a visit to India, where he was initiated into the teachings of Brahmanism. He finally set up a school at Ephesus and attained considerable fame on account of his psychic powers. These three men may suffice to illustrate the variety of religious syncretism current during the Hellenistic period. To this general picture should be added the preoccupation of many persons, both educated and illiterate, with astrology, divination, magic and necromancy.

The spread of such religious ideas and practices illustrates the diffusion of originally local cults throughout the Empire and especially the infiltration of Oriental customs into the West. It also indicates the growth of religious interests unsatisfied by the old religions of family and state. The movement of politics and trade had produced

a large number of people in whom the sense of civic responsibility was neither definite nor paramount. Such persons were likely, if religious, to find participation in cults which appealed to them personally (whether through ecstasy, or fraternity, or purification from sin, or the assurance of immortality) more vital than attendance at the state ceremonies. Interest in personal salvation therefore became the dominant theme of religion.

C. MYSTIC THEOLOGY. Mysticism as a philosophic doctrine flourished quite apart from the mysteries, but no attempt is made here



Berlin Museum

132. Hellenistic syncretism. The crucified figure on this seal with the inscription "Orpheos Bakkikos" suggests that it may represent a Gnostic sect of the 3rd century A.D.

to expound it systematically. The most influential of the mystics were the Gnostics and neo-Platonists, whom we shall consider later in relation to Christianity. We might indicate here, however, the general ideas associated with both mystic philosophy and the mysteries. These were: the depreciation of the world as corrupt and hostile to the spirit; the practice of ascetic withdrawal from the world; the belief that the body is a hindrance to the soul; the mortification of the body and the desire to extricate the soul from the body; the desire to purify the soul by expiation of sin, immaculate conduct and contact with pure beings; the idea that pure being (divinity) is eternal and does not partake of the world's commotions and passions; the belief that the soul is akin to this divine being and can return to it out of the world (that is, become eternal and divine) by the processes of salvation or redemption; the belief

that redemption is available either through special knowledge (*gnosis*) or in certain rites or through the person of a redeemer. Saving knowledge may include a guide to other worlds into which the soul will pass after the death of the body; the mystic rites may involve ecstatic identification with such a divine being. This identification was usually conceived as the influx of a divine substance into the person. The saved person was said to possess the spirit or breath (*pneuma*) of his savior. The frequent use in the mysteries of such ceremonies as sprinkling with blood, clothing in white, baptizing with water and partaking of holy food is evidence of the general emphasis on mystical regeneration into the life of the spirit. Thus the mysticism of the philosophers and the mystery rites, though they were radically different in practice, had the same end in view, the rebirth of the soul of man in the spirit of God.

CHAPTER VII

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL AND JUDAISM

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF ISRAEL

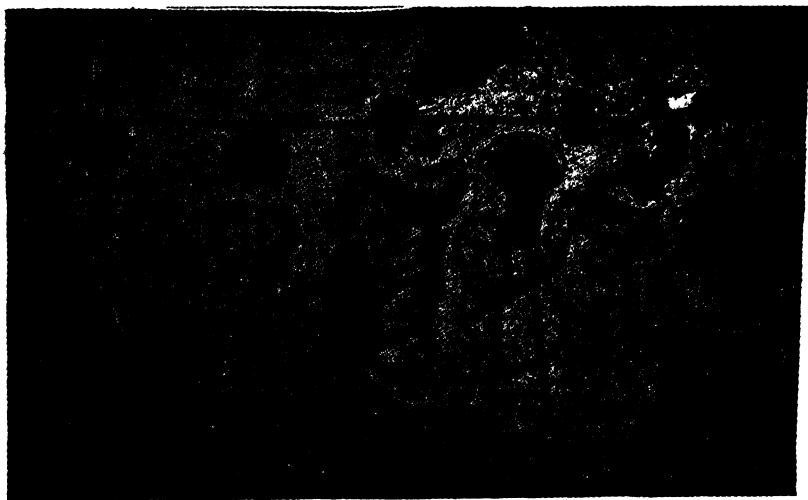
A. THE SOURCES. Knowledge of the earliest forms of religion among the Israelites is very fragmentary and is derived chiefly from two sources: the Bible and archeological discoveries. The books of the Bible were compiled at various times after the ninth century B.C. and reflect various religious movements. They contain earlier traditions and records, some of which have been substantiated by external evidence, but the construction of a continuous account remains at many points conjectural. The Tel-el-Amarna tablets and the remains of several ancient cities and shrines, such as Ta'annek, Gezer, Samaria, Jericho and Ur have recently yielded considerable information regarding the relations of Israel to the Hittites and other peoples of Asia Minor, the peoples of Canaan, of Egypt and Babylonia (reaching back into the Sumerian age).

Both these sources are to be considered in comparison with the religions of ancient Babylonia and Egypt, as well as with the present-day religion of nomads, for example, the Bedouins, who appear closely related by race and environment to the ancient Israelites.

B. THE EARLY NOMADIC TRIBES. The Israelites belonged to the Habiru (Hebrews?), a number of loosely associated Semitic tribes. They were similar to their neighbors, the Moabites, the Ammonites and the Edomites, with whom they came into frequent savage conflicts. According to tradition, the Israelites were the descendants of Jacob (Israel) and comprised two groups, the ten tribes of the sons of Leah and the two tribes of the sons of Rachel; but the problem of the origin and organization of these tribes remains obscure. From the desert they penetrated into Canaan, some of them remaining and others presumably pressing down into Egypt. However, the evidence indicates that the Israelite tribes were, on the whole, much more under the influence of the Babylonians than of the Egyptians.

To what extent the ancestors of these tribes reflected Sumerian civilization, as the story of Abraham suggests, is uncertain.

The religious rites of these tribes, like those of most nomads, were apparently very simple. They had some animal sacrifices and probably practised occasional human sacrifice. Their chief festival, coming in the spring, was a pastoral feast of lambs (Passover). They had their sacred oases and rough altars or rocks which were pre-



133. Abraham prevented by the hand of God from sacrificing Isaac. Recently excavated mosaic in the floor of a 6th century synagogue.

sumably the abodes of spirits. They practised various forms of divination and demonology. Perhaps they made images (*seraphim*) of tribal patron divinities, similar to those of the Babylonians and Sumerians, and the *teraphim*, household human images, may have some connection with ancestor-worship.

Allusions to primitive practices, some nomadic and others agricultural, are scattered throughout the books of the Bible. A few examples are: of the cult of trees or groves, Gen. xxi, 33; xxv, 8; Ex. iii, 2; Deut. xxiii, 16; Jer. iii, 6; of the use of stones and pillars in which divine or ancestral spirits resided, Gen. xxviii, 18-22; xxxv, 20; Jos. xxiv, 27; Isa. lvii, 5-8; of sacred mountains, Ex. xix, 11-20; xxiv; Deut. xi, 29; xxxiii, 19; of visions, divination

and sorcery, Num. xii, 6; xxiv; Deut. xviii, 10-12; I Sam. xxviii, 13-15; Ex. xxii, 18; Num. xvii, 8-10; xxi, 9; of human sacrifice and its substitutes, Ex. iv, 24-26; Gen. xxii; and Judges xi.

C. THE MOSAIC PERIOD (1500-1000 B.C.). About this time a confederacy of Israelite tribes appeared on the borders of Canaan. Their leader, according to the biblical account, was Moses, who is represented as bringing the nuclear group out of Egyptian bondage to the land "promised" to their ancestors. The promise, as well as the deliverance, was associated with a covenant binding Israel to the god Yahweh. The origin of Yahweh remains obscure. He may have been god of the Kenites or Midianites living near Mount Horeb. Whether he was originally merely a tribal god, or whether he was connected with the cult of the volcanic Mount Horeb, or with some lunar cult (Mount Sinai having been sacred to Sin, the Sumerian moon-god), is difficult to tell. But the evidence suggests that Yahweh was older than the Israelites and adopted by them; that he was originally not the god of all the tribes nor exclusively worshiped by any; and that he was more than the spirit dwelling in a local shrine, being conceived as wielding a power in all places.

Moses seems to have been both a military leader and a shaman-priest, controlling the people by the magic works of his rod, by his messages from Yahweh and by his extraordinary works of victory, healing, punishment and prophecy. Apparently it was largely through his efforts that the worship of Yahweh became supreme in Israel and a permanent priesthood of Yahweh was established. As the tribes struggled to possess the fertile places in their advance toward Canaan, the military and moral attributes of Yahweh were increasingly emphasized; he became a war-god, Lord of Hosts, and he demanded the political solidarity, ritual purity and intellectual unity of his people. His worship claimed allegiance from all the tribes and tended to exclude rival gods. Yahweh became the "jealous god"; his will was increasingly humanized and moralized, but less anthropomorphic traits remained.

The foundations of law were laid during this time. Though it is impossible to identify a definite code of law given by Moses, it is probable that his administration and his emphasis on the Covenant laid the foundations of that ritual and moral legislation which, though continuously developed, was called the Mosaic Law. The

development of its two phases, ritual and moral, was conditioned, from at least the tenth century on and perhaps earlier, by the rival emphases of different parties. Military leaders and judges emphasized the needs of war and social integrity, while the priests or "Aaronites" were usually more interested in elaborating the sacrificial obligations and means of atonement.

D. ISRAEL IN AGRICULTURAL CANAAN. As the nomadic Israelites came down from the slopes and entered the fertile land of the Canaanites, they gradually adopted agricultural practices, though some continued as herdsmen on the frontiers. After conflict during the invasion, the relations between the Canaanites and the Israelites were generally peaceful and resulted in considerable intermarriage and cultural fusion. The Israelites became the poorer agricultural class of the country, frequently vassals, while the Canaanites withdrew to their fortified towns and engaged principally in trade.

The Canaanite agricultural influence on Israel was revolutionary. The cult of "high places" (sacred groves and stones) and localized religion in general became very popular. Agricultural rites and rules were superimposed on the earlier pastoral ones. The religious calendar was given an agricultural structure; for example, the Feast of Unleavened Bread was added to Passover, and the harvest festival was instituted. Animal sacrifices became more elaborate. Fertility rites became common. Asheroth and Massebhoth, sacred trees and pillars, were associated with domestic rites and household images. The sacrifice of first-fruits and redemption of the first-born were taken over from the Canaanites. The goddess Ashtar was worshiped and by some, apparently, was even conceived as the consort of Baal-Yahweh.

For Yahweh now lost some of his "jealousy" toward the *baalim*, the gods of the land. Local shrines at Shechem, Bethel and other places were taken over by his priests, the Levites, who at the same time maintained at Shiloh the national shrine, containing the Ark of the Covenant. The worship of Yahweh took on new local characteristics, but his national prestige as supreme deity of all the tribes persisted. With these various developments of cult the priesthood grew in numbers, wealth and power.

E. MONARCHY AND THE EARLIER PROPHETS. About the tenth century B.C., the Israelites were strongly enough entrenched in



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After Cohn-Wiener

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After Chipiez and Perrot

134. Row of Massebhoth or sacred pillars at Gezer. 135. Imaginary reconstruction of Solomon's Temple. Though this drawing is of doubtful historical value, it at least suggests the importance of the royal citadel and of the court where pilgrims gathered.

Canaan to revolt against the Philistines, who had conquered portions of the land. The Philistines were a trading people, like the Phœnicians, who had come in from the Mediterranean coast and held many fortified towns. Their advance was checked by the resistance of the Israelites, united under the seer Samuel and the first king, Saul. His successor, David, strengthened the military power and conquered the fortress of Jerusalem, making it his capital. His son Solomon made strategic marital and commercial alliances with Tyre and other neighbors, bringing wealth into the country and new economic burdens on the masses. The great Temple was built on Mt. Moriah at Jerusalem, but at the same time foreign gods were imported.

In the conflicts under Samuel the need for national unity on the basis of Yahweh worship had been asserted. Yahweh was conceived as the sole patron deity of Israel in conflict with other gods of other peoples, and an aggressive campaign was undertaken to free his worship from the Canaanitish influences. The Ark of Yahweh was moved from Shiloh to Jerusalem, housed in the Temple, provided with an hereditary priesthood, the Zadokites, and made the religious center of the nation. The national Temple rites were made to overshadow and undermine the local cults; the feasts and sacrifices at Jerusalem demanded obligatory pilgrimages, which served partly to consolidate the nation, partly to raise revenue for the costly monarchy. The priesthood became powerful at court, and the Temple rites became luxurious and costly. They reflected the growing wealth of the commercial, urban classes, but they became an increasing hardship to the peasants, especially those in the north, many of whom preferred the older, cheaper and simpler local cults. After the death of Solomon the disaffection of the northern tribes resulted in a division of the monarchy. Jeroboam, the first ruler of the northern kingdom, Israel, established separate shrines to supplant the sanctuary at Jerusalem.

From the Temple rites at Jerusalem arose psalms of triumph, thanksgiving and penitence and the prescriptions for the sacrifices. Also during this period the national folk-lore and history began to take written form. Of the Torah (Law), apparently the so-called J (Yahweh) document was compiled in the south some time during the ninth century. The so-called ritual decalogue (Exodus xxxiv, 14-26) probably belongs to this collection and reflects the tendency

of the Jerusalem priests to give the religious calendar a nationalized and agriculturalized form.

The attempts of Elijah and Elisha to make Yahweh supreme in the northern as well as the southern kingdom and their attacks on the Tyrian *Baal*, Melkart, and on Ahab's foreign policy led to the revolt of Jehu (c. 840 B.C.). This eliminated the Tyrian *Baal*, but the political conflicts with Tyre and Damascus were aggravated. Probably the so-called E (*Elohim*) document of the Pentateuch with its ethical emphasis was a product of this movement. Some time before the end of the seventh century, E was combined with the southern J (Yahweh) document to form the Jehovist synthesis, the earliest framework of the Torah.

Meanwhile northern Israel, having long resisted the attacks of Damascus, fell victim to the Assyrians. With the destruction of the capital, Samaria (722 B.C.), the ten tribes lost their independence and were dispersed among the surrounding peoples.

Thereafter worship of Yahweh in the north was carried on under foreign influence. After a brief interval Bethel was set up as the chief Yahweh shrine among the Aramæans of Samaria, and thereafter a strong element of Aramæan language and tradition crept into Hebrew religion.

F. THE PROPHETS. The prophets may have originated as seers or diviners, but by the eighth century diviners and prophets were quite distinct; the former were soothsayers and magicians, the latter were "forth-tellers" or preachers. They used the name of Yahweh and the Mosaic tradition to protest against those practices in Temple and state which they regarded as corrupt or oppressive. Their attack in general was directed against foreign importations into the Yahweh cult, involving subserviency to other nations and their gods, against the official priesthood and its ritualism, and against political corruption and social injustice. The prophets put their preaching into the form of interpreting the course of events directly to both kings and people. They undertook to reveal the causes of Israel's misfortunes, past and impending, to castigate and again to console, to bring correction and to predict God's ultimate deliverance. The eighth-century prophets, especially, were able to use the misfortunes of the northern kingdom as a text to preach reform.

Amos (c. 760 B.C.), the first of the "literary" prophets, was a

Judean shepherd who appeared at the shrine of Bethel during the most prosperous period of Jeroboam II's reign, denounced the sins of both kingdoms and predicted that Israel would be punished even more than other peoples. God demands righteousness instead of lavish sacrifices (Amos v, 21-24). Yahweh is God of all peoples, demanding justice among all but especially from Israel, his Chosen (Amos III, 2). Amos opposed international treachery and cruelty, putting righteousness on a supernational basis and preaching God's sovereignty over all peoples and his purposes in all events.

Before the fall of the northern kingdom, Hosea of Ephraim, a younger contemporary of Amos, similarly denounced the sins of Israel. He was more relenting than Amos, however, using his own marriage trials as a symbol of God's anger as well as of God's redeeming love for his chosen yet wayward people.

Micah, who lived among the small farmers and who witnessed the destruction wrought by the Assyrians, was the most violent of all the prophets in his denunciations of the rich and of all who practised ritual religion rather than justice, mercy and humility.

Isaiah, on the other hand, was closer to the upper classes, and while urging internal reform was more particularly concerned with the foreign policy of Judah. He opposed the making of alliances and declared that Yahweh was a holy God demanding a single consecration in his people. After the fall of the northern kingdom (722), he preached the doctrine that Judah was Jehovah's stronghold and must resist foreign alliance and invasion. His policy seemed justified in 705, when Sennacherib was forced by a plague which decimated his army to abandon the siege of Jerusalem. This induced King Hezekiah to take Isaiah's advice and institute a number of reforms intended to bind the north closer to the Temple at Jerusalem and to suppress all other cults. Isaiah, even more than the other prophets, is responsible for developing the monotheistic conception of God as the single, supreme ruler and father of all peoples. While he interpreted the afflictions of Israel as a just punishment, he believed that a "saving remnant" would remain loyal to God and see the fulfilment of Israel's destiny in Zion.

Under King Manasseh (686), however, a reaction set in. He abandoned resistance to the great powers, made peace with them and paid tribute. The popular cults and "high places" were unmolested,

and foreign gods were not antagonized; the Assyrian Ishtar invaded the Temple. But when in 630 the Scythians came down from the north, prophecy renewed its warnings of doom, notably through Jeremiah and Zephaniah. Under King Josiah the so-called Deuteronomic reformation was begun, the priests accepting a newly "discovered" code of laws (621), now contained in parts of the Book of Deuteronomy. It embodied the prophetic moral and monotheistic teachings, revising the Torah in their spirit but securing authoritative recognition as a work of Moses. The Temple ritual was renovated and made supreme, local and foreign cults being again persecuted. However, attempts on the part of Judah to resist the great powers again led to a series of wars, terminating in the Babylonian capture of Jerusalem in 597 by Nebuchadnezzar and in the deportation to Babylon in 586 of resisting loyalists among the "saving remnant."

Under these circumstances the prophet Jeremiah raised his voice in premonition and lament. He believed, however, that a new covenant sealed by the individual's "circumcision of the heart" would survive the failure of the old, based on external ties. A body of "lamentation" literature arose, which served to strengthen the inner and personal quality of Hebrew piety amid the ruins of its social embodiment.

G. THE EXILE. During the exile prophecy had less of the note of protest and more that of consolation and vision of restoration. The prophecies of Ezekiel and "Second Isaiah" in exile are dominated by the themes that the God of Israel is King over all nations and will eventually judge them; that Israel must keep itself holy, undefiled, in the midst of other gods and cults; and that God will redeem Israel. Ezekiel's conception of holiness united the prophetic and priestly ideals. "Second Isaiah" saw the Messianic redemption near at hand in the person of Cyrus, who defeated Babylon and allowed some of the Jews to return to Palestine (538).

The religious institutions and traditions of the exile became fundamental in later Judaism, for the experience of the exile became typical. The most significant change brought about in the exile was the substitution of the reading, study and love of the Torah for the actual performance of the sacrificial law in the Temple. The only kinds of sacrifice which could be maintained in exile were the fasts

and ascetic disciplines of expiation and atonement. Cultivating these observances, religious communities developed which perpetuated national traditions in the midst of political captivity. In teaching the Law priest now joined prophet in encouraging Israel to keep itself apart and consecrated and to hope for the restoration of the Temple. As the captives became more and more acclimated to the land of exile and were gradually allowed to participate freely in the economic and social life of Babylon, their religious ideas were inevitably affected by their environment and secular pursuits, and succeeding generations adopted more and more of the Babylonian culture, though keeping their own distinctive religious ways formally intact. The result was a large and prosperous Jewish community, the great majority of whose members gradually abandoned the intention of returning to Palestine and the Temple. Under these circumstances it was natural that the religious traditions should be put in writing and that new kinds of religious literature should develop.

H. THE PRIESTLY STATE OR SECOND COMMONWEALTH. In the middle of the fifth century B.C., Ezra, the priest and Scribe, and a comparatively small number of Babylonian Jews restored the Temple and its rites at Jerusalem under Nehemiah, who was appointed governor by the Persian court. At the same time they continued the religious congregations which had grown up in exile and from which the synagogues eventually emerged. Prophets, like Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi, had strengthened the sentiment for this process of restoration, and though the priests took the lead in putting into practice the legalistic learning which had grown up in captivity, the prophetic teaching continued to exert its influence.

The Priestly Code of the Law (Leviticus and many passages interpolated in older books) was developed, and with it came the completion of the written Torah. Among the distinctive features of the Priestly Code (P) might be mentioned the emphasis on rites of atonement, especially the annual Feast of Atonement, and the importance of the High Priest as the supreme official of this church-state-nation and the representative of the whole people before God. The rigor of this Priestly Code did not meet the approval of all the Palestinians, especially those in Samaria, where large alien elements transplanted by the Assyrians mingled with the remaining Jews. The Samaritans, unable to unite in the Jerusalem program, added

their own temple on Mt. Gerizim near the ancient shrine of Schechem and became a separate sect.

I. THE INVASION OF GENTILE RELIGIONS. Though the Second Commonwealth restored to Judaism its own habitat and made possible the growth of a Palestinian tradition relatively free from Babylonian influence, Palestine itself soon fell prey to a succession of political and cultural invasions which created increasing religious diversity and recurrent crises whenever resistance was made.

The period of Persian ascendancy made Zoroastrian ideas current in the eastern Mediterranean, and among the Jews some of these ideas were especially congenial to the prophetic teachings and Wisdom literature of the period. The most important accretions to Judaism from these Persian sources were the doctrine of the struggle between the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness, the belief in the resurrection of the dead and an elaborate angelology and demonology.

The independent Jewish state was ended by Alexander the Great (332), but the Temple rites and autonomy in religious matters were allowed to continue, and even a certain amount of political jurisdiction was granted by his successors, the Ptolemies, who ruled for over a century. Under the Ptolemies and Seleucids, Greeks and Jews came into close contact both intellectually and commercially. A number of Greek cities were founded in Judea and Samaria which served to spread Hellenism from its Syrian headquarters at Antioch. At Alexandria in Egypt, a great cosmopolitan center, and later at Rome, all kinds of cults and cultures intermingled. About 250 B.C. the Jewish Bible began to be translated into Greek (the Septuagint), for a majority of the Jews had forgotten Hebrew. Greek customs and cults invaded even the Temple at Jerusalem, and, on their part, the Greeks and Romans took up many Oriental, Egyptian and Syrian cults, the Jewish among them.

On the other hand, the foreign innovations produced repeated protests on the part of the more nationalistic and conservative Jewish leaders and provoked occasional revolts. The extreme measures of the Seleucids to convert the Jews to Hellenism fanned the flames of a violent Jewish nationalism and of a conscious effort to keep Judaism pure. When Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. erected an image of Jupiter in the Temple at Jerusalem, it so outraged the Jews that

they revolted. Under the leadership of the Maccabees the Jews won a temporary independence, and their state was governed by the pietistic order of the Hasidim. Their independence lasted until the Roman conquest in 63 B.C. The Roman governors adopted a lenient and liberal policy until fresh revolts occurred a century later.

J. WISDOM LITERATURE AND APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY. These mixed circumstances and tendencies were reflected in new types of Jewish literature which appeared from the fourth century on. On the one hand, there arose the Wisdom literature (Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom of Solomon), filled with a spirit of questioning, of quiet skepticism and disillusion; and, on the other hand, came apocalyptic prophecy with its Messianic hopes. The collapse of prophetic theology finds its classic expression in the Book of Job, where the doctrine of God's moral government in meting out suffering as punishment for sin was examined relentlessly and the conclusion drawn that God must be obeyed though his ways are inscrutable. Job's blind trust in the Almighty took the place of the prophetic faith in divine justice. In Ecclesiastes, written perhaps a century later, even this trust is lost and nothing is left but the cry, "all is vanity."

But prophecy did not end with this note of quiet resignation; it turned rather to imaginative constructions of the future. It became apocalyptic. The beginnings of apocalyptic prophecy were made as early as the first exile, when Babylonian and Persian mythologies easily lent themselves to eschatological treatment; and this theme became increasingly prominent as misfortunes overtook the Hebrew people. Illustrations of this growing interest are found in Ezekiel, Zechariah ix-xiv, Joel and Isaiah xxiv-xxvii.

The Book of Daniel, however, marks the beginning of a series of apocalyptic visions which entirely subordinate the traditional themes of prophecy to allegorical and symbolical wisdom. This book was probably written about the time of the Maccabean revolt. The vision of the four kingdoms and the prophecy of the Golden Age of four hundred and ninety years indicate that the author expected the millennium to begin almost immediately. Of the other apocalypses we mention only the following: the Book of Enoch, which describes the Messiah, the final judgment and the New Jerusalem and is based largely on astrological learning; the Assumption of

Moses; the Apocalypse of Baruch, written about 70 A.D., prophesying the downfall of Rome and the New Jerusalem; the Secrets of Enoch, which is less political in its interests and more given to an exposition of esoteric doctrine on its own account; and the Revelation of John, which, though Christian, is a typical example of Jewish apocalyptic literature.

K. RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND MESSIANIC HOPES. The natural result of these tendencies in Judaism was the growth of rival schools and religious parties. Of these the Sadducees are presumed to be descended from the High Priest Zadok, and they were the aristocratic, priestly party. They adhered strictly to the letter of Scripture, the written Law, and opposed all innovations and foreign importations, such as doctrines of the future life and emphases on other-worldly conceptions of the Kingdom of God. They were the chief political leaders of the new state.

The Pharisees were a more democratic group who presumably carried on the traditions started by the Hasidim in the Maccabean period. Their chief policies were: to cease offering political resistance to the temporal rulers over Israel, and in return to insist on religious autonomy (which was essentially the policy of the Babylonian Jews); to await a Messiah for the temporal restoration of Israel; and to cultivate the Law by making oral expositions and thus building up a body of further interpretation. In their oral interpretations they gave the sanction of the Law to the new ideas of their age, embracing, for example, perhaps under Persian influence, the doctrine of bodily resurrection. They taught also the Day of Judgment, when Elijah would reappear to judge all nations and restore Israel. Some taught also that the Last Judgment would be preceded by a period of independence and followed by the general resurrection and the New Jerusalem. The Pharisees were led by the Scribes, who were primarily scholars and taught in the synagogues, building the oral tradition. But among them were also the Zealots, a more aggressive political faction, associating religious freedom with political independence and ever on the alert for a Messiah.

The Essenes, Nazarenes and other minor sects were not typically Jewish. They were ascetic orders modeled on Oriental or Hellenistic patterns. They were communists who lived in monastic colonies or in the "wilderness." Some of them were wandering preachers,

sorcerers and healers; others were more given to mystic speculations. They gave an other-worldly interpretation to the doctrines of judgment, resurrection and the New Jerusalem. Though they made comparatively little impression on orthodox Judaism, their doctrines found a foothold in early Christianity and later in the Kabbala.

Jeshu (Jesus) of Nazareth, or probably better, the Nazarene, apparently began as a teacher in the synagogue, but his personal reputation as a healer and his vigorous attacks on the chief Jewish parties aroused the opposition of the more orthodox Jews, who came to regard him as one of those who "were seeking to lead Israel astray." He lived among the people of the land near the Greek cities of northern Palestine and was probably influenced by the ascetic "wilderness" sects, with their doctrines of the struggle of "the two Kingdoms" and their practice of healing. He favored the synagogue rather than the Temple; and he repudiated strict compliance with the Law, for instead of keeping himself ritualistically pure he was a "friend of publicans and sinners."

As a prophet or reformer, his chief doctrines seem to have been the following. The Kingdom of God is near at hand. God might come at any time to judge the world. Perhaps he regarded himself merely as a "son of God" or prophet, but he may have believed, as his disciples did, in his Messianic mission. His moral teaching represented a combination of the newer eschatological prophecy with an intense call for repentance and purity of spirit. He gave an other-worldly and inward interpretation to the Kingdom of God and the redemption of Israel and thus gave these doctrines a personal rather than a national basis. He expressed his message not like the prophets, in terms of visions, but like the Scribes, in simple parables.

L. DISPERSION. As the Jews became increasingly involved in the economic life of the Græco-Roman civilization, they naturally participated in the imperial commercial expansion. As a result, communities of Jewish merchants and artisans were scattered throughout the Mediterranean avenues of trade, so that long before the final destruction of the Jewish state the Jews had spread all over the civilized world. The chief Jewish communities outside Palestine were Babylon, where a large part of the Jews continued to live prosperously in exile and where most of the dominant ideas and

institutions of Judaism originated, Alexandria and Elephantine in Egypt, Antioch in Syria, and Rome.

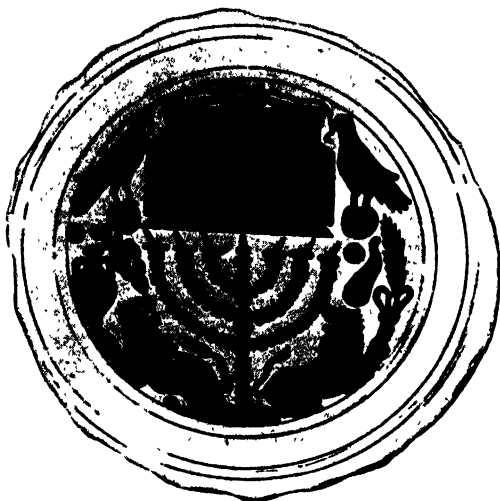
Jewish intellectuals, like Josephus the historian and Philo the philosopher, attempted to translate their learning into Hellenistic terms. Philo of Alexandria (20 B.C.-40 A.D.) applied neo-Pythagorean and allegorical methods of interpretation to the Mosaic Law. He regarded the Jewish Wisdom literature as an expression of the neo-Platonic philosophy of the *Logos*, whereby the divine Law (Torah) is revealed in the realm of speculative thought as well as in human history. Though little is known of Philo's personal influence, his philosophy reappeared later among the Christian neo-Platonists and indirectly influenced both Christian and Jewish thought.

Saul of Tarsus, a militant Pharisee who became a follower of Jesus and regarded him as both Messiah and Savior, illustrates another phase of the dispersion, for he preached his gospel to the Gentiles, infused Hellenistic theology into it and thus laid the foundations for the transformation of a Jewish sect into a new universalistic religion. The Pauline teaching was effective in breaking down the barriers between Jewish and Gentile Christians and drew with it a considerable portion of the Diaspora Jews.

In Palestine itself, Messianism precipitated several crises. In suppressing a Zealot outbreak the Romans in 70 A.D. finally destroyed the Temple and dispersed the priesthood. The followers of Jesus, who awaited his second coming as Messiah, had refused to take part in this revolt, and from then on their alienation from the rest of Jewry was rapid. Messianism, however, persisted in Palestine among the orthodox. In 132-5 A.D. there occurred the revolt of Bar Kochba, whom Rabbi Akiba, then leader of the Scribes, hailed as "the star of David." The suppression of this revolt led to the complete destruction of Jerusalem, removed the last vestiges of national independence and gave further impetus to the dispersion of the Jews.

The local synagogues were now the unrivaled strongholds of Judaism, and in them, especially in the Babylonian synagogues, rabbinic schools carried on the process begun by Scribes and Pharisees of reinterpreting and readapting the national traditions so that they continued to serve the needs of Jews and to express their piety and

ideals under new circumstances. A canon of Jewish scriptures was established (it being taught that the days of prophecy were ended), and rules of interpretation were formulated. In this process the institutions and practices of Judaism took forms which have remained orthodox until the present day. Messianic revolt thus yielded to orthodox discipline, but Messianic hope remained.



136. Judaic symbols from the Jewish catacombs in Rome: the Ark with Torah scrolls, doves, *menorah*, Lions and Crown of Judah, the *shofar*, the citron and palm, and the pitcher for washing priests' hands.

II. ORTHODOX JUDAISM

A. THE SYNAGOGUE. The origin of the synagogue is not known. Though it may have antedated the exile, it was in the exile that the foundations were laid which made it the center of Jewish community life. In the dispersion it served not only as a local center but also as a means of keeping the scattered communities in touch with Jerusalem and with each other.

The religion of the synagogue was not only able to survive the destruction of the state and Temple but flourished, because it continued to serve the needs of the Jews and to express their piety much better than these ancient forms could now have done. Though Judaism would have been lost had it renounced the ancient religion completely, it is vital today because in cherishing its past it devel-

oped a type of piety which has practical and ideal value independent of the ancient conditions. The ancient practice of the Law, a social system in operation, was superseded by love of the Law, a distinctive form of religious devotion. The theology of the Temple cult became in its details primarily an object of reminiscent devotion rather than a system of belief.

The worship of God is thereby radically transformed. Prayers take the place of sacrifices, and the study of the Law in large measure takes the place of its literal application, becoming itself a form of worship. Such worship can be democratized, and the synagogue is traditionally one of the most democratic of all religious institutions. The power of the priesthood is destroyed. In the synagogue neither the teachers (*rabbis*) nor the priests (*cohanim*) have a pre-eminent part in worship. The men take turns reading. The Torah and the Ark containing it are the unifying principle in the ritual. The only serious infraction of this democracy of worship is the office of the professional cantor (*khazzan*), which developed during the Middle Ages in order to meet the growing difficulty of reading the Hebrew scriptures and in order to do justice to the chants and musical elements which became increasingly important as the text became increasingly unintelligible or inapplicable. But the professional cantor is essentially a "messenger" and enjoys no religious authority or intercessory powers, though he usually enjoys the respect and honor of the congregation.

The earliest synagogues of which we have records were built on Greek architectural models, but Moorish elements were later introduced. In the Middle Ages many of the synagogues, especially in Mediterranean lands, were extremely beautiful. There was no fixed shape; the oblong rectangular form (like the Temple) and the octagonal form predominated. There is no imagery except the lion and the "shield of David" (six-pointed star), neither of which are of Jewish origin.

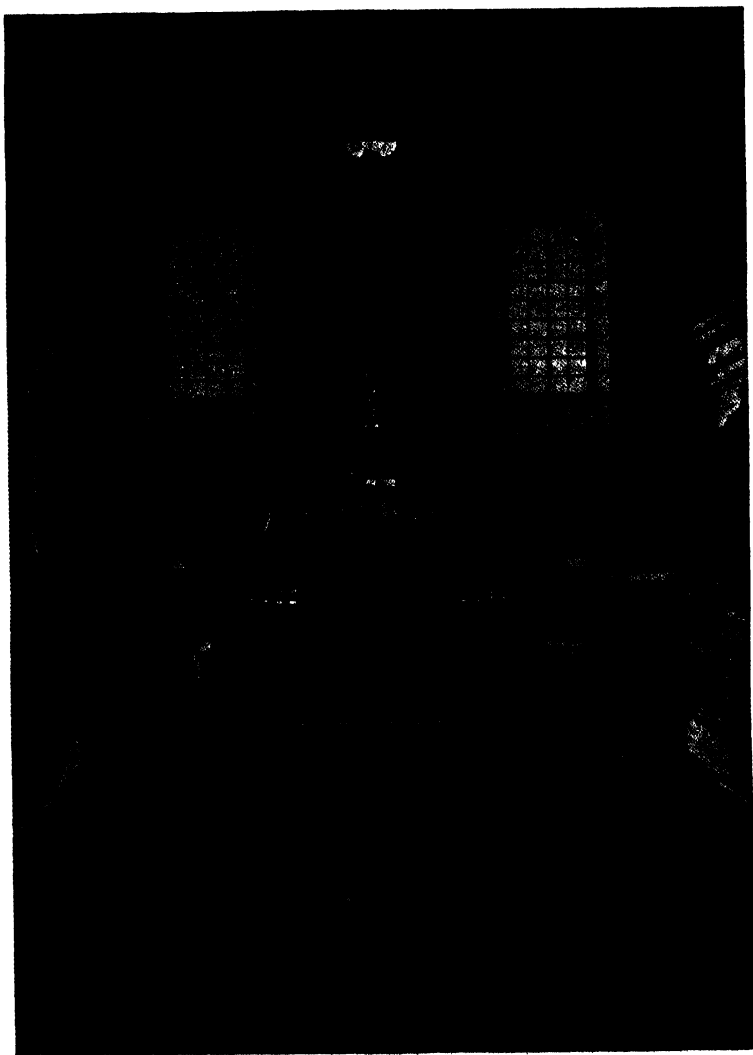
The essential internal arrangements are the Ark, situated in the Sanctuary on the east wall of the synagogue and containing the sacred scrolls of the Law (the Ark is covered by a curtain); the Bema or reader's desk, in the center facing the Ark; the perpetual lamp between the Bema and the Ark; and the women's gallery, which was originally a separate court, then a small screened gallery,

and now is a large gallery with or without a screen. The fact that the synagogue is still essentially an assembly hall for men is the chief vestige of its position as the center of Jewish public life in ancient and medieval times.

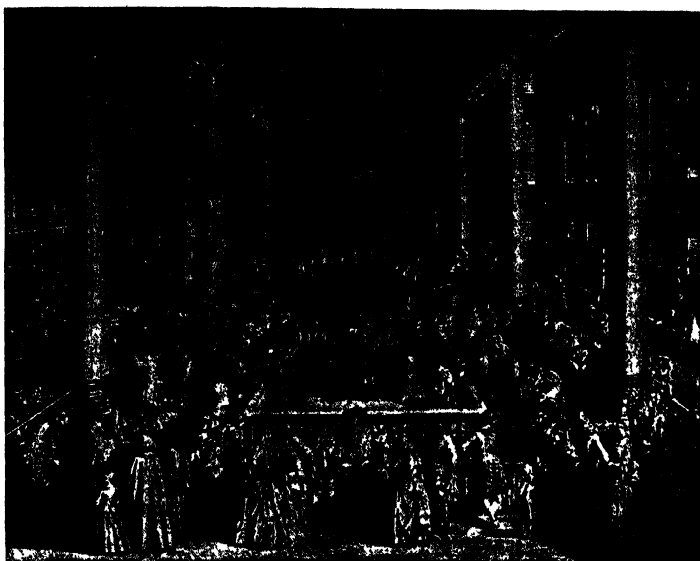
The synagogue ritual, while preserving ancient elements throughout the centuries, developed without attaining fixity or rigid uniformity. Prayer-books were not written until the seventh century A.D., and in medieval times the service was enriched by the addition of much liturgical poetry (*piyyutim*), of which the penitential prayer (*selikhah*) is a foremost type. The "Thirteen Principles of Faith" formulated by Maimonides were also worked into the service, where they are recited devotionally rather than professed as a creed.

Of the three daily services the morning service is the longest, and in many communities men, particularly the aged, spend much of their time in the synagogue, in worship, study and conversation, though this habit is less prevalent now than in medieval times. The Sabbath is initiated at sun-down on Friday, when the mother performs the ceremony of lighting the candles in the home, and the men attend service in the synagogue which culminates in the *Kiddush* (blessings over a cup of wine, often repeated at home at the festive board). The close of the Sabbath at sun-down on Saturday is marked by *Habdalah*, a ceremony involving a benediction over a goblet of wine (the "cup of salvation"), inhaling the fragrance of spices and pouring wine on the burning taper. Then the week-day fires may be kindled and other work resumed.

The Sabbath morning service, when chanted, lasts about three hours. Though the ritual varies from time to time and place to place, the chief elements are the following. After the chanting of a poem of praise (*Yigdal*), composed on the basis of Maimonides' Thirteen Principles of Faith, and the singing of the hymn, *Adhon 'Olam*, which proclaims the transcendent and everlasting God as the refuge and redeemer of man, the Morning Benedictions are read, in which God is praised for the daily and elemental facts of life and their religious observance. Then follows a prayer for guidance, after which comes the reading of passages from the Torah and of rabbinical commentaries upon them. Responses (*Kaddish*) are then recited and several psalms and doxologies, leading up to the most

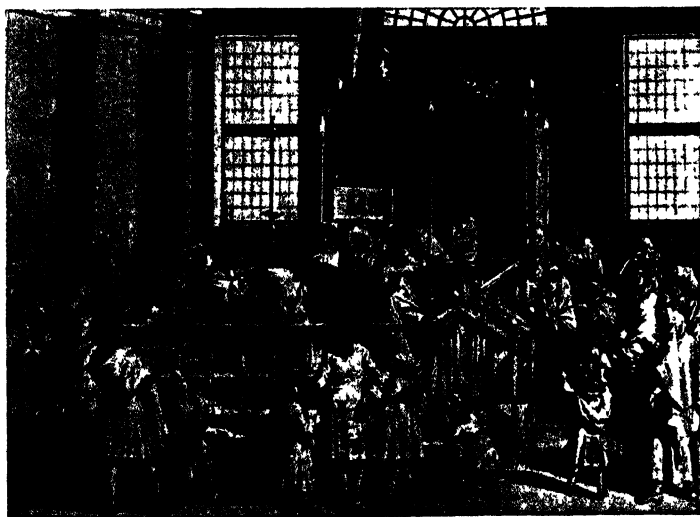


137. Synagogue at Zulz, Silesia, showing Bema, Ark and other appointments of the synagogue.



138

After Picart



139

After Picart

138. Dedication of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam. 139. Exhibiting the Law after the reading and during the benediction.

sacred and ancient element of the whole liturgy, the *Shema*, from Deuteronomy, beginning "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is One." It is followed by the ancient "eighteen blessings" (*Shemoneh Esreh*) or standing prayer (*Amidah*), which comes down from the Temple ritual and contains the chief prayers of petition, thanksgiving and praise. It is said silently, but the cantor usually repeats it in musical cadences. It is followed by a period of meditation and a prayer for the speedy rebuilding of the Temple. Then comes the Order of Reading the Law, in which the men of the synagogue participate. The scroll of the Law is taken from the Ark and the portion for the week is read. This portion is divided into several subdivisions, for the reading of each of which a different member of the congregation is called to recite the blessings. This is regarded as an honor, and after each recitation a prayer (*Mi Sheberakh*) is said calling for God's special blessing on the individual, his relations and the congregation. The individual usually makes a donation at this time. The entire Torah is read this way each year in fifty-two sections, and in addition portions of the prophets (*Haftorah*). After a prayer of adoration follows one of the most important parts of the ritual, the Mourners' *Kaddish*, which constitutes one of the most effective features of the synagogue service. It is recited by the bereaved every day during the year following the death of a member of the family and on anniversaries of the death. The service is usually closed by the singing of a popular medieval hymn, *En Keloheinu*.

The medieval period was by far the most creative period in the history of orthodox Judaism, and to this day the character of its rites and the themes of its traditions reflect the life of the ghetto. Judaism, until recently, has been a way of life rather than a religion; it contains little of the solemnity and mystery of sacramental worship, and its appeal is social and moral rather than sensuous and esthetic. The sorrow and mourning for Israel expressed in synagogue services today achieve a dramatic and esthetic effect, but until recently they were sincere and literal realities. The atmosphere of persecution, suspicion and slander which surrounded the ghetto, the disabilities imposed on non-Christians and the sufferings common to all in an age of oppression, intrigue and war stamped themselves indelibly on Judaism and led the Jews to welcome the security,

intimacy and autonomy of the ghetto community. Common dangers and crowded communities gave the synagogues a central place in Jewish life such as churches or mosques seldom enjoyed. The synagogue and its institutions performed the functions of church, community center, men's club, court, school and theater. A typical, popular, orthodox service is still characterized by informality, geniality, neighborliness and enthusiastic recitation of prayers and study of the Law. Its atmosphere is not that of a church but of an old-fashioned Sunday School or an ultra-modern day school. It is noisy, casual and sociable. There is little to suggest that the religious observances are holier than the affairs of daily life. Almost every act in the life of a Jew is sanctified by an observance or benediction, and the love of the Law is so intimately related to the daily pursuits of life that piety and business are but two aspects of a minutely regimented way of life. Under ghetto conditions the cultivation of this way of life was both a necessity and a privilege; it gave to the Jewish community a distinctive quality, a cohesive force and a genuine significance which could easily claim the loyalty of its members. Being fenced in, as it were, Judaism could grow only in intensity and in internal elaboration; its piety was cumulative, each generation "repeating" not only the Law but also previous "repetitions." The songs, poems, prayers and commentaries which grew out of this process gave abundant and exuberant means of celebrating what would otherwise have been a sordid routine or an agony of despair. They are, above all, folk-ways, relying on the common themes and daily mediums of expression. As a result Judaism is still, much more so than Christianity, a communal possession in which all participate alike and freely, and which still enshrines the arts and ideals of the medieval community.

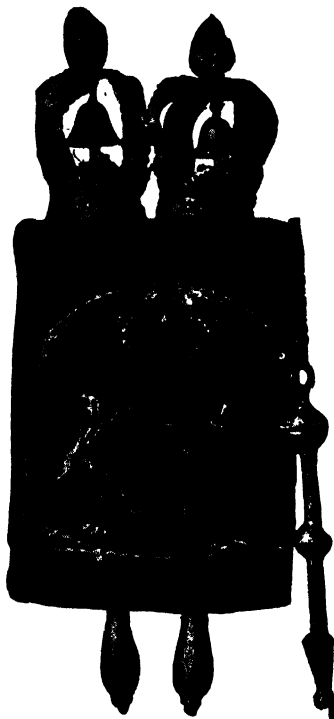
B. THE BIBLE. The Canon of Jewish scriptures was finally fixed by the rabbis at Jamnia (second century A.D.) and divides scripture into three classes.

1. The Law, Torah or Pentateuch. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, the so-called books of Moses, were probably complete in their present form by the fourth century B.C. Most of Leviticus and Numbers is a product of the priestly restoration (fifth century B.C.) and comprises the so-called holiness and

priestly codes of the Law. Deuteronomy is presumably in large part the book said to have been discovered by the priests during the reign of Josiah (621 B.C.) on which their reforms were based.

2. The Prophets, *Nebiim*, subdivided into:

a. The Former Prophets: Joshua, Judges, I and II Samuel and



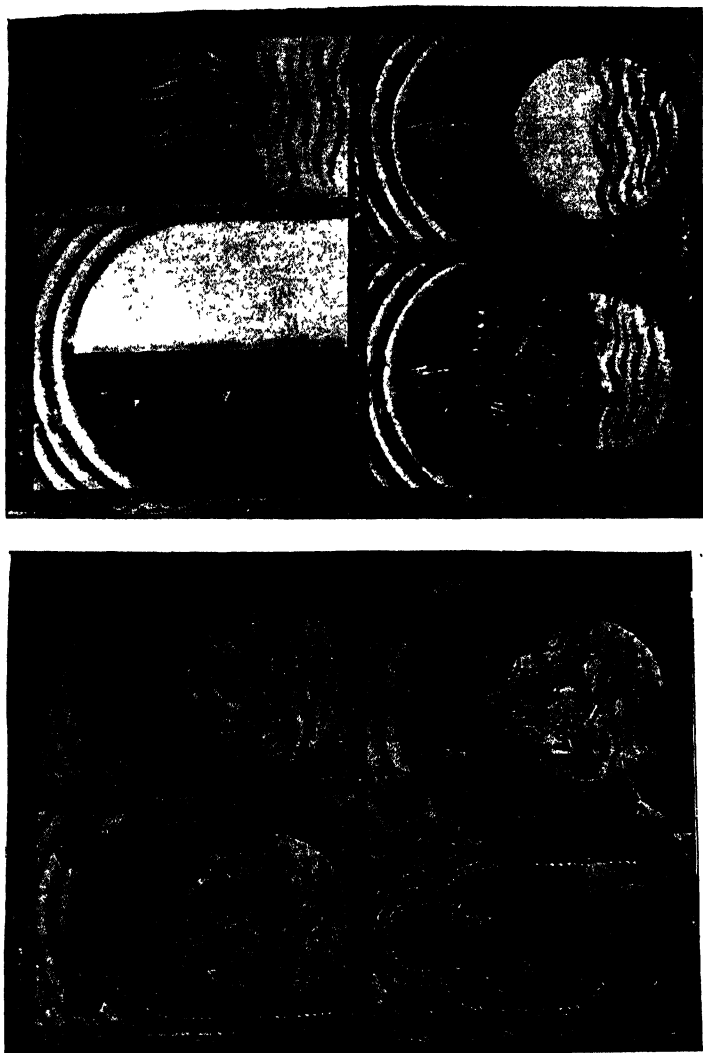
140. Torah scroll with embroidered mantle, pointer, crowns and bells.

I and II Kings. The greater part of these books was complete by the sixth century B.C.

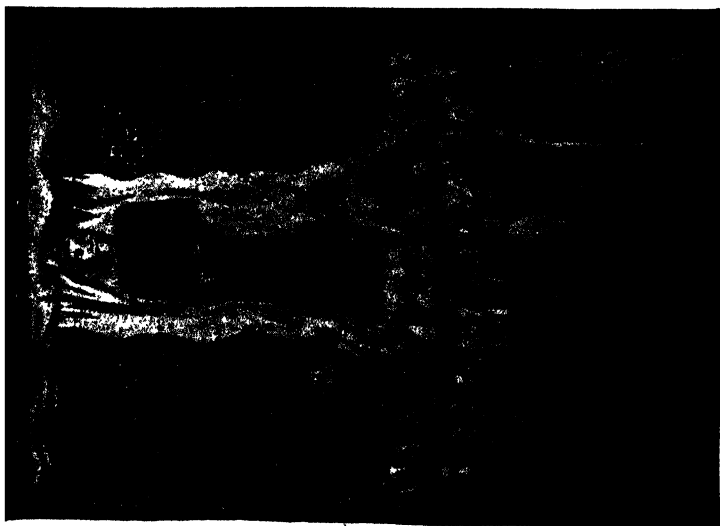
b. The Latter Prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve minor prophets. These books extend from the time of Amos, middle of the eighth century B.C., to the time of the "second" Zechariah, about 200 B.C.

3. The Writings, *Kethubhim*, in three groups:

a. Psalms, Proverbs and Job. The Psalms, many of them attributed to David, are of varying degrees of antiquity. Some of them

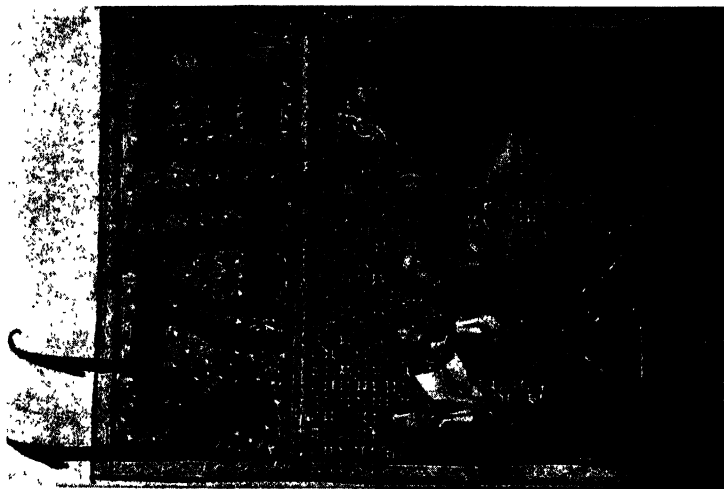


141. Genesis. The days of creation (from right to left): the Spirit of God over the waters, the separation of light and darkness, the separation of waters, the creation of land and plants, the creation of the firmament, the creation of wild animals, the creation of beasts and man, and, lastly, God resting on the seventh day. From the Sarajevo Haggadah.



(a)

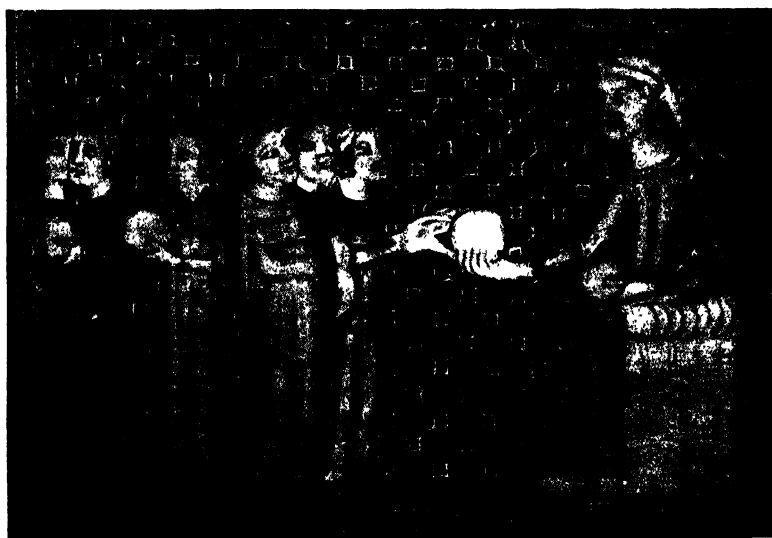
142. The Law of Israel: (a) The revelation to Moses on Sinai. (b) Rabbi Gamaliel teaching the Law. (c) The blessing of Moses transmitted to Joshua. (d) Distribution of *matioth* to members of the family at Passover. From the Sarajevo Haggadah.



(b)



(c)



(d)

were no doubt handed down orally from the earliest Temple liturgy. The majority of the Psalms probably were composed during the exile, and the collection was not complete until the first century A.D. They represent the culmination of the devotional literature of the ancient religion, and they still provide in great part the basis of Jewish and Christian liturgy. Of special importance are the Hallel Psalms, hymns of praise (Psalms 113-118, 136, 146-150), which have long been a prominent feature of Jewish worship. Job and Proverbs are both relatively late compositions of the fourth and third centuries; Proverbs represents the more popular and Job the more poetic form of Wisdom literature.

b. Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther. These are known as the *Meghilloth*, five scrolls, used frequently at special feasts; they were composed for the most part during the third and second centuries B.C.

c. Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, I and II Chronicles. These are likewise late books, the apocalyptic prophecies of Daniel dating from the time of the Maccabean uprising (165 B.C.) and the other historical records being compiled between the fourth and second centuries.

There are many writings dating from late biblical times which are excluded from the Canon and are known as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Chief among them are the books of the Maccabees, of Judith, of Sirach, the Wisdom of Solomon and several Apocalypses.

C. THE TALMUD, RABBINIC LEARNING AND ITS RIVALS.

I. THE TALMUD. The *Targums*, the earliest bodies of rabbinic writings, were based on the free, oral "translations" of the Torah and other books of the Bible from Hebrew into Aramaic, the common language of the Jews after the exile, which the rabbis made in the synagogues. This oral Aramaic tradition embodied expositions and explanations of the text, and gradually it was written down. Two distinct *Targums* were produced by two distinct schools of rabbis, the Babylonian and the Palestinian. The former is the earlier. Two great bodies of tradition, the two Talmuds, were compiled by these two schools. The Palestinian (Jerusalem) Talmud was compiled before the fourth century A.D., when the scholars of Palestine were scattered and their synagogues destroyed. Their work was left incomplete, and their methods of interpretation were comparatively literal and simple. The Babylonian schools, on the other hand, com-

pleted their Talmud in the fifth century A.D. The greater completeness, flexibility and scholastic erudition of the Babylonian Talmud soon gave it predominance over its Palestinian rival, and usually when the Talmud is referred to, it is this Babylonian Talmud which is meant.

There are two great divisions of the Talmud: *Mishna* and *Gemara*. The *Mishna* (Repetition) is the earlier and foundational section of the Talmud, embodying the oral teachings as handed down by the early generations of rabbinic scholars to 220 A.D., when Rabbi Judah grouped their decisions under the following categories: "Seeds," containing agricultural laws and those dealing with prayers, blessings and the poor; "Feasts," dealing with the Sabbath, holidays and fast days; "Women," discussing betrothal, marriage, divorce and vows; "Damages," including civil and criminal laws; "Sacred things," discussing the discontinued ritual and sacrifices of the Temple. The scholars whose views are preserved in the *Mishna* are traditionally grouped as follows. (1) The *Sopherim* or Scribes are supposedly the members of the Great Synagogue thought to have existed under Ezra and their disciples down to the time of Simeon the Just, second century B.C. These Scribes laid the basis of the whole oral law, including the synagogue ritual and regulations. Their chief aim, which remained dominant throughout the rabbinic tradition, is summed up in the passage of *Pirke Abhoth* (a book of the *Mishna*), "Be deliberate in judgment; raise up many disciples; and make a fence for the Torah." (2) The *Zughoth* or Pairs (second and first centuries B.C.) taught at a time when rivalry with the Sadducees gave rise among the Scribes and Pharisees to two trends of interpretation: the more liberal, with some Diaspora affiliations; and the conservative, more under the influence of the Jerusalem priesthood. The last and most famous Pair was Hillel (liberal) and Shammai (conservative). (3) The *Tannaim* or Teachers. This term applies to several generations of still later scholars who wrote the great bulk of the *Mishna*, completing it about the beginning of the third century A.D. They are the most important rabbinic group, for they determined the legal codes and principles of interpretation during the most critical period of Judaism; they restored unity; and their decisions gave modern Judaism its intellectual and moral framework. Their chief accomplishments were: to

reestablish Hebrew as the sacred language of all Jews; to embody a moderate amount of the popular eschatology into orthodox Judaism; to put the doctrines of penitence and redemption on a personal as well as a national basis; and to give rabbinic learning a legalistic rather than a mystic tendency.

The *Gemara* (Supplementary Learning) constitutes the other main portion of the Talmud. It is a commentary on the *Mishna* written in Aramaic and was completed (in the Babylonian Talmud) in the fifth century. The rabbis who wrote it are known as the *Amoraim* (Sayers). Their writings reflect the controversies of schools, the exigencies of local conditions and the general environment of Oriental learning. The arguments are cryptic, the style elliptic, and it is almost impossible for the uninitiated to understand the issues and methods of discussion.

2. THE MIDRASH. The *Midrash* (Searching) is a general term for further homilies of teachers, collected as an additional commentary on the Pentateuch. They are of two types: *Halakhic*, legal interpretations, and *Haggadic*, homiletic and exegetical elaborations. The second type gave rise to an immense literature. It embraced many legends, parables, anecdotes and other popular elements which were used widely in medieval ritual and folk-lore. It led also to increasingly elaborate systems of allegory and mystic interpretations.

There are several other bodies of rabbinic literature carrying less authority but historically very influential. Of these we mention only: the *Baraita* and *Tosephta*, supplementary compilations of the Tannaitic period; the works of the *Sabboraim* (explainers) who succeeded the *Amoraim* and edited the Talmud; the *Responsa* of the *Geonim*, Grand Rabbis, who were the recognized heads of (Babylonian) Judaism from the seventh to the eleventh centuries.

3. THE KARAITES REVOLT. In the eighth century there arose a movement of protest against Talmudic tradition. It began when Rabbi Anan was rejected for the position of Exilarch on account of his "heretical" leanings. With the help of Islam his successors established themselves, eventually supporting a strong center in Palestine. They attacked the whole rabbinic tradition and urged a return to the Bible, individually interpreted, as the sole binding authority. The ingenious systems of interpretation of the Bible which Anan and his followers made in order to set up a working code of law led



143. Page from the Soncino Talmud of 1489, showing the end of the first chapter and the beginning of the second of the book *Hullin*. Only the first six lines of the second chapter are a portion of the *Mishna*. The remainder of the central text *Gemara* is exposition in Hebrew and Aramaic by the Amoraim (3rd to 5th centuries). The commentary on the right is by Rabbi Rashi, 11th century; on the left, by the Tosephists, pupils of Rashi.

to a protracted debate in which new attention was given to the text of the Bible. The Karaites (Readers), as they were called, spread over Palestine, Syria, Persia and Egypt, and later northward into the Byzantine Empire and finally into southern Russia, where several thousand of them still survive. The Karaites were an early channel of Moslem influence upon Judaism.

4. JEWISH SCHOLASTICISM. The Karaite revolt in the eighth century helped to stimulate a new type of rabbinic learning. Hitherto Jewish scholars had been content to make it appear that rabbinic decisions were simply logical deductions from the divine Law, but now that the Karaites made the same claim, Talmudic scholars sought philosophic support in the neo-Platonic and Aristotelian traditions which had gained a firm foothold in Arabian science. The founder of this type of philosophic exposition was Sa'adya of Egypt (892-942), who replied to the Karaites, and made a systematic philosophical exposition of Talmudic learning, defending it as a work of reason as well as of faith. For "reason" he turned to the Greeks and attempted to prove in terms of the Greek tradition itself that such Jewish beliefs as creation *ex nihilo* and free-will were more rational than the Aristotelian doctrines of the eternity of matter, etc.

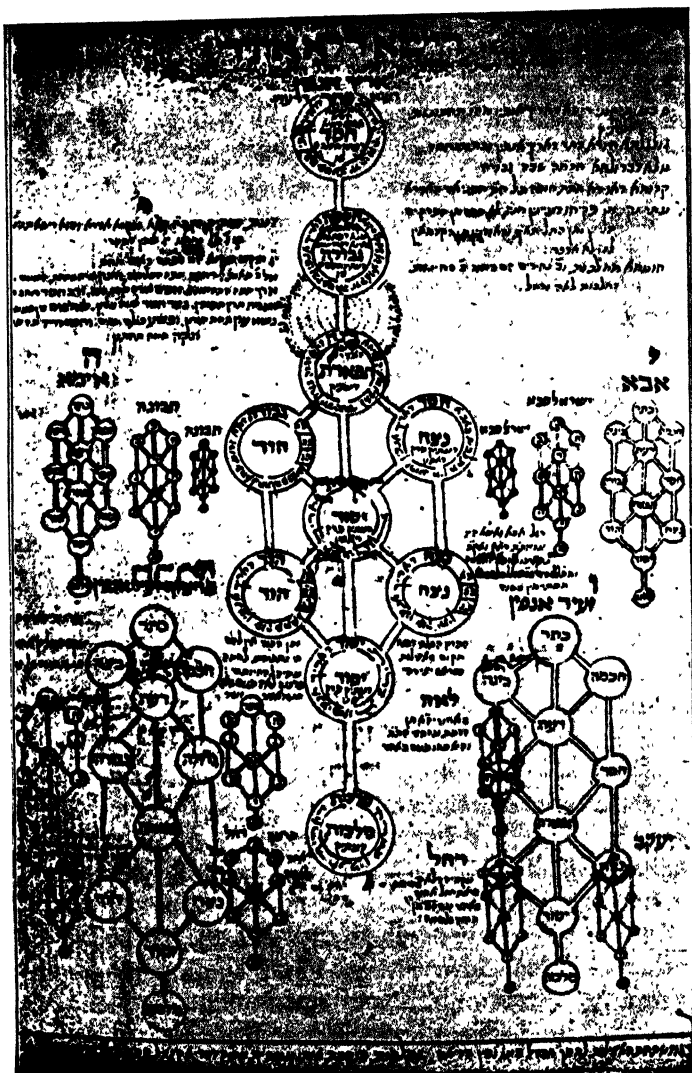
Spain, where the Jews enjoyed Moorish protection and Arabian science, became the great center of Jewish religious philosophy and poetry. From the year 950, when Moses ben Enoch founded the Jewish Academy (*Yeshiba*) of Cordova, until 1492, when the Jews were expelled from Spain, a succession of distinguished scholars in Spain raised Jewish scholasticism to a high level of intellectual attainment. Ibn Gabirol (c. 1020-70), Judah Halevi (c. 1085-1143), Ibn Ezra (c. 1070-1138), Moses Maimonides (1135-1204) and Gersonides (1288-1344), to mention only the greatest names, were important, not only as philosophers in the scholastic tradition, but as writers of hymns and other forms of sacred literature, which have since become popular in the synagogues. Maimonides, popularly known as Moses the Second, is the most famous of these. In his *Mishneh Torah* (Repetition of the Torah), he recognized, rationalized and simplified the essentials of the Talmudic tradition; and in his popular Arabic work, *The guide to the perplexed*, he defended Judaism on the grounds of Aristotelianism. He and his

followers did not share the usual abhorrence for Latin and became acquainted with Christian scholasticism. In this way Arabic science and philosophy were transmitted to the Christians.

After the expulsion from Spain and the disintegration of Moorish culture, the centers of Jewish learning shifted northward. Orthodox tradition became more rigid and formal. To provide a uniform code for the scattered ghetto communities Joseph Karo in 1567 compiled the *Shulkhan Arukh* (Prepared Table), an abridgement of the Law, which to this day is a guide for the religious life of the orthodox. Polish (Ashkenazic) modifications of this Portuguese (Sephardic) code were made soon after by Moses Isserles. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Poland had become the new headquarters of rabbinic orthodoxy.

5. THE KABBALA. In the meantime an entirely different kind of learning had been developed in Spain. The esoteric mysticism of Philo and the Gnostics, which received only minor recognition in the Talmud (mostly in the *Haggadic Midrash*), was revived in Spanish circles; first at Gerona, whence it spread all over Europe. It was on the whole a protest against the rationalistic learning of the Talmudic scholars. Nahmanides (1195-1270) was the most distinguished of its early champions, but what made it popular was the publication about 1285 of the *Zohar* by Moses de Leon. This book purported to be an early Aramaic commentary on the Bible, proving that the Bible never was intended to be taken literally.

Since Hebrew numerals are letters, it is possible to read into the words of the Bible an elaborate system of esoteric meaning based on number symbolism. The Kabbalistic symbols are based on the various names or attributes of God, and these are developed into an intricate cosmology. The chief doctrines are similar to those of Oriental and Hellenistic mysticism. The Boundless (*Ensof*) draws within itself and by the process of self-limitation generates successively the realms of Emanations, of Creation, of Formation and of Action. These realms all have a similar structure, based on the system of the ten spiritual spheres (*sephiroth*) in the realm of Emanations. These spheres are arranged in a system of three triads and one final all-comprehending sphere; the first triad comprises the intellectual world, in which the first emanation of the *Ensof*, which is the Divine Will (or Crown) generates the male sphere of



144. A page of Kabbalistic diagrams. The central pattern, several variations of which are on this page, is the "sacred tree" of the ten spheres or *sephiroth*; thus (from top to bottom): Crown of Mercy, Severity, Beauty, Glory-Victory, Foundation, Glory-Victory, Foundation, Kingdom.

Wisdom and the female sphere of Knowledge; these two in turn generate Grace and Power, likewise male and female, which unite to generate Beauty. Grace, Power and Beauty, the second triad, constitute the moral world. From it is generated the natural world, consisting of three *sephiroth*, Triumph (female), Glory (male) and their product, the Foundation or creative power. These three realms or nine *sephiroth* taken together constitute the tenth, the Kingdom. In like manner the other worlds are analyzed into this same pattern.

The practical application of this mysticism is found in the doctrine that man is a microcosm, embodying all these realms in himself. By some Kabbalists, therefore, the doctrine was converted into a system of magic, controlling these cosmic forces in man by the use of the mysterious names and symbols. They were used especially in the exorcism of evil spirits; for the Kabbalists also believed in reincarnation and in disembodied souls which sometimes took possession of the living. Some of the more scholarly Kabbalists, on the other hand, confined themselves to the philosophical doctrines and to mystic piety.

Messianism was also stimulated into new life under the partial influence of mysticism. In 1648, the year in which the mystics expected redemption, Shabbethai Zebhi in Smyrna announced himself the Messiah, and in 1665 was so proclaimed in Jerusalem. The enthusiasm was immense even after he succumbed to Mohammedanism at the first test. He was the most popular of a number of modern pseudo-Messiahs.

6. CHASSIDISM. Another reaction against rabbinic legalism came from the Chassidim (Pious Ones), who were founded by a Polish peasant-recluse, Israel of Moldavia, known as the Baal Shem Tobh (Master of the Good Name), in the first half of the eighteenth century. The movement spread all through Poland and the Ukraine and today numbers several hundred thousand adherents. Baal Shem was later regarded by the rabbis as an ignorant fanatic, and his followers in turn regarded the rabbis as impostors parading their scholastic learning in the face of an illiterate people and entirely neglecting genuine piety. Baal Shem went about preaching a simple gospel and enjoining three cardinal virtues: humility, cheerfulness and enthusiasm. His successors are known by their followers as

Zaddikim, Righteous Ones. These *Zaddikim* are supported generously by their communities, in which they are practically dictators, exercising more authority than rabbis. They are generally very popular and revered for their piety and supernatural powers. The Chassidim are characterized by an emotional type of piety rather than by a distinctive creed. Their rites include ecstatic dances and various kinds of magic.

D. THE RELIGIOUS CALENDAR AND FESTIVALS. The chief festivals of the year are the following.

In September, at the end of the drought and the beginning of the rainy season in Palestine, comes *Rosh Hashanah*, New Year's Day, also known as Day of Memorial or Day of Judgment. It is followed by the Days of Repentance which culminate on the tenth day in the Day of Atonement (*Yom Kippur*), the most solemn of the Holy Days. The New Year is announced by the blowing of the ram's horn (*Shofar*) in the service, which calls the people to confession, repentance and supplication. On the Day of Atonement, before God's judgment is sealed, he is besought to work atonement and grant forgiveness, while man forgives man. This is the modern equivalent of the ancient expiatory sacrifices and rites of purification.

In October comes *Succoth*, the joyous Feast of Tabernacles, in ancient times the autumnal harvest festival of wine and oil. It is an occasion of thanksgiving and is supposed to commemorate God's care during the days of wandering in the wilderness. It is celebrated in the synagogue by decorations of fruits and plants and by a procession of men bearing citrons and palm branches bound with myrtle and willow. In the garden or dining-room of the home (occasionally also in the synagogue courts) decorated booths (*succoth*) are erected roofed over only by branches and fruits. In these booths prayers are said and meals are served; occasionally they are also used for sleeping. In place of the ancient thank-offering at the Temple, it is customary to give charity to the poor.

The close of the Feast of Tabernacles includes *Simkhath Torah*, the Rejoicing of the Law. This is the occasion on which the annual reading of the Torah is finished and the new cycle is begun. It is the occasion for dancing and feasting, especially among Chassidic sects.

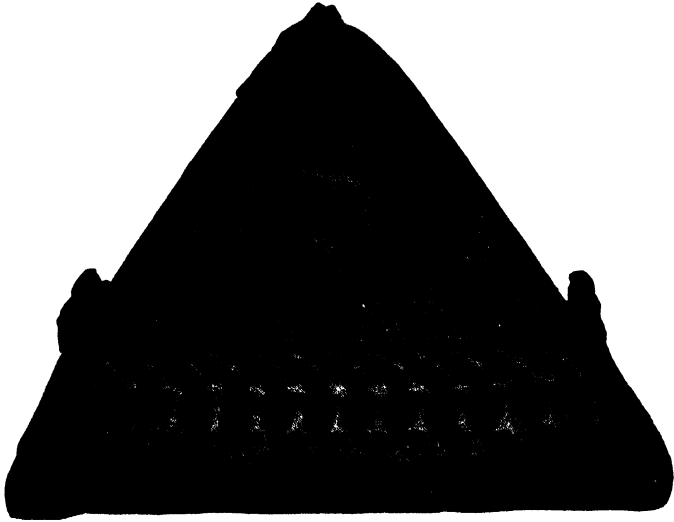
In December comes *Hanukkah*, the Feast of Lights or Dedic-

tion. In ancient days it was the celebration of the dedication of the new lights in the Temple, and this was probably connected with the celebration of the winter solstice. It is supposed to commemorate the victory of the Maccabees. It is celebrated by the ritual lighting of candles and by giving gifts.

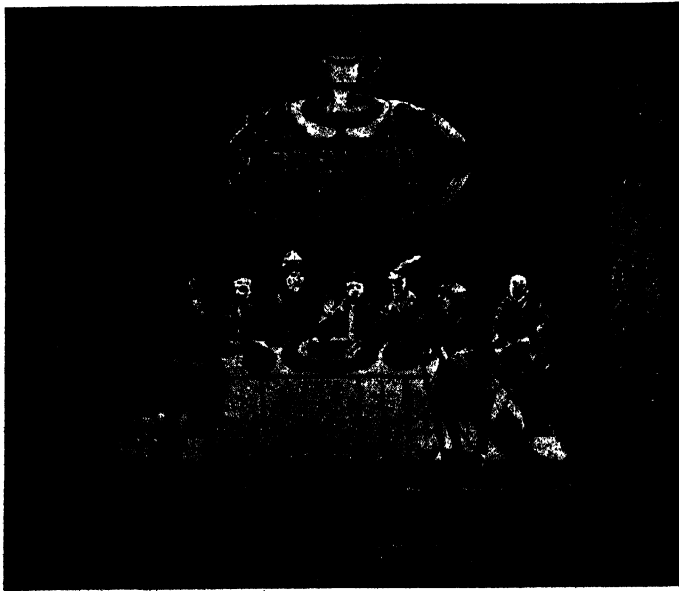
In February or March comes *Purim*, the Feast of Lots. It marks the end of the Palestinian cold season and is the occasion of plays, games and carnival. It is supposed to express patriotic joy over deliverance, and accordingly the story of Esther is read in the synagogue.

Pesakh, Passover, the Feast of Unleavened Bread, in April is a combination of the nomadic spring festival of lambs and the agricultural festival of the first-fruits of barley. It is supposed to celebrate the exodus from Egypt, and the dominant ideas of the feast are the passing of winter, the power and rule of God and the betrothal of his people to him, rejoicing in freedom and prayers for complete freedom. In the synagogue the Song of Songs is read. The winter prayers for rain are changed to spring prayers for dew.

The chief event of Passover, however, is in the home, the Seder Feast. This is usually the occasion of a family reunion, and it is the domestic quality of the festival which is most popular. After preliminary rites of house-cleaning and removing all leavened bread the Seder Feast itself proceeds as follows: The cup of the Passover, Kiddush cup, is passed to sanctify the feast, similar to the Sabbath Kiddush in the synagogue. The father or celebrant then washes his hands to symbolize his priestly function. Parsley is dipped in salt-water and eaten, symbolizing the hardships of captivity. The Afikomen, half of the unleavened cake, is hidden and reserved for the dessert and later entertainment. The Seder-dish is then elevated by the company and the formula recited: "This is the bread of affliction. . . ." A series of questions and answers follows by means of which the story of the escape from Egypt is told, and several rabbinic expositions of its significance are read. The second cup, the cup of Haggada, is drunk, followed by a general washing of hands. The unleavened cakes and bitter herbs are eaten and appropriate blessings recited. Then the evening meal is served, after which the Afikomen is eaten, a blessing is recited and the third cup of wine drunk. Then the door is opened during the recitation of psalms and



145



146

145. Medieval Hanukkah lamp. 146. Seder table-cloth, representing the ancient ceremonial meal around the paschal lamb. The celebrants are girt to symbolize the flight from Egypt.



147



148

147. The Day of Atonement in the synagogue, showing the white shrouds and shoe-less feet of the penitents. 148. The Seder Feast being celebrated by a family and servants (see text).

lamentations, to admit Elijah, for whom a special cup has been set; at the same time a prayer is said in defiance of the Gentiles. A fourth cup of wine is preceded by the recitation of the Great Hallel, Psalm of Praise, and the Benediction of Song. A prayer for Acceptance follows the fourth cup. Finally there is a series of folk-songs and a general jollification in which the children take a prominent part. (See fig. 148.)

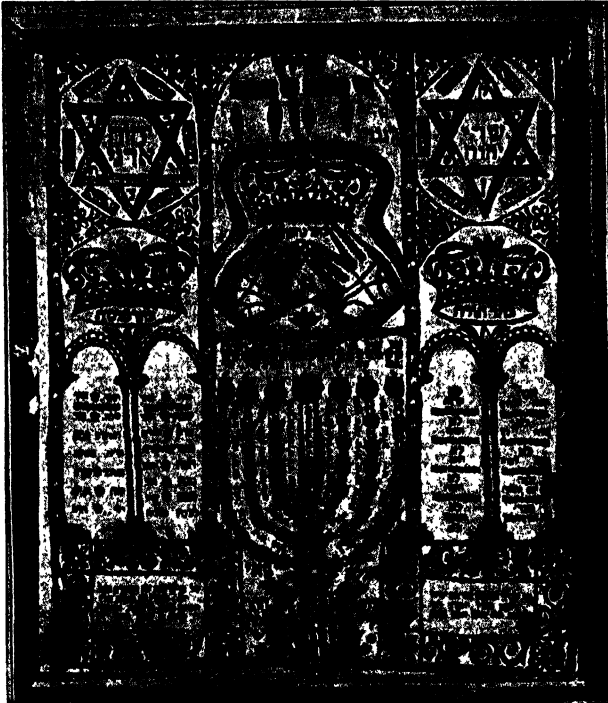
Counting the 'Omer covers the period of the next seven weeks, which in Palestine are weeks of hard harvest work. They are supposed to recall numerous persecutions and calamities endured during this season, and the ritual expresses the longing for God as the bridegroom of his people. Except on one day, Lag B'Omer, no public rejoicings or weddings are allowed during this time.

Shebhuoth, the Festival of Weeks or Pentecost, the fiftieth day after Passover, is a day of rejoicing. It was the feast of the first-fruits of wheat but is now used to celebrate the giving of the Law to Moses and also to symbolize the marriage of God to his people. Accordingly in modern temples, children are received into full membership in the congregation on this occasion. The synagogue is decorated with flowers, and the story of the Law-giving and the Book of Ruth are read.

Orthodox Jews in addition observe a number of fasts, of which the most important is *Tischa 'B'abh*, which comes during the summer drought and mourns the destruction of the Temple. The agricultural significance of the fasts is connected with that of the ancient mourning for Tammuz or Adonis, the god of vegetation. In addition to the fasting there is a ritual of mourning and the Book of Lamentations is read in the synagogue.

This calendar obviously originally reflected the moods and values of the agricultural and climatic seasons of Palestine. To the great majority of Jews, however, this agricultural meaning was lost after the dispersion, and hence during the Middle Ages the historical and political interpretation was emphasized. Now that in the Emancipation period even this tradition is losing much of its force, the festivals tend to become more or less arbitrary (but none the less genuine) celebrations of general moral themes such as freedom, sin, thanksgiving, etc.

The keeping of the Sabbath has undergone a similar transforma-



149. A *Mizrah* or ornament hung in home or synagogue on the eastern wall to indicate the direction faced during prayer. At the top in the center are the words, "I imagine the Lord before me always." Below them are the symbols of the priestly benediction, and below these is Psalm LXVII arranged in the form of a *Menorah*. To the right and left are Shields of David surrounded by the names of angels and each containing two forms of the name of God. Below them are the crown of the Law and the crown of the Monarchy. Below, at the right, is the Decalogue, accompanied by a blessing, and at the left are the signs of the zodiac and the planets, accompanied by an injunction to regard the *Menorah*.

tion. In Palestine it meant a day of rest from agricultural toil and menial labor. Under rabbinic influence and for purposes of national solidarity in the dispersion, this enforced rest was given a ritualistic (often absurd and burdensome) form. During the oppressive Middle Ages the synagogue was a popular place of congregation for the men and a center of social life. Under these circumstances the ritual was lengthened and it was not regarded a hardship to spend most of the Sabbath in the synagogue. Under modern economic and social conditions the Sabbath services are less attractive, and there is a growing indifference toward them. As a result, there have been many efforts to modify, "modernize" or "liberalize" worship and to find effective substitutes for increasingly irrelevant agricultural, legendary and historical features of the Jewish calendar and rites.

III. JUDAISM IN THE MODERN WORLD

A. THE EMANCIPATION. With the coming of the French Revolution and its ideals of enlightenment the ghetto life of the Jew, which had continued to retain its medieval segregated character, began to disintegrate. In one country after another, during the nineteenth century, equal civil rights were granted to Jews who began to share increasingly in the common life. Already in the eighteenth century Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86) in Germany had taken the lead in urging Jewish participation in the general culture. His translation of the Bible into German (in Hebrew characters), while proscribed by many of the traditionalist rabbis, facilitated acquaintance with German, while his Hebrew commentary on the Bible made for its more rational comprehension. He was not ready to abandon the legal system of Jewish tradition which he believed to be divinely revealed and binding; but on the intellectual side he held that Judaism had no dogmas and allowed for full freedom of thought. In so far only was he a forerunner of Reform Judaism, the most conspicuous and thoroughgoing religious expression of the changes brought about by the Emancipation.

In Russia, Mendelssohn and his followers furthered the revival of the Hebrew language and letters as well as the spread of German and Western culture. This movement for enlightenment in eastern Europe, known as *Haskalah*, was bitterly opposed by the orthodox and the Chassidim as a species of apostasy. It had its champions

among Russian Jewish intellectuals, but there was no real organization. In Germany, however, there arose the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums* movement for the scientific investigation of Jewish traditions in history, literature and religion. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886), for example, inquired into the history of Jewish ritual, especially of the sermon, a project not without influence on the liberal movements.

B. REFORM JUDAISM. The breakdown of the ghetto community, the obsolescence of rabbinical regulations and the general influence of modern culture brought a decline in Jewish religious observance and a large number of defections from Judaism. Jewish intellectual and moral life became increasingly secular and cosmopolitan. The whole perspective of history and the world of the imagination were changed, and the Jew was emancipated beyond Judaism. Under these circumstances revision of the old order of observance was urged. Israel Jacobson (1768-1828), president of the Jewish consistory of Cassel founded under the Napoleonic régime, was among the first to institute reforms. He was doubtless influenced by the "Sanhedrin" convened by Napoleon in Paris in 1807, which declared that the Jews were no longer a "nation" subject to rabbinical authority but loyal French citizens differing from others only in religious faith. These early reforms were external and superficial, however, involving the introduction into the service of German hymns with organ accompaniment and a ceremony of confirmation for children. More radical proposals went to the length of urging acceptance of Christianity minus certain dogmas like belief in the sonship of Jesus. In their enthusiasm many of the "emancipated" German Jews revised their religion to the extent of removing from their worship all references to persecution and even to a future Messiah and of using the German language and various Protestant forms of worship. A group in Hamburg in 1817 called their synagogue a temple and organized the New Israelite Temple Society, declaring their aim to be "the establishment of a worthy and orderly ritual according to which services shall be held on the Sabbath, on feast days and other special occasions in a temple properly furnished for this purpose; for at these services there will be German sermons, choir hymns and organ accompaniment."¹

¹ Translated from Ismar Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 402.

In various cities of Germany liturgical and ceremonial reforms were made. The blessings were abbreviated and translated, and new prayers were introduced; more "decorum" was displayed in the synagogue; sermons in the vernacular provided religious instruction. Much controversy centered around the new prayer-book at Hamburg, which removed references to the return to Zion and stressed the universal moral message of Judaism.

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the conflict took a more profound turn. Influenced by the *Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Abraham Geiger (1810-74) became the leading exponent of Reform, contending for a thorough and principled renovation based on historic understanding, as against sporadic changes. Reformers differed in the extent of their innovations, but in the conferences (1844-6) and synods (1869 and 1871) there was general agreement on ritual reform, the release of Talmudic obligations for the Sabbath, etc., emphasis on the moral law and on a universal Messianic era. Since then, the movement has, on the whole, remained stationary in Germany but has spread to England and other Western countries, chiefly America, where with the large immigration of German Jews, Reform was free to develop untrammelled by government interference or orthodox opposition. Among those who transplanted the scholarly, learned and principled German Reform were David Einhorn (1809-79), whose prayer-book was the model for the present *Union prayer-book* (1905), Samuel Hirsch and Samuel Adler. It was Isaac M. Wise (1819-1900), the energetic organizer, who established successively the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1873), the Hebrew Union College (1875) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1889).

The most succinct official expression of the theology of Reform is in the platform adopted by the Pittsburgh Conference convened by Kaufmann Kohler in 1885. It may be summarized as follows: Judaism presents the "highest conception of the God-idea" as "the central religious truth for the human race"; the value of the Bible as the "record of consecration of the Jewish people to its mission" is unaffected by Biblical criticism; only the moral and not the ceremonial provisions of the Mosaic Law are still valid; the Jews are no longer a nation but a religious community; Judaism is a progressive religion in accord with reason coöperating with its daughter-

religions Christianity and Islam and with all who seek the establishment of the Messianic kingdom of peace and justice; bodily resurrection is an outgrown idea, but spiritual immortality is to be affirmed; participation in the effort to solve modern social problems is a duty in accord with the spirit of Mosaic legislation.

Reform soon ceased to be militant and became both socially and intellectually conventional and complacent. Unfortunately much of the modernity of Reform theology turned out to be little more than a fashionable dogmatism, and the desire to be rid of mythology had the disastrous effect of emptying Judaism of most of its historic content and imaginative values. Nevertheless it illustrates an old trait of Judaism, *viz.*, its ability to adapt itself to new environments and foreign cultures. In many ways Reform Judaism resembles Deism or liberal Protestantism more than it does the orthodox Judaism of the synagogue. Recently, however, there has been a tendency to shift from the rationalistic and cosmopolitan ground of the founders toward a more mystical theology and toward an appreciation of the Hebrew renaissance now taking form. Jewish nationalism and Zionism have been embraced by leaders like Stephen S. Wise, who founded the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York (1922). A World Union for Progressive Judaism has been organized by Lily H. Montague together with Claude G. Montefiore, who is at the head of the liberal movement in England.

C. NEO-ORTHODOXY AND CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. In Germany contemporary with Geiger and the Reformers, other intellectuals advocated reinterpretation but continuation in large measure of traditional observances. Such were Samson R. Hirsch (1808-88), the founder of neo-Orthodoxy, and Zecharias Frankel (1801-75), the leader of the Conservative movement, a mean between the Orthodox right and the Reform left. Frankel recognized historical development but ascribed more value than did the Reformers to existing, cherished institutions and to the Hebrew language and religious sentiment. Together with Heinrich Graetz, the noted historian of the Jews, he founded a school which gave prestige to his "historical-critical" view. In America the Conservative movement organized itself in reaction against the Pittsburgh platform, and was strengthened by the large immigration of Jews from Russia toward the close of the century. In 1886 the Jewish Theological Seminary was

founded in New York City under the leadership of Sabato Morais and Alexander Kohut, and later it was reorganized and given a more substantial program by the English scholar, Solomon Schechter. The congregations are joined in the United Synagogue of America, and the rabbis in the Rabbinical Assembly. In addition to its greater emphasis on historical traditions, the Conservative movement has given hearty welcome to Zionism, as an expression of vital, nationalistic and cultural trends throughout the Jewish world. Its aim is to establish in the various communities such religious institutions as would more faithfully reflect the historical traditions of Judaism and at the same time meet the needs of the newer immigration. This cultural emphasis is especially strong in the leadership of Mordecai M. Kaplan, who, inspired by the Zionist philosopher Achad Ha'am, is urging a more thorough interpretation of American Jewry and a renaissance of Jewish civilization in the most comprehensive sense, including language, art and especially a homeland in Palestine.

Theologically the Conservatives are in some ways more liberal than Reform. They insist less on conformity to doctrinal principles and more on maintaining the ritual observances. They are committed to scientific historical criticism and modern scholarship, though some are more radical than others in their interpretations. But even those who admit that Judaism has purely human origins and aims refuse to abandon it on that account. They insist that precisely because Judaism is inseparable from Jewish tradition and culture, it ought to be cultivated as such. To them Judaism is a complete social system and way of life, not "merely a religion" as Reform would have it.

D. ZIONISM. Zionism is the contemporary and on the whole secular expression of the ancient Messianic hope in its nationalistic form, given impetus by the prevailing nationalism of recent times and by the revival of anti-Semitism which gave pause to post-Emancipation enthusiasm. The founder of modern political Zionism is Theodore Herzl (1860-1904), who convened the first congress in Basle in 1897, which declared its program to be the establishment of a "publicly and legally assured home in Palestine" for the Jewish people. The Balfour Declaration (1917) and the subsequent mandate to Great Britain gave an international footing to the venture. The creation of a coöperative Jewish Agency in 1929, including non-

Zionists, that is, Jews who while approving the upbuilding of Palestine reject the philosophy of Jewish nationalism (among these are many influential Reform Jews), gave wider support and prestige to the movement. Among its more fervent adherents Zionism is itself almost a religion. Within the movement there are many different groups, ranging from the ultra-orthodox Mizrachi to the socialistic Poale Zion. Cultural Zionism is an important aspect and finds significant expression in the new Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Its early exponent, Achad Ha'am (1856-1927), severely criticized western Zionists as ambitious for political activity denied them by anti-Semitism, and eastern Zionists as too exclusively concerned with providing an economic refuge. Zionism, according to this view, must be positive and spiritual; Palestine must be a Jewish as well as a Jews' state, a center from which Jewish culture may radiate throughout the Diaspora and for the benefit of the other nations.



150. Orthodox Jew with prayer shawl and phylacteries. Painting by Marc Chagall.

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIANITY

I. EARLY CHRISTIANITY

A. THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF JESUS. Jesus was of humble, Galilean origins, a carpenter by trade. Though he was reared in the Jewish religion, his environment was not that of rabbinic orthodoxy but reflected the more popular and varied tendencies prevalent in the outlying regions of Palestine, where many peoples and many religions mingled. According to Christian scripture, when he was about thirty years of age he went into the wilderness and was baptized by John the Baptist, a wandering ascetic, who preached: "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Then followed a period of "temptation in the wilderness," after which, about 29 A.D., Jesus began to preach a similar gospel in Galilee. While he regarded detachment from possessions and society as a proper preparation for the nearness of the kingdom of God, he set no example of extreme asceticism, like that of John the Baptist and other holy men of the wilderness. He emphasized the need for repentance and illustrated his trenchant moral teaching with popular parables, as was the custom among Pharisees. The "sayings" of Jesus do not represent a radical departure from the rabbinical teaching of that period; nevertheless, in his disregard of much of the ceremonial law and in his emphasis on personal piety rather than on Jewish holiness, he broke away from strict Judaism and alienated the more conservative of the Pharisees as well as the priestly party, the Sadducees. While Jesus wished to redeem primarily "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," he cultivated those aspects of Judaism which were personal and universal more than those which were national and institutional.

He likewise departed from the prophetic tradition, for though his message was prophetic, his healing, casting out demons and wonder-working were not derived from the prophets. Whether he regarded himself as a prophet is difficult to determine. He seems to have

drawn attention to himself in a fashion not characteristic of the prophets. While every Jew was taught by his religion to be a witness to God, Jesus probably thought himself so in an unusual sense, but how he related his ideas on this point to current conceptions of God's special messengers is a moot point. If he regarded himself as the Messiah, he certainly did not undertake to fulfil the usual expectations of the Messiah. In the Gospels he refers to himself frequently as the "Son of man," but that phrase was used in Hebrew either to mean "simple flesh and blood" or as a special apocalyptic designation of the Messiah. Equally ambiguous is the title "Son of God," which could be taken either to indicate a peculiar kinship or to emphasize the relation in which all are "children of God." To think that Jesus considered himself one with God in the later Trinitarian sense is anachronistic.

After Jesus had collected a group of disciples, he set out from Capernaum as a center and preached throughout Galilee. Apparently declining to yield to the popular demand that he proclaim himself the Messiah, he retired to Phœnicia, thence proceeded to the upper Jordan and finally, after about two years, down to Jerusalem. There he met the active opposition of the Temple authorities, who persuaded the Romans that Jesus' preaching would cause civil disturbance and popular uprisings. He was taken prisoner, tried under Pontius Pilate, condemned and crucified. The accounts we have of the close of Jesus' life, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the last supper, crucifixion and resurrection, are in all probability colored by subsequent beliefs about him. Nevertheless, Jesus may have had premonitions of his condemnation. He may well have looked to the fulfilment of his expectations in a speedy coming of the Messiah, and he may, in one way or another, have thought of his death as hastening the time. In celebrating the Passover with his disciples before his death, it is possible that he gave occasion for such ideas as subsequently shaped the sacramental communion of the Christians.

The chief primary sources of our knowledge of Jesus are the Synoptic Gospels according to Matthew, Mark and Luke.

Mark gives a terse narrative full of action, the outline of which is followed in Matthew and in Luke. The tradition that this narrative is based on recollections of the Apostle Peter and his intimates is still given weight by critics.

The composition of Mark is quite commonly assigned to the years 65-75 A.D.

Matthew is richest in "sayings" of Jesus and in Old Testament confirmation of them, a fact which has led to the inference that the author aimed to exhibit Jesus' teaching as the fulfilment of Jewish prophecy. A prevalent view among critics attributes the words of Jesus which Matthew has in common with Luke to a pre-existent fund of "sayings" either in oral or written form. Still other indications incline to the belief that this Gospel has composite sources of various dates, and it is not likely that it was complete in its present form before 75-90 A.D.

Luke opens with an allusion to numerous other narratives of Jesus' life which the author claims to have examined. Thus he grounds his authenticity not on immediate acquaintance with the subject but on a wide comparison of oral and written reports. His gospel minimizes the local antagonism to Jesus among the Jews and has the aspect of a studied composition for a wide public. Critical opinion inclines to regard it as the latest of the Synoptics, written perhaps fifty years after Jesus' death or sometime between 75 and 100 A.D.

The Gospel according to John is distinctly different, more philosophical and less narrative. It interprets Jesus as the *Logos*, the "Word of God" in the sense of Alexandrian religious philosophy, and passes over the human details of his life and death. Critical opinion generally places the composition of the book between 100 and 140 A.D., perhaps at Ephesus in Asia Minor. The character of the Fourth Gospel makes it easy to understand why the Church placed it among those writings "which appeared to her to preserve most faithfully the traditions of the life and teaching of Jesus," but as a source of information about that life it must be used with the above reservations in mind.

Most of the known Apocryphal Gospels are later than those of the canon and are filled with legends current from the second century on. A few, however, notably the Gospel according to the Hebrews, may be as old as, if not older than some of the later New Testament writings. Of this Gospel we possess only some fragments in comments of the Church Fathers, principally Jerome, and a possible excerpt on two papyri found about 1900 at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. These remnants make no substantial additions to our information about Jesus, but they suggest a view of him in terms of Nazarene Judaism and attribute to him some otherwise unknown "sayings."

References either to Jesus of Nazareth or to Christus in Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger and certain passages of the Talmud and Midrash do not increase our knowledge of Jesus materially, but they confirm by non-Christian testimony that he caused a ferment among Jews by his miracles and teachings and was condemned and put to death under Pontius Pilate. Agreement on the latter point fixes the period of Jesus' activity fairly conclusively between 28 and 30 A.D.

B. DISCIPLES AND APOSTLES. Like other wandering preachers, Jesus had a following of regular as well as casual disciples. The former, of whom twelve are named explicitly, followed him about and shared in his mission. Bewildered and frightened by his arrest and execution, all the disciples are said to have fled. But after a time, at least some of them reassembled in Jerusalem. In the opening chapter of The Acts of the Apostles ten of the twelve are mentioned as in this group, but in the subsequent events described in this book, only three of these, Peter, James and John, assume prominent rôles, with new associates.

The disciples relied much on specific revelations for guidance. On the day of Pentecost, according to Acts, when they were reassembled, they were endowed with the Holy Spirit, to take the place of Jesus' personal leadership, to instruct and guide them and to give them the powers of prophecy, healing and "speaking with tongues." They were convinced that their master had risen from the dead and ascended into heaven, that he would shortly reappear on earth to fulfil the Messianic work he had begun in his first coming and to judge all men according to their deeds. Meanwhile they believed it to be their duty to prepare men for this event, preaching repentance and separation from the evil world.

The disciples were Jews and sought in the first instance to influence the more cosmopolitan Jews of the outlying districts, who proved more receptive to the message than the stricter Jews who were closer to the Temple cultus. For at least a century the principal contact of Christian evangelism with the Gentiles was through the channels and in the areas of the Jewish dispersion. Even the most venturesome missionaries of this period, like Paul, may have converted few who had not previously been drawn to the Bible and to Jehovah through Judaism. At least, the Romans scarcely distinguished between Jews and Christians before the second century. Among the disciples of Jesus working in the borderland between the Jewish and the Gentile worlds, two parties very soon arose: one more strictly Judaic, regarding the Messianic assurances as intended only for those who kept the Jewish Law; and the other more universalistic, favoring a gospel accommodated to the Gentiles. Judging by the Book of Acts and by the Epistles of Paul, the issues involved in this difference were crucial. They remained so until the destruc-

tion of Jerusalem (c. 68 A.D.), and reverberations of them continued to be heard for another half-century at least.

Jerusalem was the headquarters of the Judaic party. There the followers of Jesus remained for the most part attached to the Jewish religious Law, including the Temple cult. Kinsmen of Jesus, notably a brother called James, appear as leaders of this group along with Peter and others of the twelve. It is related of this James that he drank no wine nor strong drink, ate no flesh, clothed himself in cotton and never in woollens, possessed only one garment and spent much time fasting and praying in the Temple. Also that when the high priest, Hanan II, condemned to death this James, the Pharisees protested and secured the deposition of Hanan. It was in this Judaic atmosphere that associates of Paul, much to his vexation, were afraid to eat with Gentiles and felt obliged to keep apart from the uncircumcised and to abstain from forbidden foods (Galatians II, 12-3). Nevertheless, the Judaic party not only assented to Paul's proselytizing the Gentiles but apparently made some Gentile converts themselves. In their view, however, acceptance of the Jewish Law was really implied in conversion. The attempt of the Judaic party to enforce this condition upon Paul's mission seems to have resulted in a compromise whereby the former agreed "not to put fresh difficulties in the way of those who are turning to God from among the Gentiles, but to write them injunctions to abstain from whatever is contaminated by idols, from sexual vice, from the flesh of animals that have been strangled, and from tasting blood; for Moses has had his preachers from the earliest ages in every town, where he is read aloud in the synagogues every Sabbath" (Acts xv, 19-21, Moffatt translation).

Despite their Judaism, the Judaic followers of Jesus did not escape persecution from the main body of Jews. The breach was further widened by the fact that at the time of the Jewish uprising (66-8 A.D.), the followers of Jesus fled from the terror in Jerusalem and took refuge in the pagan town of Pella across the Jordan. Subsequently they also held aloof from the Messianic war of deliverance led by Bar-Kokhba (132-5 A.D.). After these events they were no longer an influential faction in any of the prominent centers, but neither did they completely disappear by absorption into Gentile Christianity. They continued as small, secluded communities,

for example, in the trans-Jordan towns of Pella, Kochaba and Bostra, in certain Syrian villages (Berœa-Aleppo), in Alexandria and perhaps in southern Arabia. They were commonly referred to as Nazarenes or as Ebionites, "the poor."

By the close of the second century these Ebionites, whose position had perhaps remained closest to that of the original disciples, were quite generally regarded as heretical, that is, as outside the communion of the church at large. Still more so, however, were the Elkesaites, a sect by which the Gospel was affiliated not only with the Mosaic ordinances, but also with esoteric and mystical Jewish revelations and speculations reminiscent of those of the Essenes. Isolated alike from the main streams of Judaism and of Christianity, these Judaic sects nevertheless continued to be heard of as late as the fourth century.

The chief success of Christianity was in the commercial towns of Asia Minor, in Antioch, Alexandria and in Rome, where many Diaspora Jews mingled freely with Gentiles, and where religious syncretism was most prevalent. Important as was the work of outstanding missionaries, like Paul, we cannot regard him or any group of nameable associates as the sole cause of the spread of Christianity among Gentiles. Churches that early came to the fore began to cultivate traditions of having been founded by one of the apostles, but with a few possible exceptions we cannot verify these apostolic foundations. While the Epistles of Paul furnish the earliest and fullest record of preaching to the Gentiles in the first century, their content, though influential, is more likely to express the exceptional viewpoint of a unique man than a widely prevailing attitude. For the polemics of Paul, as well as slightly later writings, indicate other tendencies in primitive Christianity besides his own.

Nevertheless the Epistles of Paul made such a profound impression and dealt so effectively with the Jew-Gentile controversy that their distinctive doctrines became the chief foundation of later Christian theology. Though steeped in Hebraism, Paul was a zealous advocate of evangelizing the Gentiles without insisting on obedience to the Jewish Law. In this connection he developed the idea that frail humanity, "flesh," cannot satisfy the "spirit" or divine but only becomes conscious of sin and weakness in the contrast. The Law, therefore, only sharpens this sense of sin, but by partaking of Christ,

who incarnated the divine and who died and rose to immortal life, man can likewise die unto the flesh and enter upon a divine, incorruptible life. "Christ's death is in vain" if in him, by an inseparable "faith," man is not saved from sin and death to a life of "love" and "hope."

Although these ideas may have explained and justified to Paul the circumstances of his own life more than they expressed the attitude of the early Christian communities, they tended at the outset and thereafter to cultivate the view that Christianity is a divine redemption of man from sin and death, which he can not escape of his own accord. This idea was easily intelligible to Gentiles, especially those who had some acquaintance with the mysteries, and was probably one of the factors which led to the conception of the Christian association as a way of sharing a mystic and sacramental union between the members and their Lord.

C. THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES. Repudiating the sinful world and repudiated by the orthodox Jewish communities, the Christians were compelled to form their own communities or churches. By the close of the first century A.D., there were small Christian communities in many towns along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean from Alexandria to Troy; there were some in Greece and at Rome, and in Asia Minor especially. The members were chiefly working-people of Judaic-Hellenistic background. Of these communities four deserve special mention, since they became the great centers of Christian life and thought. Antioch in Syria (the third largest city in the Roman Empire) was the earliest center in which extensive conversion of Gentiles took place. Barnabas and Paul are mentioned as pioneer missionaries in this city, and here the name "Christians" originated to designate the adherents of Jesus drawn from paganism. By location Antioch served to connect Hellenism and the East; thence the Christian mission went westward into the Hellenic cities of Asia Minor and eastward into the Syriac regions of Edessa and the Tigris-Euphrates valley. These diverse relations, as well as the eminence of the Antioch church, appear clearly in the theological and ecclesiastical tendencies which later came from there and challenged the ascendancy of Alexandrian doctrine. Ephesus was for centuries an important center of Hellenic culture, and there Paul and his associates began a community which developed into the leading

typically Greek church before the rise of Constantinople. Although the origins of Christianity in Rome are unknown, there were probably Christians in that city before 50 A.D., for Paul praises the vigor and repute of the community in a letter written some years before his arrival as a prisoner in 61 A.D. The importance of the capital early gave its Christian community more than local prestige. The original community was dominantly Judaic with some Greek elements, but even in the earliest Roman writings distinctive Latin qualities appear. For example, *I Clement* and *The Shepherd of Hermas* emphasize good order and discipline, moral decency, unity and peace, and prefer simple similes to speculative and mystical language in explaining theological points. The first school in which Christian doctrines came to be associated extensively with systematic learning and philosophy arose at Alexandria in Egypt, toward the middle of the second century. Of the origins of Christianity in Alexandria we know no more than that a community of Hellenistic Judaic believers existed during the first century. In each of the above places, as in many others, the preaching of Jesus seems to have begun in the synagogues and caused a split in the Jewish community, the new faction being alienated and gradually drawing to itself an increasing number of Gentiles.

The organization of these earliest Christian communities seems first to have been effected by the coöperation of the missionaries and local elders or presbyters, the missionaries keeping in touch with and disciplining the communities known to them. A group of subordinate officers, called deacons, was soon designated to supervise "the daily distribution of food" (Acts vi). By the close of the first century, however, we find independent local communities taking measures to discipline unscrupulous wandering missionaries and prophets and in some of the larger centers a tendency toward centralization of leadership and authority in the hands of a bishop (*episcopus*). Certain larger metropolitan churches exercised more than local influence and based their authority in part on traditions of apostolic foundation.

The life of the community was a sacred fellowship. On entrance into this fellowship the sins of the world were washed away in baptism. Frequent communal meals were held, called the *agape*, love-feast, intended to unite the brethren and to give them food "not

sacrificed to idols." The consecration of some foods to God and the partaking of them as a "divine oblation," a eucharist or thank-offering, was also customary, but it is uncertain in what manner and with what sense this was first done. Both Paul and the Gospels, however, give formulas associating the consecrated bread and wine with the body and blood of Jesus. Alms were set aside by the community for the needy. Some of the brethren continued to manifest the Holy Spirit in miraculous cures, inspired discourse on the mysteries of the faith or on the obligations of conscience, in the "gift of tongues," or in prophecy. The meetings were held in private houses and took the place among the early Christians of all participation in Temple or synagogue worship, from which they made a point of holding aloof. The assemblies were held in the evening and often lasted far into the night. The Jewish Sabbath continued to be observed as a special holy day, before Sunday was devoted to divine worship. Prayers, hymns, scripture reading, etc., were continued after the manner of the synagogue. In addition, discourses and epistles were heard from traveling preachers and prophets. By the close of the first century a small Christian literature, distinct from that of the synagogue and consisting mainly of epistles and "gospels," had appeared.

Many legends about Jesus and the disciples were already in oral circulation by the end of the first century and may have influenced the writers of the Synoptic Gospels to some extent, though their main tenor affords a contrast to the early apocryphal tales. No doubt the Gospels were influenced in part by conceptions of Christ like those of Paul and "John," but seemingly more by the desire to present Jesus in relation to popular tradition. This desire may account for such details as the virgin-birth story contained in Matthew and Luke, since both Jewish and Hellenistic tradition commonly associated miraculous births with heroes.

In addition to the Synoptic Gospels and Pauline Epistles, the early communities possessed and cherished other writings. Of these the so-called Johannine writings were especially significant. The Gospel according to John and the First Epistle of John present a distinctive view of Christianity, though it resembles Paul's view in so far as little attention is drawn to Jesus' life and much to Christ as an eternal, divine being through whom the world, which lies in darkness, may be overcome, and man may gain light and life eternal.

The Johannine writings emphasize especially the love which moves God to redeem the world. In fact, "God is love," and the "Son" whom he sends into the world is the "Word," the revelation, the "Light" in which we know this love. Whoever receives this love and abides in it may have absolute confidence in present and in future. The Johannine writings convey a sense of quiet fulfilment which contrasts markedly with Paul's militancy. "We know that we belong to God, and that the whole world lies in the power of the evil One. We know that the Son of God has come, and has given us insight to know Him who is the Real God; and we are in Him who is real, even in his Son Jesus Christ. This is the real God, this is life eternal. My dear children, keep clear of idols" (I John v, 19). Although second-century tradition attributes these writings and the Revelation to John, the companion of Jesus, critical opinion today is inclined to assume several authors in the Hellenistic churches of Asia Minor toward the close of the first century.

The Revelation of St. John is written almost wholly in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition and contains little of the viewpoint of the Johannine Gospel and First Epistle. The early Christians possessed numerous other apocalyptic writings, notably the Apocalypse of Peter, which influenced tradition particularly by its graphic descriptions of hell.

In general, the literature of the Christian communities during the first century contains a simple, practical gospel written for very plain people. The Jewish Torah and the prophetic view of history are retained as a background. It is taken for granted that God's providence governs the world and has established a way of life for all men. It is also taken for granted that the present world is in the grip of evil and that God has prepared a salvation for it. Jesus appears in the frame of prophetic history as preparing the consummation of God's purpose; he prepares men for the closing event, the divine judgment, which is imminent and in which he will be the judge. If we are drawn to him, he will be drawn to us. He is with God in heaven and has divine powers. On these points there is agreement in the early Christian communities. There is also emphasis on the divine origin of Jesus, the death on the cross and the resurrection, but there is as yet no very stable or uniform understanding of these Christian "mysteries."

The persecution at Rome under Nero and the more general persecutions of the third century gave a new vitality to the theme of Christian martyrdom. Though the cult of martyrs and saints seems not to have begun much before the third century, the preoccupation with martyrdom took a strong hold on the Christian imagination and morality almost from the start. The imminent danger stimulated an excessive and sentimental longing to "be with Christ" and an emphasis on the apocalyptic hope of Christ's speedy coming. On the other hand, this severe trial of faith led to the practical moral problem of dealing with penitents, that is, with those who had denied their faith in order to escape death, or in some other way had broken the law of God, and had later repented of their weakness. Thus the atmosphere of danger and the need for standing firm created an intensity of communal feeling and mutual fortification which gave the assemblies and sacraments additional meaning and vigor. Besides the problem of keeping the faith in the face of persecution, there were many related moral problems which engaged the new communities, such as whether penitents ought to be rebaptized, whether baptized members ought to be allowed to sin and repent more than once, where to draw the line between the Christian Way and the pagan Way, how to interpret the Law of God, etc. Such writings as the *Didache*, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, the epistles of Ignatius and other documents of the first two centuries reveal the general preoccupation with these practical themes and a minimum of speculative theology and dogmatic precision. In this way the pastoral epistles of the Apostolic Fathers laid the foundations of the Canon Law even before the canon of the New Testament was fixed or the creed of the church defined.

D. EARLY TYPES OF CHRISTIANITY.

1. THE APOLOGISTS. In the second century Christians were still ignored by the great majority of pagans; on the other hand, they were becoming sufficiently numerous to cause some discussion. They were generally regarded as apostate Jews. Since many of them were conscientious objectors to some of the most sacred practices and covenants of pagan society, it is not surprising that Tacitus called them, together with Jews in general, "enemies of the human race." Their meetings created the impression of something "deadly, the mournful ceremonies, the altar-pyre and the undertaker-priest"

(Tertullian). Rumors circulated of sorcery and diabolical practices in the meetings. Because of their disrespect for the sacred places of paganism and the absence of visible signs in their own worship, Christians were regarded as atheists, who were at the same time inconceivably credulous, unbalanced and useless for practical affairs. The depraved excitement of the mob converted all this suspicion and antagonism on occasion into the sentiment, "Christians to the lions!" Even the well-informed, neo-Platonic philosopher Celsus, in his *True Discourse*, tried to shame the Christians out of their religion, which appeared to him anthropomorphic in the worst sense, "a bastard progeny of Judaism, itself the basest of all national religions."

It was inevitable, especially in the face of such misrepresentation and persecution by both Jews and Gentiles, that Christians should seek to defend themselves intellectually. Paul and some of the other Jewish leaders had attempted a defense in terms of Hebraic tradition, but not until the second century were any systematic attempts made to present Christianity to pagans as an adequate and reasonable philosophy. A group of writers, known as the Apologists, educated in Greek and Roman philosophies at Athens or Rome and addressing themselves either directly to the emperors or to educated Greeks, undertook to expound Christianity in terms which might appeal to pagans. Of these Apologies we still possess those by Justin Martyr (a Hellenistic philosopher, who taught in Rome), Tatian (his pupil), Aristides (of Athens), Minucius Felix (a Roman under the influence of Cicero) and Theophilus (bishop of Antioch). Fragments from Quadratus, Athenagoras, Melito and "Diognetus" have also come down to us. These authors represent Christianity as both more ancient and more philosophical than the current Hellenistic systems. They define God in metaphysical terms as a transcendent being, the knowledge of whom is the aim of all philosophy. They identify Christ with the divine *logos*, word, law or reason, through which God reveals himself. They regard the revelation through Christ as the culmination of the teaching of the prophets and as the only true wisdom. Theophilus even speaks of the trinity of God, *Logos* and Wisdom. Though the Apologists used these Hellenistic terms, their thinking was really based on Judaism, and their chief aim was to recommend the Christian, denationalized ver-

sion of the prophetic tradition to Gentiles as a more comprehensive system of moral wisdom than the pagan philosophies.

2. GREEK PHILOSOPHIES AT ALEXANDRIA.

a. Gnosticism. In contrast to this type of apologetics a school of Christian doctrine arose in Alexandria which discarded the Old Testament as an authoritative revelation and erected a new system of saving wisdom, *gnosis*, on foundations borrowed from various strains of Oriental and Hellenistic thought. Gnosticism was probably older than Christianity and represented a syncretism of various religions. The chief Gnostics of whom we have record were Valentinus, Basilides and Carpocrates, who taught during the first half of the second century. Tradition links them with the Samaritan Simon of Gita and an ascetic Syrian group known as Ophites, but Alexandrian Gnosticism was of a more intellectual order and probably had its own independent origins in the cosmopolitan culture and scientific erudition of that city. Esoteric eclectic systems of saving wisdom were by this time no novelty in the Hellenistic world, and the Christian Gnostics must be understood as aiming to fit the new religion into the general principles of eclectic philosophy and theosophy which flourished at that time. The fundamental idea of Gnostic salvation is that the spirit (light) must be freed from its bondage to matter (evil, darkness), and that this liberation is possible partially by an ascetic discipline of the body and perfectly by divine illumination of the mind. The Gnostics taught that the supreme being is pure spirit and infinitely removed from the material world. According to Valentinus there are thirty *æons* or ineffable spiritual beings that derive from the supreme being and form a perfect society in the upper heavens. The God of the Old Testament, since he is represented as creating the material world, must be a gross and inferior spirit, a mixed being like Plato's demiurge. Nevertheless, unconsciously he works after the pattern of the celestial society and manages to infuse something spiritual into his human creatures. Accordingly, some men are so gross and material as to be forever removed from the spiritual; whereas others are capable of spiritual associations, but they need to be redeemed. The latter include ordinary Christians, and their redeemer is Jesus, one of the thirty *æons*. Finally, there are men who are by nature among the spiritually elect; such are the Valentinians. The Gnostic sects of

Alexandria were primarily schools of thought, but the followers of Carpocrates are said to have had a worship with clearly marked Hellenic features, using painted or sculptured images of Jesus which they crowned with flowers, as also those of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle and other wise men.

The man who made Gnosticism most obnoxious to other Christians was Marcion, who, though not of the Alexandrian school and ignorant of the elaborate Gnostic cosmology and mythology, adopted some of the cardinal doctrines of Gnosticism and attempted to put them into practice in Rome. He repudiated the whole Jewish Bible and constructed a new one out of the Gospels and Epistles; he regarded Christ as a purely spiritual being, who had only the semblance of humanity; he preached what he regarded as pure Pauline doctrine and insisted on extreme asceticism, celibacy and repudiation of the material world. Such extremes antagonized the majority of Roman Christians, and he and his followers were compelled in the year 144 to organize a separate sect, which flourished until it later became involved in the Manichæan controversy.

b. CLEMENT AND ORIGEN. The great catechetical school of Alexandria, founded apparently under Stoic influences, reached its height in Clement (c. 180-220) and Origen (186-254), who succeeded in adapting Hellenistic philosophy to Christian ideas without going to the extremes of Gnosticism. Clement's system is the least speculative and reflects the Stoic interest in rational ethics. The Hellenistic cosmologies and Jewish Law are definitely subordinated to this practical philosophy by a system of allegory and analogy. The interpretation of scripture depends on understanding that the literal meaning is the vehicle of a more essential spiritual meaning. Thus the narrative of Adam's fall in the Garden of Eden alludes to the essential fall which takes place in the eternal world of spirits. The whole scripture is allegorical but not necessarily unhistorical. According to Clement, "philosophy was given to the Greeks as a schoolmaster to bring the Hellenic mind, as the Law the Hebrews, to Christ." Christ perfects philosophy in that as incarnate *Logos* he mediates between the ineffable, transcendent perfect Being of Platonism and the reason immanent in the world, which the Stoics, for instance, recognize. Thoroughly versed in the Greek philosophers, Clement believes with them that man's likeness to God is

in his rationality. No mention is made of a fall in which this likeness is lost; religious progress depends on education. The first step is from ignorance to "faith, a compendious knowledge of essentials," the second, from "faith to knowledge, a sure and firm demonstration," the third, to "love, a mutual friendship between that which knows and that which is known."

Origen developed the most comprehensive system of Christian doctrine achieved by the Greek Fathers. Faith, for Origen, is a compendium of the knowledge essential as a first step in man's deliverance. Origen bases his primer of the faith not on apostolic tradition, but on what he takes to be catholic or common belief in the Church. Knowledge clarifies and demonstrates this faith, and it involves, in Origen's system, the following fundamental doctrines. God is spirit, simple and indivisible, necessarily active, uncaused, first cause of all, eternally creative. Christ is the *Logos*, generated of the same substance with God, not created but begotten as necessary for creation and action on the Many by the One. The Holy Spirit is likewise of the one divine substance; eternal and proceeding from the Father, inspiring the scriptures, revealing their spiritual meaning and sanctifying all believers. The created universe contains eternal spirits, created before time, to commune with God as rational, free and equal creatures. Some chose virtue and are angels; others chose evil and are devils; still others chose enough evil to fall but not enough to be devils and are human souls. The material world was created in time, to provide a theater for man's redemption. The *Logos* became incarnate in time, to reveal the way or knowledge of redemption and to release men from Satan. Those who strive to follow the way are helped by the Holy Spirit with power. All spirits, even the devils, can be saved, but all material creation is temporal and will pass away.

The doctrines of the Alexandrian school never became dogma of the Church. On the contrary, Origen's writings were subsequently condemned as heretical, in part, no doubt, because they were so much quoted by Arians. Forced to leave Alexandria because of persecutions and friction with the local hierarchy, both Clement and Origen continued their work at Cæsarea in Phœnicia. Origen's influence continued to increase there and spread northward into Cappadocia and indeed extensively throughout the East. The work

of the Alexandrian school was the basis for the creedal formulations of the fourth-century councils and furnished the themes for ever-renewed speculations, controversies and dissensions throughout the history of Christian theology.

3. ECSTATIC PROPHECY AND MILLENNIAL HOPE. We turn now to an entirely different kind of Christianity, one which Origen heartily despised. Prediction of the speedy end of the world was a common feature of early Christian prophecy. Also wide-spread was the belief in a coming millennium, that is, a golden age lasting a thousand years in which Christ would rule on earth preceding the final judgment. Montanism carried this apocalyptic and pre-millennarian element in primitive Christianity to extremes and combined with it a fanatical and ecstatic type of asceticism. In Phrygia, where Montanism originated, ecstatic prophecy was a pronounced feature of the native religion. Montanus is said to have been a native Phrygian priest of Cybele, converted to Christianity. About 160 A.D. (?) he began to attract attention among Christians by ecstasies and transports in which he uttered strange sayings. Two women soon developed the same manner and associated themselves with him. The sayings were accepted by followers as pronouncements of the Paraclete, emphasized in the Johannine writings, which were then becoming widely popular. The Paraclete announced to them the imminent descent of the heavenly Jerusalem, which would appear in the clouds and then rest on earth at a plain near Pepuza. Though many betook themselves to this spot in vain, the prophesying continued and popular excitement increased, many dissolving their marriages and severing other ties in preparation for the last day. Community of goods and asceticism were adopted by the expectants.

Despite opposition encountered in the East, Montanism survived the death of its founders and spread to the West. Its most famous convert there was Tertullian of Carthage, who protested that the opposition to Montanism would put out the sparks of spontaneous revelation in the primitive church. Not being recognized, however, as truly inspired by the leading churches, including Rome, the Montanists became a faction eventually forced out of communion with the rest. A feature of their meetings was the exceptional freedom which they allowed to women in prophesying. The Western Montanists also emphasized asceticism. Montanist traits were taken up

in later movements, for example, the Novatian, and have continued to appear in Christianity to the present day.

4. THE DEIFICATION OF CHRIST. The early theologians, under the leadership of the Alexandrian school, agreed in regarding Christ, the Son of God, as the *Logos*, the divine Lord and Redeemer, though they did not agree on a precise explanation of his nature and his relation to God the Father. On the other hand, this theology was inadequate to express the Christian worship and faith of the ordinary layman. For him Christ was God and nothing less than God. This popular attitude received theological formulation toward the end of the second century in the doctrine which came to be labeled Modalistic Monarchism and whose chief defender was Sabellius. Teachers of this doctrine came to Rome from outlying regions of Asia Minor and Lybia, protesting against both the *Logos* theology and the Montanist prophecies, and though they achieved a temporary foothold in Rome, their influence continued to be strongest in Africa and Asia Minor. Their defense of the complete deity of Christ took the form of asserting that God the Father became the Son by assuming human flesh, that God himself was born of the Virgin, suffered and was crucified, and that there was no need to assume a mediator between God and man. To avoid some of the implications of this doctrine, they taught that God has several modes, "faces" or aspects (their Greek word, *prosopon*, was translated into the Latin *persona*): as creator he is called Father; as redeemer, Son; and as sanctifier, Holy Spirit. The object of this anti-Trinitarian doctrine was to raise Christ to perfect identity with the one supreme God. Since this attitude was very popular, the Modalists were amazed to meet such vigorous opposition from the *Logos* theologians, and one of them, Noetus, exclaimed, "What harm am I doing in glorifying Christ?" Their opponents, however, could see only the dangers of this doctrine for the Hebraic and Platonic conceptions of the transcendent, immaterial God the Father, and nicknamed the Sabellians *patripassians*, believers in the suffering Father. Tertullian expressed this Roman attitude when he said of Praxeas, "He expelled prophecy and introduced heresy, sent the Spirit into banishment and crucified the Father." In spite of their theological defeat, the Modalists continued to represent a popular point of view, and their influence was felt in later Trinitarian controversies.

5. THE SCHOOL OF ANTIOCH AND ARIANISM. At Antioch another attack on the *Logos* theology developed in the opposite direction from the Modalists, for instead of defending the unity of God by asserting the deity of Christ, these theologians emphasized the humanity of Jesus, in whom the power of God the Father was incarnate. In their effort to preserve the unity of God, they were led into the Arian heresy of denying the divinity of Christ. The first expression of this tendency of which we have record came from Byzantium, where a tanner, Theodotus, being versed in the natural sciences, began to oppose the Platonic tradition on which the *Logos* doctrine was based. About 190 he came to Rome, founded a school and combined his theological teaching with scientific investigations. His critical and literal use of the scriptures and his doctrine that Christ was merely a man upon whom the Spirit of God had descended in baptism caused him to be excommunicated as a heretic. The remnants of his school in Rome survived, however, for almost a century. At Antioch the doctrine was revived about 260 by the bishop Paul of Samosata, an influential civil official and eloquent preacher. He wanted to restore the simple faith in Jesus as a man who had been adopted by God as his Son and made an Exemplar, Lord and Judge for all men. His chief quarrel was with the Alexandrian philosophers and bishops in particular and with Greek speculation in general. For Antioch represented the more Semitic and monotheistic tradition, and its school became increasingly the champion of the Eastern emphasis on the indivisibility of God against the Alexandrian and Roman emphasis on the redemption through Christ. The two greatest exponents of the early school at Antioch were Lucian and his pupil Arius (256-331). Though they attempted a compromise with the *Logos* theology, they regarded the Word or Reason of God as essentially an impersonal attribute and not in itself of the same nature as God. Nor was Christ to be regarded as essentially divine. God is one—one in nature and in person. All else is created from nothing, Christ, the Word, being the first creation and the agent in the creation of all other creatures. When the time came the Word took on flesh in such a manner that Jesus retained a purely human body, but his soul was the Word itself.

Though Arianism was condemned by the great Church councils of the fourth century, it was revived in a modified form at An-

tioch in the fifth by Nestorius, who, on being excommunicated, became the leader of an independent church in Syria and Mesopotamia. Many of the Goths, Vandals and Lombards in the north Balkan and Danubian provinces were converted to Christianity by exiled Arians, so that later in the fifth and sixth centuries, when these peoples moved into Italy, Gaul, Spain and Africa, the struggle between Orthodoxy and Arianism was renewed for a time in these countries and involved bitter political struggles. In Africa and Spain, which became relatively isolated, Arianism lingered under the protection of Islam, while in Italy and Gaul it was destroyed by Roman Catholicism. In the sixteenth century Arian doctrines were reasserted and continued to find adherents, until in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were championed by the deists and Unitarians.

E. THE GROWTH OF CATHOLICISM. In the face of these divergent tendencies Rome played an important unifying rôle. As the political capital and commercial center of the Empire and the seat of one of the largest and most respected churches, Rome quite naturally became the center of gravity toward which these various tendencies converged and where they attempted to gain a foothold. The way in which Rome received the representatives of the various schools usually carried much weight. Under these circumstances it was inevitable that the presbyters and bishops of Rome gradually acquired special recognition and authority.

The idea of a single catholic church had been expressed by several of the first-century Fathers, but the problem of finding a common basis of faith and practice became increasingly difficult in the face of increasing diversity. The Fathers who, more than any others, were responsible for building up a catholic tradition were Irenæus of Lyons (*c.* 180-200), Hippolytus of Rome (*c.* 200-35), Tertullian (*c.* 200-25) and Cyprian (*c.* 250), both of Carthage. Irenæus especially achieved catholicity as both an administrator and theologian. His personal experience was exceptionally broad, for he was educated in Asia Minor, removed as presbyter to Gaul and then sent on important missions to Rome. He knew and appreciated the various regional traditions and tendencies and worked persistently towards a mediating position. Tertullian was a lawyer, and to him

is largely due the terse style, legalistic precision and practical dogmatism which characterize Latin theology.

In their search for an adequate standard by which to judge Christian thought and practice, these men appealed to apostolic tradition. This was a vague concept, but it commanded general respect and was susceptible of gradual definition. The foremost question to be decided on the basis of apostolic tradition was the formation of the canon of scripture. In opposition to the Gnostics there was general agreement that the Jewish Bible should be retained, but Marcion's attempt to construct a Christian Bible precipitated the question of deciding which of the current writings had apostolic sanction. By the latter half of the second century there was practical uniformity in accepting the four Gospels, the Pauline and Johannine Epistles, several other Epistles and the Book of Revelation as the New Testament. Several of the Pastoral Epistles now excluded were occasionally included, especially *Clement* and *The Shepherd of Hermas*, but, on the whole, the canon was established in its present form. It was established, however, not as the inspired Word of God, but as authoritative apostolic tradition.

By this time also the baptismal formula, known as the Roman Symbol, was being generally used as a creed, with minor variations. In its original form it probably read:

I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Christ Jesus his son, who was born of Mary the Virgin, was crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; on the third day he arose from the dead, ascended to heaven and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, whence he cometh to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit and the resurrection of the flesh.

This creed was presumably directed against the Gnostics, since it opposed their characteristic doctrines. It is not a representative statement of the fundamental beliefs of that time, but it came to be regarded as embodying, or at least defending, the apostolic tradition and was later called the Apostles' Creed.

Since apostolic tradition was obviously in need of interpretation, and since it was necessary to agree on methods of interpretation, the Catholic writers insisted that such methods must be authorized and developed gradually through the discipline of the Church. This attitude was in opposition to the liberty of prophesying demanded

by the Montanists, as well as to the literal interpretations of Theodotus and the Antioch school. From this position it was only a short step to the general doctrine that salvation must come through the "Holy Catholic Church," and we find Cyprian saying explicitly, "He can no longer have God for his Father, who has not the Church for his mother." This ideal of the Church as a universal, indispensable and sacred means of transmitting the faith and authority of the apostles was generally shared in both East and West.

Catholic theology, on the other hand, was not so easily attained, and the system of Irenæus and the Latin Fathers proved acceptable only in the West. Irenæus adopted the *Logos* theology of the Apologists and the Alexandrians but kept it within the limits of the apostolic gospel of redemption. According to him man was made in the divine likeness, free to choose between good and evil, immortal and capable of attaining full divinity. But he chose the wrong and thus lost his freedom and immortality and came under the control of Satan. Christ, who like Adam incarnated the divine, became the exact opposite of Adam in temptations; and hence, through his obedience unto death, in which he paid a ransom unto Satan, Christ became the Savior of all who repent and are baptized. They are forgiven and released from the control of Satan, that is, made free again to do right and become divine and immortal. The means by which they advance toward their deification are: continuing to live righteously and keeping in sacramental union with Christ. This simple formulation of the theory of redemption became the basis for later Roman Catholic theology, notably for the more elaborate system of Augustine.

Consonant with this theology, and really anticipating it, was the development of the Catholic rites and sacraments. The catechumens, candidates for baptism, were obliged to serve a kind of apprenticeship during which they were instructed, their actions proved and their demons exorcised. They took part in worship but not in the eucharist. This period of instruction corresponded to Lent. Baptism was the supreme event in life, insuring transfer of the catechumen from the control of Satan to a new bond with God. It commonly took place at the paschal season (Easter) and involved nude immersion for the remission of sins; laying on of hands, during which the Holy Spirit descended upon the neophyte; anointing with oil

(unction), imposition of the sign of the cross, and, in some churches at least, a drink of milk and honey. This was followed by a vow renouncing idolatry and the lax morality of paganism and declaring the Christian faith in a formula such as the old Roman Symbol.

The common gatherings were frequent, and members attended, if not daily, several times in the week and at least on the Sabbath. The *agape* or love-feast was continued, but more as a charitable sharing of bread with the hungry. The lay congregation was now too large to eat in common, but some of the clergy did so and supervised the distribution of bread. The eucharist became divorced from the *agape*. The second-century eucharist was described by Justin Martyr as follows:

Bread, and wine mixed with water, are brought to the bishop, who offers praise and honour to the Father of the Universe through the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and gives thanks at length that God has bestowed these gifts on us, the people responding, Amen! The deacons then distribute to each of those present a portion of the bread and of the wine, and carry portions to absent members of the church.¹

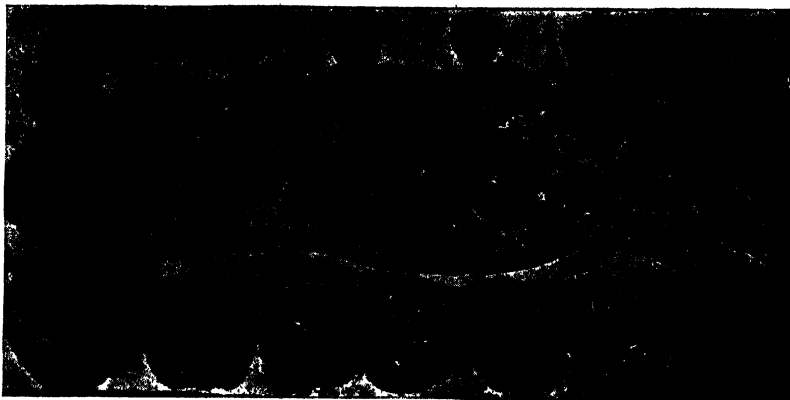
Here the idea of the *agape* still predominates. But during the third century the eucharist, though still retaining features of the common thanksgiving, developed into a mystery ritual, performed by the clergy and repeating the redeeming sacrifice of Christ. Irenæus wrote:

As the bread which comes from the earth when it receives the invocation of God is no longer common bread but the eucharist, being made of two things, an earthly and a heavenly, so also our bodies when they receive the eucharist are no longer corruptible but have the hope of resurrection unto eternal life.²

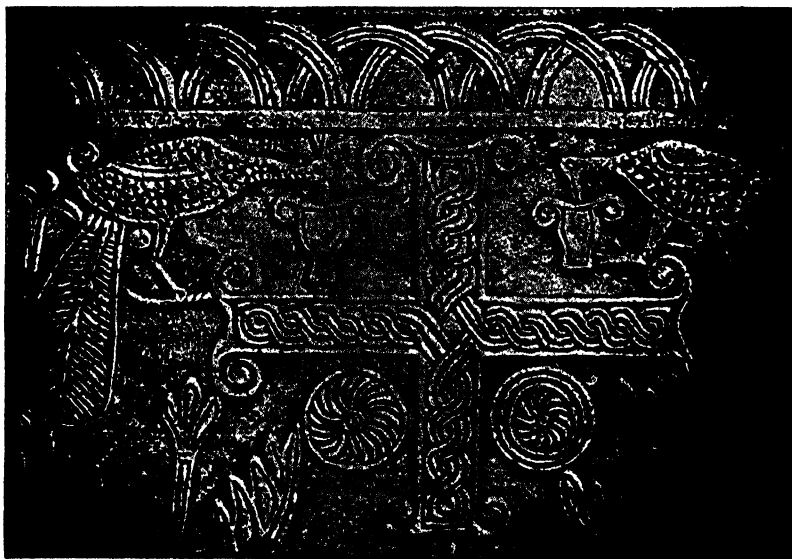
During the third century the cult of martyrs, confessors and saints also arose. Local churches acquired lists of their martyrs, together with dates of the martyrdoms. Such martyrologies, together with lists of bishops and the festivals commemorating events in the life of Jesus, formed the basis of the Christian calendar. The feasts of the martyrs which began to be celebrated on the anniversaries of their martyrdoms were the nucleus from which the veneration of

¹ Quoted in G. F. Moore, *History of religions*, vol. II, p. 151.

² Quoted in A. C. McGiffert, *A history of Christian thought*, vol. I, p. 147.

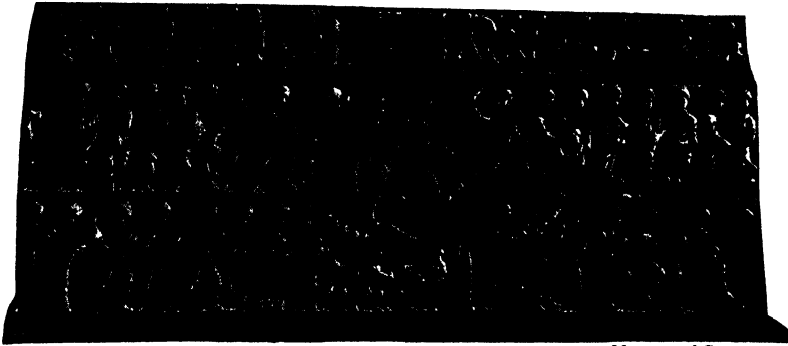


151

After Wälpert

152

151. Communion meal or love-feast (*agape*). The loaves and fishes on the table and the baskets in the foreground are a common theme of the catacomb paintings. From the catacomb of Callistus, Rome, late 2nd century. 152. Byzantine cross and peacocks drinking from chalices (symbols of immortality). Choir-screen relief, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, 8th century.



153

Museum of Syracuse

154

153. Sarcophagus of Adelfia in the Roman style. Medallion of the deceased with her husband. The surrounding scenes include several pagan themes on the left, and on the right, the nativity, sacrifice of Isaac, adoration of the Magi, temptation of Adam and Eve, triumphal entry in Jerusalem and several miracles of Christ. 4th century. 154. St. Martin, confessor, and, in white, the saints and martyrs: Clement, Sixtus, Lawrence and Cyprian, bearing crowns and palms. Byzantine mosaic in St. Apollinare Nuova, Ravenna, late 6th century, when the church was taken over from the Arians and dedicated to St. Martin.

saints arose, rather than from any theory as to the nature of saints. The name "saint" was applied in early Christian literature to the elect in general, the humans restored to heaven. The martyrs were simply heroes among the saints, but their panegyrists at the festivals were not slow to assign them a special relationship to Christ. According to Origen, "the blood shed by martyrs was held to possess an expiatory value, like the blood of Christ." The honor paid to martyrs combined with the lively prospect of heaven to produce an excessive zeal for martyrdom among some early Christians.

The survivors of persecutions, who had shown themselves willing to suffer for the faith, were also honored as confessors and later venerated as saints, that is, as already accepted of God. Such distinction enjoyed by living persons was not without inconvenience to the churches, for confessors had a claim to be admitted into the ranks of the clergy, and on important ecclesiastical occasions, especially on all matters relating to penance, it was difficult not to accept their decisions.

In the West, much more than in the East, an attempt was made by the Church to secure a strong and unified ecclesiastical government and dominion. From very early times the Latin bishops showed a special interest in such matters as pastoral care, administration and practical discipline. In the East it was the Roman emperors who sought to unify the Church; in the West it was the churchmen, themselves, and more particularly as time went on the bishops of Rome, who were in a key position to assume practical leadership. The church at Rome claimed to have been established by Peter and counted among its martyrs both Peter and Paul, whose relics it preserved. There were no rival apostolic churches in the West. In 381 the Roman bishop refused to accept the title of patriarch offered also to the bishops of Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch, and he chose for himself the equivalent but independent title of pope. Soon afterward Leo I emphasized the primacy of Peter among the apostles, claimed that this passed to his successors, the popes, and in 445 secured an edict supporting the claim from Valentinian III, then emperor in the West. Again, when the East was torn into rival theological factions over the Trinitarian and Christological controversies, the bishops of Rome were able to support moderate formulations and so won a reputation for orthodoxy.

Finally, as the imperial power declined in the West, the Roman bishops had the opportunity to become successors of Cæsar as well as vicars of Christ. After the sack of Rome by Alaric in 410 and amid the recurrent irruptions of barbarian invaders, they appeared as defenders of the ancient temporal order and civilization as well as of the Christian faith. This double rôle was brilliantly illustrated in the career of Gregory the Great (540-604) as Roman prefect and then as pope.

Philosophically, Roman Catholicism attained its first comprehensive statement in the system of Augustine (354-430), bishop of Hippo. To a remarkable extent he shared in all the intellectual and religious currents of his time. He had a good education in Roman literature and pagan philosophy; he came early under Manichæan influences, then under neo-Platonic and finally under the sway of Ambrose at Milan, by whom he was converted to the gospel of Christ and the authority of the Church. From the time of his conversion to his death, he was engaged incessantly in defending and exalting the Church against Donatists, Pelagians and other heresies which tended to undervalue the unity and sacramental authority of the Church. The gravity of these controversies and of the issues at stake drove Augustine to follow the theory of catholicism to its extreme implications, and his arguments have an added intensity and sincerity because of his own passionate search for salvation.

Augustine's philosophy is based on the theory of the two kingdoms or cities, the city of God and the city of earth, typified in the Bible by Abel and Cain and embodied one in the Church and the other in the Empire. These "two cities have been formed by two loves: the earthly by love of self, even to the contempt of God; the heavenly by the love of God, even to the contempt of self."^a The earthly city must pass away into damnation, while the city of God grows continually as it receives those whom God has elected to salvation. Not all who are in the Church are members of the city of God, but only through the Church is membership possible. For the Church has been appointed by God as the repository of his grace and the sacraments as its visible agents. Grace is a free gift of God, but the gift is the consequence of Christ's mediation, who by his death paid the ransom (or the penalty) for the original sin

^a *City of God*, 14, 28.

of those whom God has willed to redeem. Since salvation comes only through Christ and since the sacraments of the Church convey the mystical body of Christ, it follows that the essence of the Church or the visible kingdom of God lies in the sacramental channels of grace.

This conception of the sacramental system was an important idea, since, in opposition to the Donatists, it asserted the intrinsic efficacy of the sacraments regardless of the character of the priests who administer them, and defined the true Church in terms of those whom the sacraments awaken to a life of devotion to God, or, in his terms, to a life of justifying faith. Augustine's theology, in other words, though couched in legalistic language, is essentially based on the mystic conception of the Church as a redemptive agency. No doubt his aim in emphasizing this theory of sacramental grace was to give the kingdom of God an objective and social embodiment in the world. Roman Catholicism was intended to be a holy successor, so to speak, of the doomed Roman Empire, and it was conceived to be equally universal. Unfortunately, however, the Empire lost its universality long before it finally fell, and the Roman Church with it lost its catholicity in fact, though it continued to assert it in theory. The doctrine of grace was henceforth used both as a weapon for damning heretics and as a plea for the unity of the saints. The Church, and especially the monks, repudiated Augustine's doctrine of predestination, being unwilling to assert that God must take the initiative in redemption and that even faith is a free gift of grace; but it retained his doctrine of the Church's monopoly on the means of grace. For Augustine the doctrines of predestination and of grace were inseparable, because both of them follow from the conception of original sin, and both of them lead to the love and knowledge of God as man's true goal and happiness. For just as it is impossible for the eyes to see unless light is shed upon them, so man can not find truth unless grace illuminates his search.

F. ASCETICISM AND THE RISE OF MONASTICISM IN THE EAST. From the first, there were persons of pronounced ascetic tendencies in matters of fasting, seclusion, etc., as well as a considerable number of Christians, both male and female, who took vows of complete sexual abstinence. They were known as the "virgins." During the first three centuries these ascetic individuals did not as yet stand apart from the rest of the Church. Certain independent groups,

known as Encratites, seemingly were looked upon with disfavor and associated with Gnostic heresies. But the growing number of Christian ascetics and the difficult relations between them and the ordinary layman led soon to distinct groups of ascetics, to hermits and later to monastic organizations.

As long as persecutions continued or threatened, there was little demand for additional hardships. But when these abated and in general when the world became Christian, asceticism became an honored aspect of Christian discipline. It was especially prevalent in Africa and Asia, where Manichæism, Cynicism and sects like the Essenes made it a popular form of piety. The separation of Christian ascetics from the Church centers seems first to have developed on a large scale in Egypt and then in Syria.

In Egypt, climate, topography, social conditions and dualistic teachings favored the development of asceticism into monasticism. Individual solitaries attracted attention, were visited by curious devotees and emulated. The first of these to gain a general reputation was Anthony (251-356), who retired into the desert beyond Pispir toward the Red Sea. He enjoyed the respect and confidence of Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, and many were induced to follow his example. Hermit communities grew up in suitable places like the valley of Nitria, where monks lived in individual caves or cells, rivaled each other in feats of austerity and perhaps met occasionally at a local church for common devotions. Macarius (*c.* 350) was a famous Nitrian.

In upper Egypt (Thebais), a country of exiles and brigands, Pacomius (*c.* 320) founded cenobite monasteries under a common rule regulating the probation of initiates, the grouping of monks for labor and fasting, their sleep, food and clothing. Each of his monasteries comprised a closed area, in which were built several houses, each sheltering some forty monks, grouped according to the nature of their manual labor. The leaders and the vast majority of their followers were Copts. About the year 400 Schenute of Atripe, a leader and disciplinarian among the monks of upper Egypt, developed a kind of Coptic theocracy in those anarchic regions, over which he ruled like an Old Testament judge. The repute of the Egyptian monks caused them to be visited by numerous pilgrims, among them ladies and gentlemen of wealth, who gave alms and on

their return founded religious asylums in their own countries. In Syria, especially in the desert regions, a similar hermit life developed, being partly transferred from Egypt by Hilarion (*c.* 300) and others, and partly a continuation of native, pre-Christian asceticism.

The colder climate and more populous regions of Asia Minor were unfavorable to hermit life, but certain classes continued to withdraw from society. Such asceticism was attractive to many indigents and vagrants, to penitents, to those who made a virtue of being different from ordinary laymen, to those whose Christian sentiment revolted at the increasing worldliness and prosperity of the Church, and in general to those who were harassed with responsibility or disappointed in careers. Some of these ascetics were hermits and dwelt in desert places; others were Stylites and lived on the tops of pillars; others, Dendrites, who took refuge in trees; others, recluses, who shut themselves up in narrow enclosures. The Boskoi betook themselves to pastures where they grazed like cattle; the Anchorites sought quiet retreats, and the Keliotes retired to cells. Among the Stylites Simeon (388-460) of Syria attained great fame. These more or less fantastic types of ascetics were, however, the minority.

Early propaganda for monasticism in Asia Minor was carried on by Eustathius (*c.* 330-80), but he encountered such opposition that he made little headway until he was befriended by Basil, bishop of Cæsarea from 370 to 379. The latter did much to make monasticism respectable in the civilized East by his own high-minded enthusiasm for retreats, which he adopted to alleviate the cares of his office. In his writings he set forth moderate precepts of asceticism, espoused cenobitic as opposed to hermitic monasticism, on the ground that society is essential to Christian virtues, and advised the subordination of monasteries to the bishops of their respective localities. The ascetic precepts of Basil, or rather a large number of tracts collected under his name, became the common monastic guide of the East. They put the monks on an orderly regimen of ascetic diet, work, study and devotion. Organization remained local and largely responsible to the episcopate. Independent monastic orders, like those of the West, did not become prevalent.

The cenobitic monasteries were frequently refuges for many

poor, and changes of fortune supplied a loose crowd of more or less vagabond monks. Monasticism thus became doubly popular with the masses, as an institution of charity and an embodiment of miraculous religious exhibitions. Demagogue leaders often used monks for anti-official demonstrations. While monks as a rule were notoriously ignorant, some of the monasteries became libraries, and the scholastics among the clergy were trained in them. The practice of "perpetual adoration," introduced by the Akoimetoι (those who do not sleep), became very popular. The monks, through their interest in adoration, had an indirect influence on theological issues. They usually defended the theology that encouraged a maximum of worship, for example, the Monophysite view that there is nothing undivine or unadorable about Christ. Their later defense of pictures against the iconoclastic emperors was one of the deciding factors in the struggle.

From the East monasticism spread slowly into the West. The provinces proved more receptive to monastic ideals than Rome. Athanasius and Jerome, converted to monasticism in the East, made persistent efforts to introduce it in the West but with meager success. After the barbarian invasions of 410, however, and as a consequence of the ensuing disorders, monasticism grew rapidly, and in the sixth century Benedict founded his famous order, formulating a rule which did for the West what Basil had done for the East. In general, the monasticism of Rome was motivated less by the extreme ascetic ideals of the East and more by the need in the face of barbarism for places of seclusion, study and an ordered "religious" life.

G. IMPERIAL CHRISTENDOM AND THE BYZANTINE CHURCH. The emperor Constantine (306-37), having witnessed the failure of Diocletian's persecution to check Christianity, conceived that the latter's aim to consolidate and strengthen the Empire might succeed better if Christianity were recognized and regulated by the state. The nature of Constantine's personal conversion remains somewhat obscure. His Edict of Milan (313 A.D.) provided that each individual be allowed to worship the Divinity according to his own choice, and that places of worship formerly belonging to Christians be restored to them. Subsequently, 321 A.D., he provided for the public recognition of "the venerable Day of the Sun" as a day of rest.

The successors of Constantine, with the exception of Julian the Apostate (361-3), who headed a pagan reaction, continued his policy and gradually extended it, so that Christianity became the official imperial religion in 383. Especially illustrious was Theodosius the Great (379-95), who sought to resolve the Eastern schisms and become the head of a unified imperial church.

Finding the Christians divided among themselves, Constantine sought to achieve unity by summoning ecumenical councils. The Council of Arles (314 A.D.) was a council of Western bishops only, in this respect similar to many other local councils held previously, but it reached decisions of wide and lasting influence. It fixed the celebration of Easter on a common day throughout Christendom. It recognized the permanent validity of baptism if done "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," and the validity of ordinations performed by the clergy, even though the latter be subsequently found guilty of infidelity and removed from office. These decisions regarding the sacraments prepared the way for the general doctrine, later formulated by Augustine, that the sacraments derive their power from God and are objectively valid irrespective of the worthiness of the priest performing them.

The Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.) was the first of a series of general ecumenical councils, though at it the West was very inadequately represented. It condemned Arianism and promulgated a formal creed, in which Jesus was declared to be "of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God; begotten and not made, consubstantial with the Father, by whom all has been made." And "as to those who say: There was a time when He was not; Before He was begotten, He was not; He was made of nothing, or of another substance or essence; or created, or subject to change, or mutable; to such persons, the Catholic Church says Anathema."

Continued dispute over the Trinitarian formula led to the Council of Constantinople (381), which formulated a "new Nicene" orthodoxy, which the emperor Theodosius undertook to enforce. But within a short time the Nestorian controversy over the person of Christ made it necessary to call the Councils of Ephesus (431) and of Chalcedon (451). Nestorius of the Antioch school revived the ancient rivalry between Antioch and Alexandria by asserting that

Jesus Christ had two natures, and that strictly speaking the Virgin ought not be called "Mother of God." This was highly offensive to the Egyptians, both the Alexandrian theologians and the monks; under the leadership of Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, they defended the doctrine of one nature, Monophysitism. The Council of Chalcedon declared:

We, then, following the holy fathers, all with one consent, teach men to confess one and the same Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and also perfect in manhood; truly God and truly man, of a reasonable soul and body; consubstantial with the Father according to the Godhead, and consubstantial with us according to the manhood; in all things like us, without sin; begotten before all ages of the Father according to the Godhead, and in these latter days, for us and for our salvation, born of the Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, according to the manhood; one and the same Christ, Son, Lord, Only-begotten, in two natures, inconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably, the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by their union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved, and concurring in one person and one subsistence, not parted or divided into two persons, but one and the same Son and Only-begotten, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ.

This was evidently a brave effort to be precise and clear without surrendering to either party, but it soon became equally evident that unity could not be achieved by theological evasion. Though this declaration is still recognized by both East and West as the definition of orthodoxy, it was immediately subjected to so many interpretations that it proved practically worthless, and Christological controversy continued unabated until the more urgent issues of the seventh and eighth centuries buried it. Meanwhile both Nestorius and Cyril were deposed. The Nestorians established themselves as an independent schismatic church at Edessa in Syria, whence they spread eastward into Persia and even as far as China. Small groups of them survive in the Near East to this day. The Egyptian Monophysites, on the other hand, established the national Coptic Church, with which are affiliated the Churches of Armenia and Abyssinia and the Jacobite Syrians.

Having succeeded in playing the Antioch and Alexandria theologians against each other, the emperors made Constantinople the headquarters of a brilliant imperial church. In 550 Justinian gave

to the patriarch of Constantinople the privilege of receiving appeals from other patriarchs, and this move on the part of the emperor naturally alienated Rome. At the same time he built up the ritual of the eucharist, erected imposing basilicas and encouraged the development of Byzantine art and of everything that was needed to make Eastern Christianity not only the rival of Rome but the religious expression of imperial ambition and grandeur. Constantinople, Ravenna and Venice still contain monuments of this Byzantine splendor.

The Latin basilica had developed from the Roman hall of justice. Its essential feature was the semicircular row of seats behind the altar for the bishop and presbyters, the railing separating clergy from laity and the reader's ambos or pulpit. Byzantine art adopted these features, together with the Roman dome, and combined them with the rectilinear Greek style, producing an octagonal building (perpetuated in the baptisteries) or a long rectangular nave with an octagonal dome. The interior was richly decorated with mosaics, the motifs of which were symbolical rather than pictorial. Birds, fish, lambs, crosses and other Christian symbols were prominent in the early mosaics but gradually gave way to the representations of the Trinity, the Mother of God, the youthful (beardless) Christ, the apostles and early martyrs. Even these figures, however, were treated in a formal and symbolical fashion, emphasizing their "essential" meaning rather than their human features. On the basis of this style the painting of ikons and the illumination of sacred books developed. Beginning as a graphic record of Christian experience, this art became increasingly iconographical and devotional. The veneration of these pictures no doubt began in the devotion expressed toward their subjects, but before long the force of popular belief transformed many of the pictures into miraculous and intrinsically holy objects, which were worshiped on their own account.

The culmination, though not the most typical expression, of Byzantine art and religion was the great church of the Holy Wisdom, Santa Sophia, at Constantinople, which remains to this day a unique architectural triumph, but which was even more significant in its day as the temple where the mystery of the eucharistic sacrament received its most awe-inspiring celebration.

Christianity in becoming imperial became corrupt as well as im-

posing. Political policies and intrigues were controlling factors in the life of the Church, and as the political gulf between East and West widened, the Church was likewise torn in two. From the seventh century on, the politics of the Eastern Empire was definitely Greek, not Roman. And it was only a matter of time until the theological issues over the *filioque* clause in the Creed and the use of unleavened bread in the eucharist were made the pretext for the final breach between East and West. The schism was practically accomplished in 869 and was definitely completed in 1054.

Two events were chiefly responsible for the decline of imperial Christianity in the East: the invasion of Islam in the seventh century and the Iconoclastic controversy during the eighth. The two were undoubtedly related, for Emperor Leo, when he ordered the sacred pictures to be destroyed, was influenced by the Mohammedan attitude toward images. He wanted to defend Christianity against the charge of idolatry. So deep-seated, however, was the reverence for the pictures that the emperors who attempted to stamp it out merely undermined their authority in religious matters and taught the churches to look to the bishops rather than to the emperors for religious leadership. Meanwhile the political power of the Empire was being steadily undermined by Islam, and the Eastern Churches were compelled eventually to rely on the precarious protection of a foreign faith, while the Byzantine Empire dwindled until its extinction in 1453.

Indeed it was no accident that the greatest spokesman of Orthodoxy in the eighth century and the last of the Eastern Church Fathers lived in Damascus, out of reach of the emperor, and held high office at the Court of the Caliph. For he was free to say what the whole Church believed, namely, that the question of ikons "is a question for Synods and not for Emperors. . . . It is not the part of emperors to legislate for the Church." ⁴ John of Damascus proceeded to give a thorough and philosophical defense of the use of ikons, urging that to despise the material image was to undermine the value of the incarnation, and that to the devout the ikons were analogous to the sacraments, material channels of divine grace. In his classic exposition of the Orthodox faith, *The fountain of knowl-*

⁴ John of Damascus, *Oration in defense of the images*, 727, quoted in B. J. Kidd, *The Churches of Eastern Christendom*, p. 148.

edge, he extended this typically Eastern point of view to the whole realm of dogma, interpreting the creed and doctrines of the Church as intrinsic to its worship and making the cultus or the actual communion with God more fundamental than the theory of salvation. Nevertheless he brought together the whole body of Greek learning as it had been cultivated in the East and made of it a comprehensive system of theology and philosophy. His emphases, however, reflect the characteristic qualities of Eastern worship. There is little mention of the theory of salvation, sacrifice, penance and sacerdotalism, which looms so large in the Western tradition. And there is a positive denial of predestination, of physical hell-fire and of the preëxistence of the soul. But in spite of the centuries of Christological controversy, John failed to follow out the implications of the accepted formulas of his time and was content to repeat with more than Pauline simplicity and with all the devoutness of image-worship: "Through his birth, or incarnation, and his baptism and passion and resurrection, Christ freed our nature from the sin of our first parent and from death and corruption, and became the first fruits of the resurrection, and made himself a way and image and pattern that we also, following in his footsteps, might become by adoption what he is by nature, sons and heirs of God and joint heirs with him." ⁵

II. THE EASTERN CHURCHES

A. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCH. Although the Eastern Orthodox Church was the spiritual counterpart of the Byzantine Empire, little remains today to suggest its imperial origins. It was never a temporal power, and therefore it has shared to a large extent the fortunes of the various states with which it has been associated. Whereas the Roman Catholic Church has maintained its imperial unity and organization, the Eastern churches are almost completely nationalized. Not only Constantinople and the Emperor Justinian's great Church of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia), but the other early centers of Christianity, Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria, have fallen a prey to Islam, and practical leadership has long since passed from the Greeks to the Slavs, espe-

⁵ Quoted in A. C. McGiffert, *A history of Christian thought*, vol. I, p. 321.

cially to the Russian Church, which is by far the largest. Nevertheless the various autocephalous churches are still conscious of their common faith and essential unity.

The patriarchate of Constantinople owes its theoretical spiritual supremacy to its rivalry with Rome. When the bishop of Rome began to assert his authority over others, the Eastern emperors encouraged the patriarch of Constantinople to hear appeals from Antioch, Jerusalem and the other patriarchates. This supremacy was based entirely on imperial politics, and when Constantinople fell to the Turks in 1453, the last vestige of centralized political power in the Eastern churches disappeared, but the patriarch of Constantinople claimed "spiritual" authority over practically all the churches until well into the nineteenth century. Theoretically the various Apostolic Sees were equal: the See of Peter at Rome, of James at Jerusalem, of Mark at Alexandria, etc. Later, when the Roman Church claimed preëminence in the East, the legend grew that the Apostle Andrew, the first of the twelve, had ascended the Dnieper River and planted the cross on the hills of Kiev, saying, "On these hills shall shine the light of Divine Grace"; and he himself is supposed to have appointed the first bishop. In spite of their apostolic claims and their historic primacy the four ancient patriarchates are now little more than symbols. Constantinople still has about 300,000 Greeks; Antioch has 250,000 members, nine-tenths of whom are Arabs to whom the Greek rite is unintelligible; Jerusalem has 33,000, almost entirely Arabs; and Alexandria has about 50,000, of whom two-thirds are Greeks.

The other branches of the Orthodox Church are almost all national churches, most of them disestablished; the patriarchate of Russia, the patriarchate of Yugoslavia, the patriarchate of Roumania; the autonomous churches of Greece, Bulgaria, Poland (composed of Russians in Poland), Georgia, Albania, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia and Cyprus; the archbishoprics of Mt. Sinai, North America and Japan. From time to time disputes have arisen among the churches concerning regional jurisdiction, and several of the churches have excommunicated each other. In fact, the problem of ecclesiastical authority has become so complicated that the churches have been forced to rely increasingly on the doctrine of "economy." According to it, practices which, because they

are performed by excommunicated persons, are strictly speaking irregular, can be validated on the ground that economy or good church management demands the compromise. The growth of this doctrine has made it comparatively easy for the Orthodox Church to enter into cordial relations with Western "schismatical" churches.

Though the actual autonomy of the various Orthodox churches is comparatively recent, the growth of local and national traditions within the Church began in ancient times. As far back as the ninth century Cyril translated the Bible into Russian. The introduction of the Slavonic languages into the literature and rites of the Church led to a gradual diversification of religious practices, accompanied by an intensified devotion on the part of the people to *their* churches.

The career of the Russian Church illustrates the various ways in which Orthodoxy achieved its hold on the masses. Christianity became the state religion of Russia when Prince Vladimir, under the influence of his grandmother, Olga, was converted in 988 and married the sister of the emperor of Constantinople. Through him and his successors the Greek rite and the Slavonic Bible were made familiar to the people. During the Tatar invasions the churches alone were left unmolested, and they thus became both the symbol and the agency of patriotic devotion. When tyrants or fanatics, like Ivan the Terrible, became oppressive, the prelates of the Church were the only effective forces of protest and reform. Metropolitans like Philip II, Philaret and Nikon, who asserted the authority of the Church against the tsars, are among the most revered figures in Russian history. On the other hand, ever since the establishment of the Holy Synod by Peter the Great, the tsars have used the power of the Church by subjecting the Synod to the procurator of the government. Thus, by making itself alternately useful and feared, the Church has exerted an enormous influence over both government and people.

B. THE GENERAL DOCTRINES OF EASTERN CHRISTIANITY. The dominant trait of the Eastern churches is their emphasis on devotion and popular piety as these are expressed in acts of worship or reverence and in liturgical rites. There is comparatively little interest in theological doctrine for its own sake. The theology of the Church until quite recently was practically where it was in the fourth century; and the works of John of Damascus the Theologian in the

eighth century are still regarded as the classic and adequate formulation of Orthodox theology. Its foundation is the Nicene Creed,⁶ which is still chanted by the whole congregation in every liturgical service.

I believe in one God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, And of all things visible and invisible:

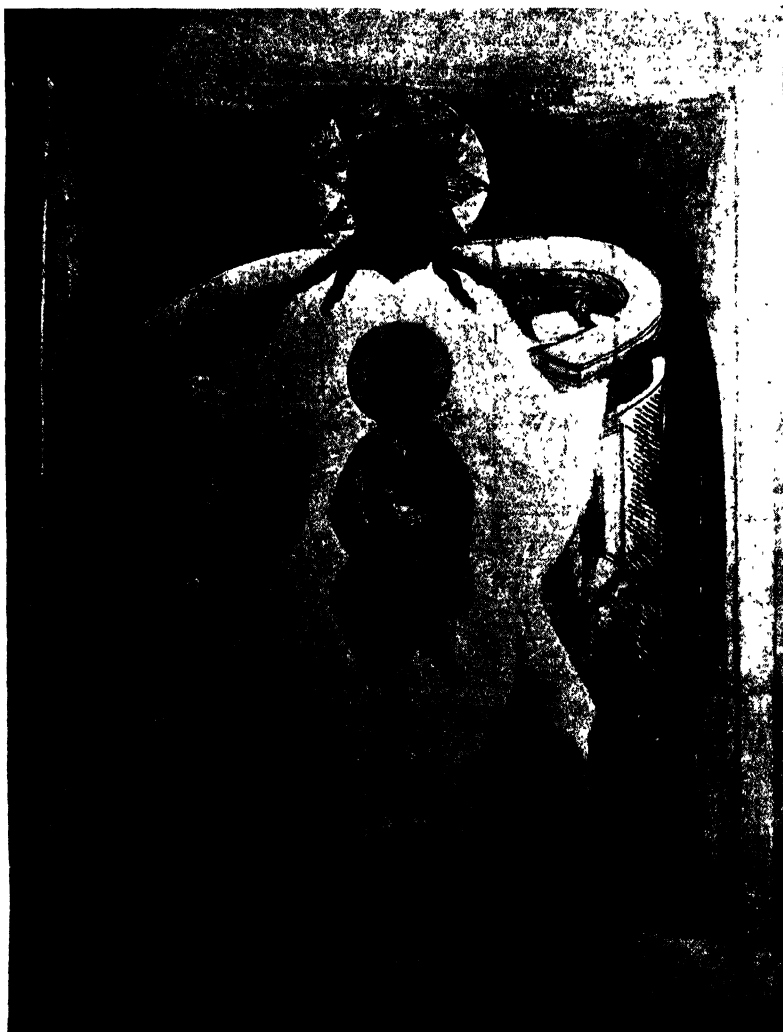
And in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, the only-begotten. Begotten of his Father before all worlds; Light of Light, Very God of very God, Begotten, not made; Being of one Essence with the Father; By whom all things are made; Who, for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, And was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, And was made man. And was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate, and suffered and was buried. And the third day he rose again, according to the Scriptures. And ascended into heaven, And sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead; Whose kingdom shall have no end.

And in the Holy Ghost, the Lord, Giver of Life, Who proceedeth from the Father, Who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, Who spake by the Prophets. In one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins. I look for the Resurrection of the dead, And for the Life of the world to come. Amen.

Though this seems to be theological in its emphasis, in reality even the elaborate dogmas of the early centuries are now treated as hymns of praise rather than as scientific principles. The absence of the Roman *filioque* clause and the insistence on the perfect divinity of the Son and the mystery of the divine incarnation, though they seem like an excessive preoccupation with dogmatic refinements, are historic symbols enshrined in the liturgy because they once signified the intense devotion to Christ which less mystical types of Christianity opposed. "The unique union between God and man into what the Russians call a 'dualentity' is the material principle of the essence of Orthodox Christianity, in faith as in life."⁷ In this sense, Eastern Christianity to this day has preserved the quality of an ancient mystery rite. The legalistic emphasis on the atonement and sacrificial death of Christ, which after Augustine took hold in the West both among Roman Catholics and Protestants, has found little

⁶ This Nicene Creed is not the creed formulated by the Council of Nicæa.

⁷ Zankov, *Eastern Orthodox Church*, p. 32.



After Farbman

155. Trinity enthroned and in a nimbus of glory. The Father giving blessing, the Son holding the sphere of the world in which the dove of the Spirit appears. The upper part of the nimbus is filled with cherubim (now barely visible). In the corners are symbols of the Four Evangelists. Russian ikon, center of a tryptich, 16th century.

foothold in the East. Instead, there has been an emphasis on the incarnation of God and on the regenerating power of living communion and of the real presence of God in the "holy gifts" on the altar. The few catechisms and theological elaborations of the creed (such as those of Mogila and Philaret) are known as the "symbolical books" and are of much less importance than the liturgical writings. A series of "confessional synods," following the Bethlehem Synod of 1632 and the Jerusalem Synod of 1672, attempted to develop a scholastic tradition in the East. The headquarters of this movement were at Kiev. But about the middle of the nineteenth century, under the leadership of Khornyakov, the reaction set in which still prevails and which keeps the "essentials" of the Orthodox creed comparatively free from philosophical and scientific entanglements.

Perhaps the most explicit formulation of Orthodoxy is to be found in the office for receiving converts from the Roman Church. The bishop asks the convert:

Dost thou renounce the false doctrine that, for the expression of the dogma touching the Procession of the Holy Spirit, the declaration of our Saviour Christ himself: "who proceedeth from the Father": doth not suffice; and that the addition, of man's invention: "and from the Son": is required?

Dost thou renounce the erroneous belief that it doth not suffice to confess our Lord Jesus Christ as the head of the Universal Church; and that a man, to wit, the Bishop of Rome, can be the head of Christ's Body, that is to say, of the whole Church?

Dost thou renounce the erroneous belief that the holy Apostles did not receive from our Lord equal spiritual power, but that the holy Apostle Peter was their Prince: And that the Bishop of Rome alone is his successor: And that the Bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch and others are not, equally with the Bishop of Rome, successors of the Apostles?

Dost thou renounce the erroneous belief of those who think that the Pope of Rome is superior to the Œcumenical Councils, and infallible in faith, notwithstanding the fact that several of the Popes have been heretics, and condemned as such by the Councils?

Dost thou acknowledge that the Holy Scriptures must be accepted and interpreted in accordance with the belief which hath been handed down by the Holy Fathers, and which the Holy Orthodox Church, our Mother, hath always held and still doth hold?

Dost thou believe and confess that there are seven Sacraments of the New

Testament, to wit: Baptism, Chrismation, the Eucharist, Confession, the Priesthood, Marriage, and Anointing with Oil, instituted by the Lord Christ and his Church, to the end that, through their operation and reception, we may obtain blessings from on high?

Dost thou believe and confess that in the Divine Liturgy, under the mystical forms of the holy bread and wine, the faithful partake of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto the remission of sins, and unto life eternal?

Dost thou believe and confess that it is proper to reverence and invoke the Saints who reign on high with Christ, according to the interpretation of the Holy Orthodox Church; and that their prayers and intercessions before God avail with the beneficent God unto our salvation: and that it is well-pleasing in the sight of God that we should do homage to their relics, glorified through incorruption, as precious memorials of their virtue?

Dost thou confess that the images of our Saviour Christ; and of the Ever-virgin Mother of God, and of the other Saints are worthy of being possessed and honoured; not unto idolatry, but that, through contemplation thereof, we may be incited unto piety, and unto emulation of the deeds of the holy persons represented by these images?

Dost thou confess that the prayers of the faithful which are offered up to God, and more especially when accompanied by the oblation of the unbloody sacrifice, for the salvation of those who have departed this life in the faith, are favorably received, through the mercy of God?

Dost thou believe and confess that power hath been given by our Saviour Christ unto the Orthodox-Catholic Church to bind and to loose: and that whatsoever, by virtue of that power, is bound or loosed on earth will be bound or loosed in heaven?

Dost thou believe and confess that the Foundation, Head, and Great High Priest and Chief Shepherd of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Church is our Lord Jesus Christ; and that Bishops, Pastors and Teachers are appointed by him to rule the Church; and that the Guide and Pilot of this Church is the Holy Spirit? *

Though these questions define the doctrine of Orthodoxy, they fail to reveal the spirit of it. For this we must turn to the great liturgical books and to the rites of the Church, which are its real foundation.

C. THE EASTERN RITE. The ritual of the Orthodox Church is based

* *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, edited by Isabel Florence Hapgood, 1922, pp. 455-6 and 458-60.

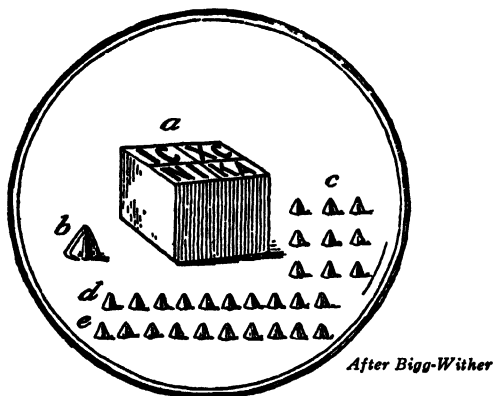
chiefly on the liturgies of St. John Chrysostom and St. Basil the Great (fourth century). The liturgy of St. Basil is the more elaborate and is reserved for special festivals. In the eighth century, beginning with John of Damascus, came the great hymn writers. The monks especially contributed to the elaboration of the ritual, for in the monasteries whole days and nights were devoted to chants and prayers. The "divine liturgy" is now the sum and substance of Eastern religion for both clergy and laymen. It is characterized by a gorgeous display of vestments, symbols and symbolical actions; by an intense emotional eloquence; and by intricate antiphonal choral chants. No instrumental music is used. The ancient chants were not musical in a secular sense but nasal tones chanted in unison. The development of the extremely beautiful choral chants of the Russian Church was largely instigated by Catherine II and was cultivated particularly during the nineteenth century.

The eight-pointed cross, which is the characteristic symbol of the Eastern Church, is regarded as a symbol of the resurrection, triumph or salvation of Christ, rather than of his suffering and death. Hence the crucifix with the body on it is less frequently used than in the Roman Church. There are many minor differences in the celebration of the eucharist, chief among them being the use of leavened bread and the practice of offering the chalice as well as the bread to the laity. The bread is broken into the chalice and served to the communicant with a spoon. The Eastern emphasis on communion with the risen Christ and the general tone of the "divine liturgy" are well illustrated in the following chant, recited by the deacon immediately after he has taken communion.

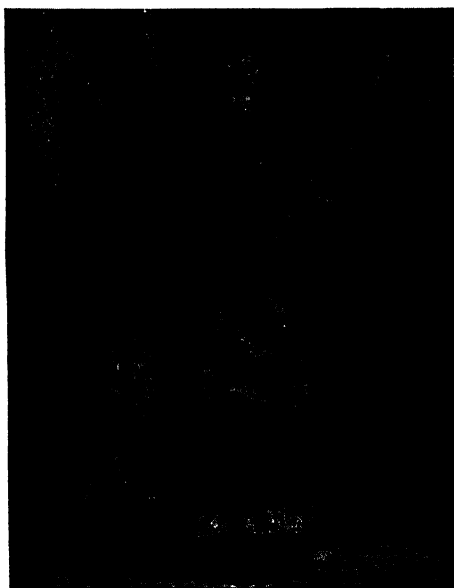
In that we have beheld the Resurrection of Christ, let us bow down before the holy Lord Jesus, the only sinless One. Thy Cross do we adore, O Christ, and thy holy Resurrection we laud and glorify: for thou art our God, and we know none other beside thee; we call upon thy Name. O come, all ye faithful, let us adore Christ's holy Resurrection. For lo, through the Cross is joy come into all the world. Ever blessing the Lord, let us sing his Resurrection: for in that he endured the Cross he hath destroyed Death by death.

Shine, shine, O new Jerusalem, for the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee! Shout now and be glad, O Zion! And do thou, O Pure One, Birth-giver of God, rejoice in the Rising-again of him whom thou didst bear.

O Christ, Passover great and most Holy! O Wisdom, Word, and Power



156



157

After Bigg-Wither

156. The eucharistic loaf: (a) stamped "Jesus Christ Conquers"—the right side of this cube is pierced with the spear-knife; (b) the first portion, set aside in honor of the Mother of God; (c) nine portions in honor of prophets, apostles and martyrs; portions commemorating (d) the living and (e) the dead. 157. The episcopal blessing. The two tapers uniting in one flame symbolize the dual nature of Christ; the three in one, the Trinity. With these two candlesticks he makes the sign of the cross over the congregation.

of God! Vouchsafe that we may more perfectly partake of thee in the days which know no evening of thy kingdom.⁹

The most sacred part of the eucharist, corresponding to the Canon of the mass, is performed within the sanctuary around the altar. The sanctuary is separated from the body of the church by the image-screen.

D. THE SAINTS AND IKONS. The image-screen (*ikonostas*) is the most characteristic and, in many ways, the most significant feature of an Orthodox temple, for the cult of pictures caused one of the most serious clashes in early Christendom, and its final vindication is one of the chief treasures of Eastern tradition. No sculptures are tolerated, but the sacred pictures are often profusely ornamented with jewels and with elaborate gold and silver frames. The paintings themselves are a highly conventionalized form of art. They are not realistic but retain the severe lines of Byzantine art, and the purpose of the image is not to portray the human features but to symbolize the divine nature of the saint. The older the ikon, the more sacred it is apt to be, and many of them are so stained with smoke and dust that the features are practically invisible. The old ikon painters looked upon their work as essentially religious, and often whole communities would fast while a painting was being consummated. The inscription on an ikon of Our Lady of St. Sophia at Moscow well illustrates the spirit of the craft: "By the grace of the Creator of all things, Our Lord Jesus Christ, and the merciful benevolence of Our Most Holy Lady the Virgin Mary, was this ikon painted in the year of the existence of the universe 7205 (1697) copied from the essential image of Our Lady in size and all likeness to the painting by St. Luke the Evangelist, which today stands in the Cathedral of Her Dormition in the famous and God-protected royal city of Moscow."

Ikons are the most common religious objects and are to be found in homes, shops and street shrines, as well as in the temples; but the image-screen, especially in large temples, symbolizes the whole heavenly hierarchy and is therefore significant as a graphic embodiment of Christian theology. "What a book is to the literate, that an image is to the illiterate," said St. John of Damascus. On the holy doors leading into the sanctuary are representations of the Annuncia-

⁹ *Service Book*, p. 118.

tion and the four evangelists. To the right and left of the holy doors are images of Christ, of the Mother of God, of Adam (the first to fall) and of the penitent thief (the first to be redeemed), of the angel Gabriel ("captain of the bodiless ones"), of the patron saint of the temple and of other saints who are especially revered in the particular country or neighborhood. Above the doors is a painting of the Last Supper, the foundation of the eucharist, and to the left and right of it are represented the chief feasts of the Church calendar. In the center of the third row of images and above the holy doors is the image of Christ the King with the Holy Mother on his right and John the Baptist on his left, both turned toward him in prayer. On either side of these three are ranged the prophets and major saints of the Church. In the center of the highest row is represented God the Father with images of the patriarchs to his right and left. Of course, few churches are large enough to contain all these images, but this is the general scheme of arrangement. The most famous of all the image-screens (fig. 158) is in the Uspensky Cathedral of Moscow, dedicated to the Falling-asleep of the Holy Mother (the Assumption of the Virgin). In many churches on either side of the entrance to the nave are representations of the Publican and the Pharisee; and the porch often contains a row of paintings of pagan philosophers, each with a scroll on which is written one of his sayings anticipatory of the Gospel.

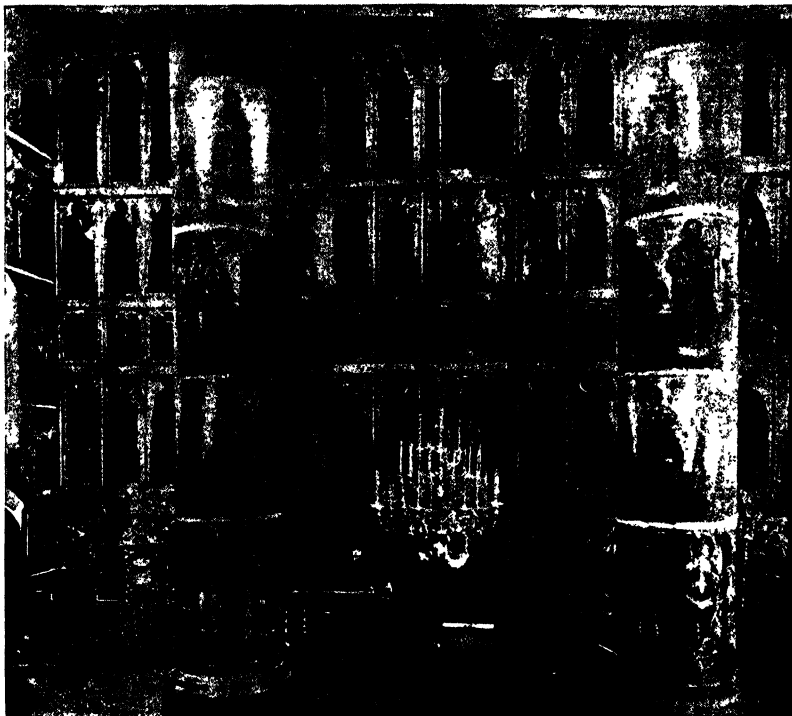
There are a few miraculous and especially sacred ikons, such as "Our Lady of Vladimir" of the Uspensky Cathedral (fig. 178c), popularly believed to be the "essential image" of the Mother of God, painted by St. Luke and endowed with miraculous powers. For centuries it was "the palladium of the Russian State."¹⁰ Apart from peasant superstition, however, ikons are merely venerated as images or symbols. Their cult consists in having lights burning before them continually, in lighting candles before them to symbolize specific petitions and in kissing them.

Chief of all the saints is the Holy Mother of Christ. It is primarily as the Mother of God, not as the Virgin, that she is adored, and this emphasis is a significant difference between the Eastern and Roman churches. In the East, where her cult originated, she was adored as

¹⁰ Kondakov, *The Russian ikon*, p. 39. This ikon is now in the Moscow museum.

the symbol of the divine incarnation; in the West, as the symbol of purity and pity.

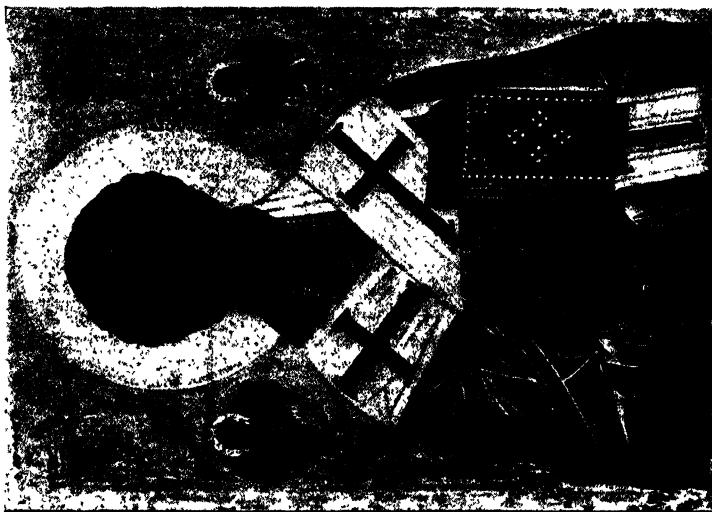
Of the saints who receive special veneration in the East the chief



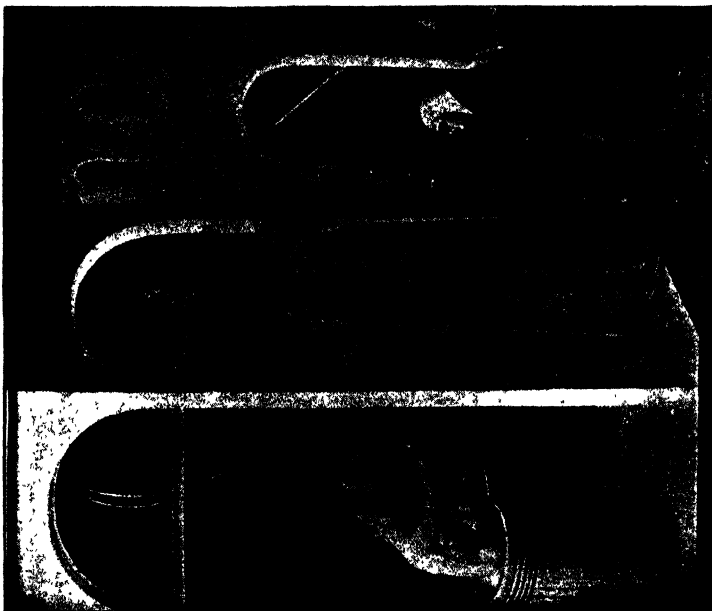
After Shirinski-Shikhmatov

158. *Ikonostas* of the Uspensky Cathedral, Moscow. On the left is the shrine of Our Lady of Vladimir. The Royal Doors into the sanctuary contain the Annunciation and Four Evangelists. The second tier of ikons contains the *deesis* (Christ with the Virgin and John the Baptist); the third, scenes from the life of the Virgin and Christ, illustrating the festivals; the fourth, "Our Lady with Emmanuel," with David, Solomon and the prophets; the fifth, the Trinity and patriarchs.

are: Joachim and Anne, the "holy and righteous Ancestors of God"; St. George, the great protector and trophy-bearer; St. Christopher, bearing the infant Jesus and sometimes represented with the head of a dog, because he prayed for a dog's head in order to be free from the attention paid to him by women; Cosmas and Damian, the "un-

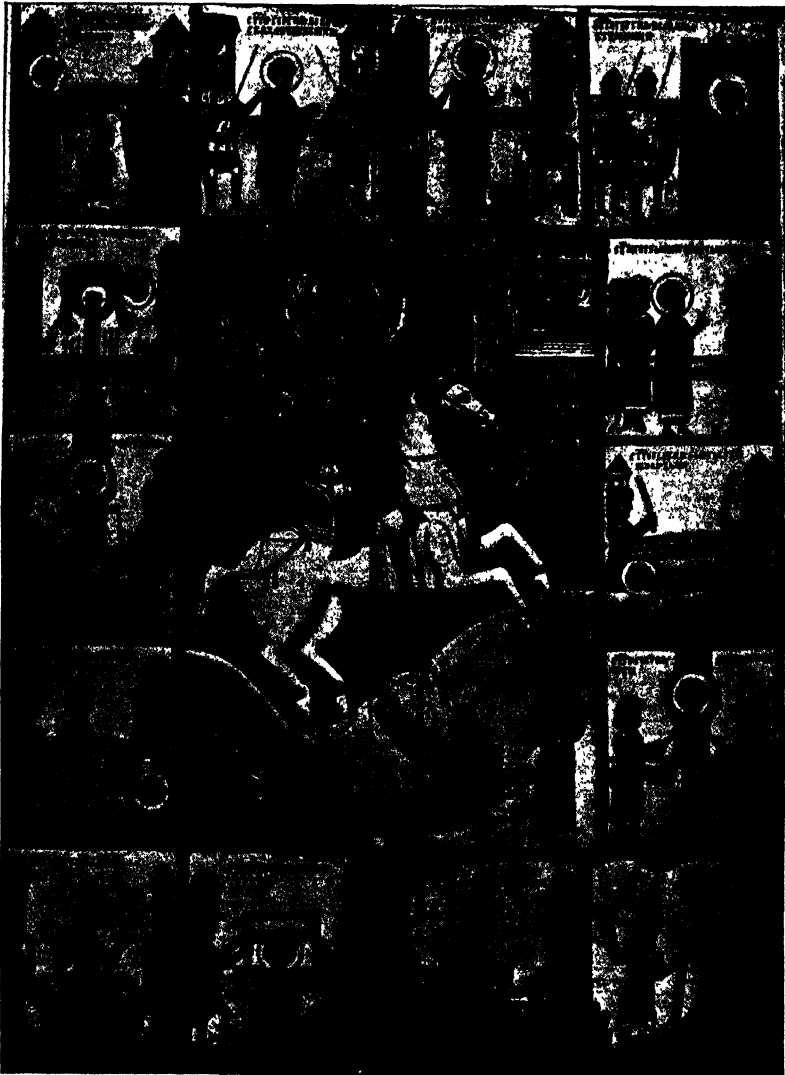
*After Kondakov*

(a)

*Vatican Museum*

(b)

159. Saint Nicholas. (a) The "merciful and wonder-working" Bishop of Myra. His right hand indicates his refutation of the Arians. The Gospel must be held with covered hand. Russian ikon, 16th century. (b) He revives his three clerks whom a butcher had "salted down." Italian, 15th century.



Russian Museum, Moscow

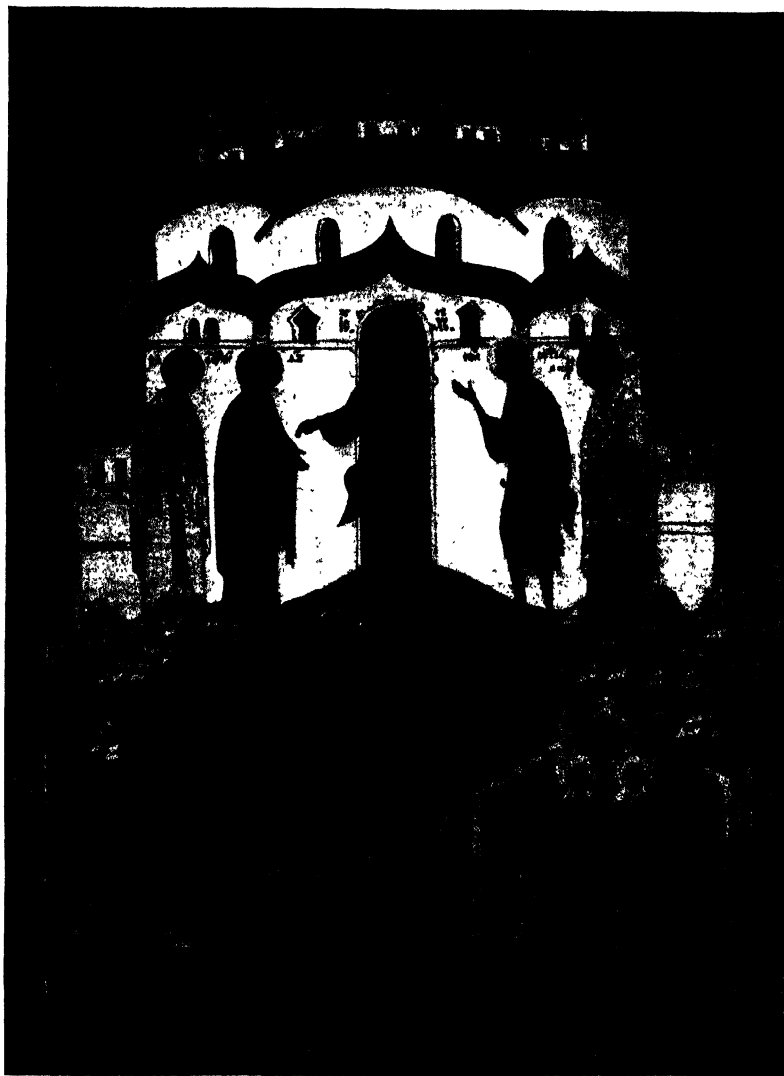
160. Saint George, his miracles and martyrdom. In center, his conquest of the dragon; in border (beginning at upper left): his charity, his arrest, judgment, imprisonment, torture on the wheel, destruction of idols, further tortures and death. Russian ikon from St. George's monastery, Novgorod, 12th century.

mercenaries" and healers; Demetrius, the martyr of Thessalonica, invoked as a healer; the three "Holy Hierarchs," Basil the Great, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Theologian; St. Nicholas, the "Merciful," Bishop of Myra, the great opponent of the Arians, whose legendary life is full of charitable deeds and miracles; Methodius and Cyril, the evangelizers of the Slavs and translators of the Bible. In addition the Russian Church venerates especially the "Holy Fathers of All-Russia, Wonder-workers, Peter, Alexis, Jonah and Philip"; and St. Sergius, the aged hermit who gave his blessing to Dimitry Donskoy.

Among the peasants of some regions the cult of the saints is blended with primitive practices. To the saints are ascribed many of the characteristics of the water-sprites and spirits of forest and house in the pagan mythologies. God and the devil are in some regions in Russia identified with Byelbog, "the white god," and Chernobog, "the black god," respectively. Elijah is frequently invoked as a god of thunder, whose fiery chariot has taken the place of the chariot of the pagan Thunderer, Perùn. St. Blasius or Vlas has taken the place of the ancient guardian of cattle, Volos; and St. Nicholas is by some confused with a pagan deity, Kola.

E. THE CALENDAR. The church year begins in September; otherwise the religious calendar is similar to that of the Western church. The chief differences are the longer and stricter fasts and the great emphasis on Easter. In November the Christmas fast begins. The Great Fast (Lent) begins forty-eight days before Easter, during which time no meat, cheese, eggs or butter may be eaten. It is preceded by several weeks of repentance, confession and preparatory fasting. During this time Ancestors' Saturday is celebrated with prayers for all the departed who are awaiting judgment. The first Sunday of the Great Fast, known as Orthodoxy Sunday, is a celebration of the victory over the Iconoclasts in 842. The Fast culminates in Passion Week, from Palm Sunday to Easter.

Easter is "the feast of feasts." The celebration begins on Easter Eve, and at midnight the bells begin to ring, the holy doors are opened and the church is brightly illuminated, while the congregation assembles, each person holding a lighted candle, and forms a triumphal procession around the outside of the church, singing, "The Angels in Heaven, O Christ Our Saviour, sing thy Resurrection."



After Kondakov

161. Festival of the Venerable and Life-giving Cross, when wood of the Cross was carried at Byzantium to consecrate the spring and bathing pool. Above (in the doorway of a typical Russian church), Christ and the Virgin, John the Baptist, Chrysostom and Basil; below, the healing of the sick in the pool. Insert, seven Maccabean martyrs whose festival falls on the same day, with their mother and teacher. Russian ikon, 17th century.

Then the priest begins the Easter liturgy with: "Glory to the Holy, Consubstantial, Life-giving and Undivided Trinity, now, and ever, and unto ages of ages. Amen. Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down Death by death, and upon those in the tomb bestowing life." The liturgy culminates in the Easter kiss and salutation, "Christ is risen," and the response, "He is risen indeed," which is followed by the Catechetical Address of St. John Chrysostom, of which we quote a part, since it gives admirably the general spirit of Easter.

Enter ye all into the joy of your Lord; and receive ye your reward, both the first, and likewise the second. Ye rich and poor together, hold ye high festival. Ye sober and ye heedless, honor ye the day. Rejoice today, both ye who have fasted and ye who have disregarded the fast. The table is full-laden; feast ye all sumptuously. The calf is fatted; let no one go hungry away. Enjoy ye all the feast of faith: Receive ye all the riches of loving-kindness. Let no one bewail his poverty, for the universal kingdom hath been revealed. Let no one weep for his iniquities, for pardon hath shone forth from the grave. Let no one fear death, for the Saviour's death hath set us free.¹¹

After this service the long fast is broken by a hearty feast and general merriment.

The Sunday after Pentecost is All Saints' Day, after which a fast of several weeks begins, ending on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29). In August there is another fast preceding the Feast of the Falling-asleep of the Holy Mother of God (August 15, the Assumption of the Virgin).

F. MONASTICISM. Eastern monasticism is based on the work of Basil in the fourth century and is not divided as in the West into distinct orders. Basil established genuine monasteries, abolishing both solitude and idleness. This became the general rule for Eastern monks. In addition, they renounced private property, drink, the society of women and the reading of anything except canonical books.

During the Middle Ages and especially during the Tatar invasions, the monasteries became refuges and fortresses. The monks of many monasteries became excellent fighters and resisted the Tatars, Poles and other enemies. This fact endeared the monasteries to the people, and they became centers of pilgrimage and beneficiaries of

¹¹ *Service Book*, p. 235.

large gifts. The income of the monasteries was used extensively to support the work of the churches and charitable institutions.

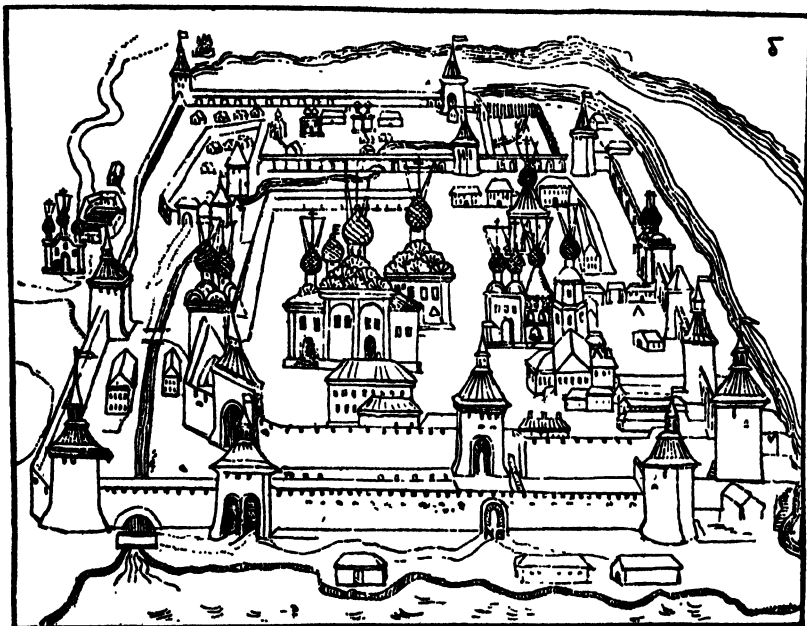
Most famous of the monasteries are those of Mt. Athos in Macedonia. This mountainous promontory is a republic of monasteries; monks of all Eastern nations organized their monasteries there and devoted themselves to simple agricultural toil and to an elaborate routine of devotions. It was a center of Greek ecclesiastical leadership as early as the tenth century, and in the fourteenth it became famous on account of a group of its monks, the so-called Hesychasts, who practised a hypnotic discipline similar to yoga and believed in the doctrine of an internal, uncreated light in man, which is the divine energy emanating from God. This mystic doctrine has been officially sanctioned by the Eastern Church, but it proved to be offensive to the Western and was one of the obstacles to the negotiations for reunion in the fourteenth century. In its prime many thousands of monks were assembled at Mt. Athos; now, however, it is dwindling in size and influence.

A more scholarly monastery was founded in Constantinople, called the Studium. It was the scene of Theodore's activities and one of the staunchest centers of opposition to the Iconoclasts. From it came many of the great hymns of the Eastern Church and many of the most beautiful medieval manuscripts.

In Russia the most famous monasteries and the most sacred places of pilgrimage are the Trinity Monastery near Moscow and the Pechersky Monastery near Kiev. The Trinity (*Troitsa*) Monastery was founded by St. Sergius in the fourteenth century. It owes its sanctity partly to reverence for this hermit saint and partly to the fact that this monastery became a famous military fortress and refuge. The Pechersky Monastery, the earliest and the largest of the Russian monasteries, was founded in the eleventh century by St. Anthony and St. Theodosius of the Studium Monastery. It was a center of strict ascetic discipline and was visited by as many as 150,000 pilgrims annually. The Russian Revolution destroyed monasticism and confiscated the monastic properties. The Trinity Monastery is now the seat of the Moscow Academy.

G. THE PRIESTHOOD AND THE SACRAMENTS. From the ranks of the monks and celibate clergy came the bishops and higher clergy. The parish priests, on the other hand, reflect an entirely different

mode and ideal of life. Since it is forbidden that a man marry after he has become a priest, and since it is regarded as desirable to have married priests, men who desire to become priests marry before they are ordained. If a priest becomes a widower, he usually enters a monastery. Priests are allotted modest households, and in agricul-

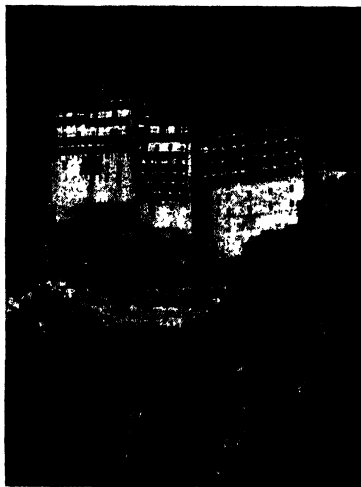


162. Monastery of St. Cyril at Bielo-ozero, founded in the 14th century on a site isolated by lakes and streams. The original buildings of wood were intended for hermit life in the area shown at the upper left. Gradually a communal life developed, and since the 15th century the monks have lived in stone buildings behind fortified walls. Engraving, 18th century.

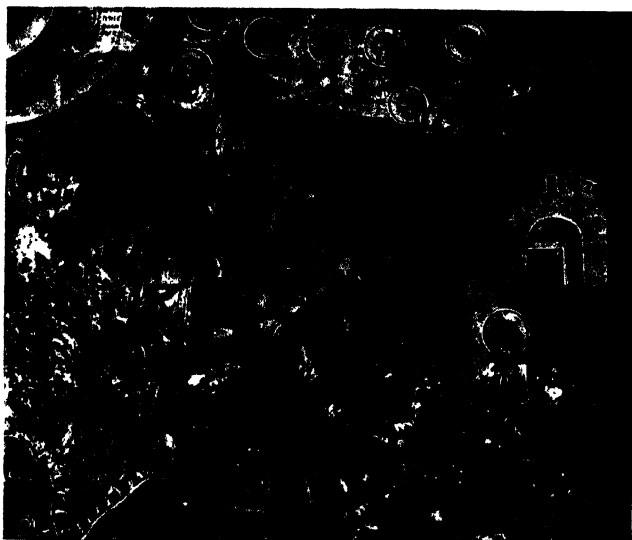
tural parishes they have small pieces of land which the parishioners are supposed to cultivate. As a rule, however, the priest cultivates his own land and may even engage in a trade. Thus a priest is intimately associated with the daily life of his parishioners, and through him the Church exercises an intimate influence over the people, and, conversely, the popular needs and desires are voiced by the priests. Most village priests, however, have a meager education and a slight interest in pursuing religious studies.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Photos by Perflieff

163. Monasticism at Mount Athos. (a) Hermit retreats in cliffs reached only by ladders. (b) St. Paul's Monastery, founded in 1050. (c) *Klimax* or "heavenly ladder" on which monks, assisted by angels and hindered by demons, attempt to climb by degrees of spiritual discipline to God. Fresco in a monastery of Mt. Athos, 14th century.

The seven sacraments, called "Mysteries," administered by the priests are: baptism, which is administered by immersion to either infants or adults; chrismation, the anointing after baptism as a symbol of the "gifts of the Spirit"; the eucharist; confession; holy orders of the priesthood; matrimony; and extreme unction, which is accompanied by prayers for recovery and is not, as in the West, used only for the dying but for the sick generally. No indulgences are granted by the Eastern Church, and confession is not so formal as in the Roman Church. In practice, the rites and sacraments of the Church may be given a mechanical and magical interpretation in those communities where superstitious beliefs and primitive culture predominate, or they may be given a mystical and devotional interpretation by the more pious, reflective and literate. Both types of religion flourish side by side, and it is misleading to interpret the whole religious life of the East either as superstitious or as profound mysticism. All varieties of religious experience, faith and fanaticism are exhibited in the East as in the West.

H. SECTS. Of the ancient heretical churches, the Coptic, Armenian, Nestorian and Abyssinian, we have spoken elsewhere. They are geographically distinct from the territory of the Orthodox churches and are representative of distinct national or local traditions. We must now say a few words about sectarian movements within the Orthodox churches, enough to indicate that some of the forces of religious dissent which have disrupted Western Christianity have also operated in the East. Illustrations of sectarian groups might be found in all the Eastern countries, but by far the most important are those in Russia.

The revisions made by the Patriarch Nikon in 1659 in the corrupt liturgical texts were the immediate cause of dissent. These distinctively Russian innovations led to early protests on the part of extreme conservatives, such as the Starobryadtsy, who refused to yield on even the most minute details of ritual, since they regarded every syllable as sacred, if not magically efficacious. Dissent grew into significant proportions in the days of Peter the Great (c. 1700), whose more general Westernizing reforms were the signal for revolt. Many patriotic and conservative Great Russian peasants and merchants regarded the liturgical reforms of Nikon as the entering wedge for all kinds of religious and social innovations from the

West. They not only refused to grant Peter his borrowed title of "Emperor" but came to regard him as the Antichrist. They repudiated the new service books of the National Church, the new calendar, the practice of shaving, the eating of potatoes, and in fact any and every innovation. These schismatics (Raskolniki) called themselves the "Old-Believers" (Starovyertsy) or merely the "Orthodox," since according to them it was the main body, the National Church, that had broken with the traditional or orthodox views. In view of their repudiation of the validity of the new rites, even that of consecration by bishops, the Starovyertsy soon found themselves in the peculiar position of a church without a priesthood. One party (the Popovtsy) agreed to accept, after a formal renunciation of the new forms, the priests who came over to them from the National Church, and later they secured an episcopal hierarchy of their own from the Balkans. The other party (the Bezpopovtsy) concluded that a legitimate priesthood had been rendered impossible and that during the reign of Antichrist they must dispense with all the sacraments, including matrimony, until the millennium should dawn. The former party, the Popovtsy, finally managed to establish themselves ecclesiastically and are now a recognized and fairly prosperous group which probably will merge with the National Church. Among the Bezpopovtsy many groups degenerated into fanatical and lawless sects, each seeking its own type of escape from a wicked world. The anti-social extreme was reached by the Stranniky (Wanderers or Tramps), who renounced everything that would bring them into contact with other people. Despite these groups, however, the Bezpopovtsy embrace a considerable element which maintains the conventional forms of Orthodox religion as well as it can without the priesthood and constitutes a respected part of Russian society.

There was a second type of dissent not motivated by adherence to ancient forms but beginning in the speculative and theological developments of the seventeenth century. It grew largely out of the individual doctrines of mystical leaders and to a certain extent paralleled the Protestant development in the West. Some groups had indeed definite connections with movements outside Russia, notably the Stundists, who are a direct product of a colony of German pietists near Odessa. They are similar to the German Baptists and live in semi-communistic agricultural societies. Others, however,

can not be traced definitely to Protestant origins. Among these are the Molokane, who arose in the eighteenth century, supposedly from the influence of an English physician in Moscow, and have the characteristic doctrines of Presbyterians. They rely entirely on the Bible for their doctrine, do not use the ritualistic forms of worship, interpret the sacraments as mere symbols and cultivate an evangelical form of piety.

The same speculative development, when joined with primitive elements still existent among the lower peasantry, yielded groups who insisted that their leaders were actually supernatural. As early as 1507 a "false Christ" appeared in Krakow, Poland, and by the end of the seventeenth century a number of leaders had been identified with Christ. Their followers called themselves *Lyudi Bozhie* or People of God, but they are more generally known as the *Khlysty* (the Whips or Flagellants) on account of their ecstatic practices. The *Khlysty* never achieved unity and broke up into innumerable groups known as "ships," following separate leaders. The members endeavored through rhythmic movements and stimulants of various sorts to identify themselves with the holy spirit of Christ, which they considered to be incarnate in their leaders. Among the better-known of sects similar to the *Khlysty* are the *Skoptsy* and the *Dukhobors*. The *Skoptsy*, eunuchs, practise self-mutilation or "baptism by fire" in order to bring about the "Kingdom of God," basing their belief on a literal interpretation of Matthew xix, 12. The *Dukhobors* (spirit-wrestlers) believe not only in a succession of Christs, but also that the reincarnation always takes place within one family, so that they have established what might be called a divine dynasty. The first reference to this sect was in 1767, and in the early nineteenth century they established a number of communistic agricultural societies under the leadership of Kapustin. Due to difficulties with the government, however, their center has shifted from Russia to Canada. They call themselves the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood. Among the lesser of the mystical sects are the *Bezsloveshehina*, the group of the dumb, who in honor of a martyr live speechless, and the sect of the Beatified Redeemer, who revere only one ikon and carry their reverence to the extremes of ecstasy.

There are several hundred sects listed in Russia, but the records are neither complete nor accurate. Most of the minor sects are not

stable, the lines between them are continually shifting, and often they are at the mercy of individual leaders. The great majority of the Starovyetsy, on the other hand, form a stable and respected group, differing little from the orthodox churches.

I. EASTERN CHRISTIANITY TODAY. Writers of the Eastern Church frequently refer to the nineteenth century as the beginning of the "Orthodox Renaissance," and they feel that a new life and fresh opportunity has recently animated the Church. The primary cause of this change was the cessation of persecution and the increasing cultural liberation of the Greek and Slavic nations. It is important to remember that, with the exception of Russia, the Orthodox Church has been the religious institution of oppressed peoples, and that the ideal of merely preserving itself and its people in the face of persecution has seemed for centuries to be its positive mission. Practically speaking, Orthodoxy has meant primarily religious resistance to foreign domination. With this motive more or less suddenly removed, Eastern Christianity is faced with a radically new situation. Its new task is to promote the personal piety and national culture in positive directions. Since the War this task is especially peremptory among the new national states, whose churches, though not established by the state, are consciously coöperating with the state in the attempt to give the new national institutions religious expression. Their chief danger now is the secularization of educational and charitable institutions and the spread of socialistic and communistic ideas among the urban proletariat. It is comparatively easy for the church to adjust itself to socialistic politics, but it can not afford to allow the intellectual and moral life of the people to receive its chief inspiration from purely secular or openly anti-religious sources. On the whole, especially in view of the predominant peasant population, the churches are being revitalized by their affiliation with the national states.

A new religious interest has also spread among the clergy. Traditionally the priests confined their attentions to their ritualistic functions and many were indifferent even towards these, being busied with their farms or living leisurely in genial society. The younger clergy, however, have taken a more serious intellectual interest in their religion and a more enthusiastic leadership in the moral and social life of the people. Schools of modern theologians, trained

largely in Germany, have developed both in the Greek and Russian Churches. In the Greek Church "brotherhoods" have been formed among laymen for Bible-study, and in many other ways there have been efforts to make the Christian religion a stimulus for study, for education and for moral cultivation. The following passage, written by a prominent Bulgarian theologian, may illustrate the Orthodox attempt at theological modernity.

Love-humility, conceived as a religious-mystic reality, as a grace of God, is conceived by the prophetic souls in the orthodox East as something which is also the creative and reformative world-energy or the real being of God. From it and only through it and, finally, only for it, will the final salvation come, the final transfiguration of the world, of all mankind: not through formalism, not through external discipline, not by force.¹²

Thinking and preaching of this type has given the Orthodox clergy a new conception of their religion and a fresh enthusiasm for making their church a positive force in modern society. In fact, the type of religious thought popularized by Tolstoi and Dostoyevsky is probably having more influence in Orthodox circles outside Russia than it has among the Russian people.

The Russian situation is somewhat different. From 1905 to 1917 there were various attempts to reform and revitalize the Russian Church in the directions indicated above, but the Revolution precipitated a crisis which the Church was not prepared to face. The Patriarchal Party, inspired by the policies of the Patriarch Tikhon, were finally willing to coöperate with the Bolshevik government and even agreed to sanction the confiscation of Church properties, though they regarded these events as the martyrdom of the Church. Their aim is to free the Church from political control over purely ecclesiastical matters. The Synod Party, comprising many of the more liberal and socialistic clergy, have been so preoccupied with political intrigues and with attempts to wrest the legitimate authority in the Church from the Patriarchal Party, that little has been accomplished towards those constructive religious reforms which they sponsor, such as sanctioning married bishops, adopting the Gregorian calendar and socializing the doctrines and institutions of the Church. The Synod Party, though it enjoys the confidence of the government,

¹² Stefan Zankov, *Eastern Orthodox Church*, p. 136.

is gradually being forced to ally itself with the Patriarchal in order to win authority in the eyes of the people. Meanwhile, the disestablishment of the Church, the complete secularization of education and the atheistic propaganda of the Soviets has undermined much of the power of the Church and much of its significance for the people. The monastic institutions are completely ruined. Various sects and Protestant denominations are said to be flourishing, especially in the South, but how far-reaching their influence will be in shaping Russian religion remains to be seen. There is evidence that many of the moral and religious troubles in Russia have arisen from local sectarian extravagances.

The Russian *émigrés* have fostered a tendency which has been growing throughout the Orthodox churches for several decades, namely, contacts and coöperation with Western churches. The Anglo-Catholic movement and the liberal scholarship of German theology have both aroused an interest in the East and have resulted in increasing fraternization. In 1922 the Patriarch of Constantinople and several authorities in other Orthodox churches admitted that Anglican orders are on a par with those of Rome. Official representatives of the Eastern churches have participated in the so-called "ecumenical" conferences on charities, on "Life and Work," on "Faith and Order" and even on the problem of "the Union of Christendom." Contrary to the Roman Church, the Orthodox churches are willing to admit the "economy" and even the desirability of having many independent churches coöperating toward a common goal, confessing a common Orthodox creed and recognizing "Christ alone as their head." Hence they aim at creating a "unity of spirit," not a single hierarchy. These "ecumenical" activities, as well as ecclesiastical rivalries among the Slavonic peoples, have intensified the differences between the Roman and the Eastern Catholic Churches.

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

A. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

I. THE PAPAL IDEA IN HISTORY. With the decline of the Roman Empire in the West and the rise of new kingdoms of the Vandals, Goths, Lombards, Franks, Celts and Saxons, the Latin Church tended to differentiate into various more or less independent and

isolated territorial churches. The new kings and feudal lords regarded the holders of church property within their conquered territories as their vassals and succeeded in creating new regional spheres of power. The lord, who was often a pagan or but newly converted, generally regarded the building of churches, collecting of religious dues and the filling of clerical offices in his domain as part of his affairs. He was prone to appoint kinsmen, so that many church offices, especially before the prevalence of celibacy of the clergy, virtually became hereditary possessions of a family. Under these circumstances bishops naturally sought to gain lands which they could administer as lords in their own domain with their own serfs, castles and soldiers. Church traditions and practices thus took on distinct features in different localities.

But the Latin Church inherited certain Roman institutions and imperial traditions that together with its own catholic ideals worked for unification. Among these were the Latin language, Roman jurisprudence and the provincial system of administration, which made it possible for the Roman pontiffs to cultivate archbishoprics as extensions of their power. In addition to these Roman traditions, the Church had its own ideal of a universal faith. The most ardent advocates of this conception were the missionaries, who often served not only to extend the faith of the Church but also to centralize its power. For since they labored in regions as yet under no specific ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they frequently turned for sanction and support of their efforts to the pope as having the most unlimited authority. Thus it happened that distant churches in England, Gaul and Germany were often more dependent on Rome than nearer ones (for example, Milan and Ravenna) that retained independent traditions. The whole of medieval society was a complicated patchwork, and the Church, like every other estate, consisted of numerous particular foundations connected by many individual ties with others both within and without any given kingdom.

The medieval papacy developed as its highest ambition the idea of uniting the spiritual power of the Church under its leadership and of bringing all temporal power under the control of this spiritual unity. But the papal office was itself exposed to all the conflicting currents of feudal politics and was often exploited in the interest

of a particular family or state. The popes until 1059 were elected to office "by the clergy and people of Rome," their election was confirmed by the emperor, and their interests extended into the domains of numerous other lords and kings, more or less constantly at war. In the eighth century, when protection against the Lombards was not forthcoming from the emperor at Constantinople, the papacy turned to the Franks for support, and in 800 the Frankish king Charlemagne was crowned by the pope and proclaimed Holy Roman Emperor. The supremacy of the pope was traced back to earliest times in a collection of decretals containing ingenious legal fictions. The papacy thus instituted a new empire in the West, which was to be the temporal organ of its supremacy, but it was neither able to make this new empire actually ascendant over other powers, nor to make the emperors subservient to itself. The German monarchs who became emperors, beginning in 912, for more than a century bestowed the papal office on their candidates. This new Cæsaropapism gave rise in the next century to the conflict between empire and papacy, as a result of which the right to elect the popes was closed in 1059 to all laity and reserved for cardinals of the Church, and in 1057 Gregory VII also denied the power to invest bishops with their emblems of spiritual office to secular authorities. The same pope further sought to elevate the priesthood above lay interests by decreeing thenceforth the celibacy of the clergy. The period after Gregory VII saw the temporal power of the popes at its height and culminated in the pontificate of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), whose famous bull, "Unam Sanctam," contains the words: "We declare, we say, we define and pronounce that to every human creature it is absolutely necessary to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff." In these two centuries the papacy raised enormous tributes, launched crusades and dictated to monarchs with more effect than ever before or since. Besides excommunicating individual enemies the popes used the more effective political weapon of interdicting Church services in regions whose rulers they wished to bring to terms.

The rise of secular absolutism and nationalism, however, put a check to this. From 1305 to 1377 the popes were Frenchmen and sought to escape Italian violence by living at Avignon. The reaction against this "Babylonish captivity" produced a schism, which lasted

*Photo Anderson*

164. Christ enthroned crowns a temporal sovereign. Mosaic in the cathedral of Monreale, Sicily, picturing King William II of Sicily (1166-89), who erected and endowed the cathedral.

from 1378 to 1417, when there were several rival claimants to the papacy. The period from 1417 to 1534 saw not only the Protestant revolts but also the establishment of independence from Rome by the Anglican Church and the securing of "Gallican liberties" by the Catholic Church in France. In the Counter-Reformation after 1534 a strong papal party appeared headed by the Jesuits, and the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs sought to regain Catholic territories. But the pro-Catholic monarchs of modern times have never been really subservient to the papacy. After the French Revolution the Church steadily lost temporal possessions even in predominantly Catholic lands, and in 1870 when the papal states in Italy were taken over by the Italian Kingdom, the pope declared himself a "prisoner" in the Vatican. He remained so until 1929, when by treaty with the Fascist Government it was agreed to recognize the Vatican precincts as an independent state and the pope as an independent sovereign.

Certain social, moral and religious consequences of the attempt to subordinate secular power to the Church will be noticed later. Here we are concerned primarily with its effects on the organization of the Roman Catholic Church. Though the popes raised enormous revenues and at times directed temporal power into various channels, they did not create a general social system. The pursuit of papal supremacy did, however, in its various vicissitudes eventually give to the Roman Catholic Church a unity of organization and freedom from secular control not paralleled elsewhere in Christendom on the same scale. The unity of organization is still qualified by important variations in different countries in the system of clerical appointments and jurisdiction, but the latitude allowed to local churches in these matters is now under the surveillance and regulation of the Roman curia. Certain countries still maintain some rights of the state in nominating candidates for clerical office and in matters of Church finance. For the most part, however, the local clergy and the Roman curia now control Church appointments and legislation; today they find their freedom impaired not so much by the attempt of secular powers to manage the Church, as by the secular invasion of spheres like education and morals which the Church has been accustomed to view as its own.

2. STRUCTURE OF THE CHURCH. Roman Catholicism regards the power of Christ as resident in the Church, which is the mystical

body of Christ. The invisible Church embraces the saints in heaven and the angelic hosts. While all the faithful on earth are considered members of Christ's visible body, equally responsible for their sins and saved by the same grace, it is maintained that Christ established an everlasting hierarchy of priestly offices to administer grace and to rule the Church. The priesthood comprises those empowered to offer public worship, administer sacraments, rule and instruct the faithful. Besides this priesthood the Church includes the laity and members of religious orders who live under special rules of poverty, chastity and obedience.

The clergy are ordained through the sacrament of holy orders, which must be administered by a bishop. The major or sacred orders are those of priest, deacon and subdeacon. With a few remaining exceptions in some of the Eastern Uniate Churches, all who receive these orders are nowadays vowed to celibacy. A priest receives the power "to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to bless anyone or anything, to rule a portion of God's flock, to preach the word of God, to administer the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, the Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction, and to unite in Matrimony."¹³ Deacons, subdeacons and the four minor orders of acolyte, exorcist, lector and porter in earlier times had important functions which have been transferred in part to other clerics, in part to laymen. They are generally conferred today as preliminary degrees during the course of study for the priesthood.

Besides this hierarchy of order, as it is called, there is the hierarchy of jurisdiction, which comprises the offices of Church government. Dioceses are governed by bishops, archdioceses by archbishops, while the pope has jurisdiction over the entire Church. These offices are filled by various kinds of election and appointment, in which laymen have in times past had important voice. It is held, however, that the offices of bishop and of pope were instituted by Christ himself, and that the elected candidate through consecration to his office rules with divine authority from on high rather than as a delegate of his electors. The office of bishop is derived from Christ's commission to his apostles, whose successors the bishops are, receiving and transmitting the divine commission by the laying on of hands. The papacy is traced back to Christ's words to Peter: "Thou art Peter

¹³ J. F. Sullivan, *The visible Church*, pp. 63-4.

(rock), and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." (Matthew xvi, 18-9.)¹⁴ Peter is claimed to have established the church of Rome and to have handed on the supreme authority to its bishop, who thus became head of the Church.

The papal jurisdiction in the Church today includes authority to legislate for the entire Church or for any part of it; the pope can censure any member, can reserve powers of absolution to himself, can dispense from any vow, and he alone can alter the number of dioceses and sanction religious orders. In 1870 the Vatican Council declared the pope to be infallibly guided by the Holy Ghost when defining a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church. It must be emphasized, however, that though the pope is theoretically responsible to God alone, in practice he customarily shares his jurisdiction and powers with the Sacred College of Cardinals and with his curia or court. The cardinals, besides being the electors of the pope (and during the last five centuries they have always chosen him from among their own number, though they are not bound to do so), may exercise many pontifical functions as representatives of the pope. The curia today consists first of the Sacred Congregations, which are a number of cabinet committees charged with the oversight of various aspects of the Church; for example, The Holy Office (doctrine, Index, etc.), Consistorial Congregation (churches, offices), Congregation of the Sacraments (sacramental law), Congregation of the Council (practical laws), Congregation for the Affairs of the Religious (religious orders), Congregation of the Propaganda (missions), Congregation of Sacred Rites (rites, canonization), Ceremonial Congregation (ceremonies of state), Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, and Congregation for the Oriental Church. The curia embraces also the supreme courts of the Roman Church: the Sacred Penitentiary, the Sacred Roman Rota and the Apostolic Signatura. Finally, it includes certain important administrative and diplomatic offices. It may be judged from this brief survey that, while in theory the government of the papacy is a

¹⁴ Some scholars regard this passage as a late interpolation.

theocratic absolutism, it has evolved in practice a bureaucratic system.

A supreme authority in the Church may also be exercised by ecumenical councils or assemblies of bishops representing the whole Church. The right to convoke and dissolve such councils is now reserved, however, to the pope, and it is provided that supreme power resides in the episcopal body only when "united to the pope as to its head."¹⁸

Among the present governmental powers of bishops a most important one is that of appointing the parish priests within their dioceses. A bishop's jurisdiction over his diocese also includes the power to enact laws, judge cases and impose penalties, though this is much more restricted than it used to be. For instance, bishops are no longer allowed to establish marriage impediments, irregularities or new feasts, all of which now fall under the general jurisdiction of Rome. The chief powers of bishops are now appointive and administrative. In exercising them the bishops are regularly assisted by a staff of diocesan clergy, headed by a vicar-general with the title Monsignor and usually including a board of consultors, a board of examiners for the clergy, a removal board, a matrimonial court, a censor of books, a committee of vigilance, the bishop's secretary and the diocesan attorney.

B. THE RITES AND SACRAMENTS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM. The diversity of the Western Church at the decline of the Empire is reflected in the different liturgies and rituals used in various places: the Greek, the Roman, Gallican, Celtic, Milanese and the Mozarabic in Spain. The Roman rite was taken to England by Augustine and spread thence into Germany and Gaul. Charlemagne promulgated it in his empire, and thereafter it became predominant in the West, assimilating, however, many features from the Gallican and other usages. Spain remained isolated longer because of the Moorish power. Even today some parts of the Mozarabic liturgy survive at Toledo. Milan likewise has kept distinct features of its old rite; and certain monastic communities are permitted variations. Otherwise a common Roman rite prevails. The *Roman Missal* gives the order for celebrating the mass; the *Roman Breviary* contains the Divine Office or daily prayers of the Church; while the *Roman Ritual* is

¹⁸ H. A. Ayrinhac, *Constitution of the Church*, p. 34.

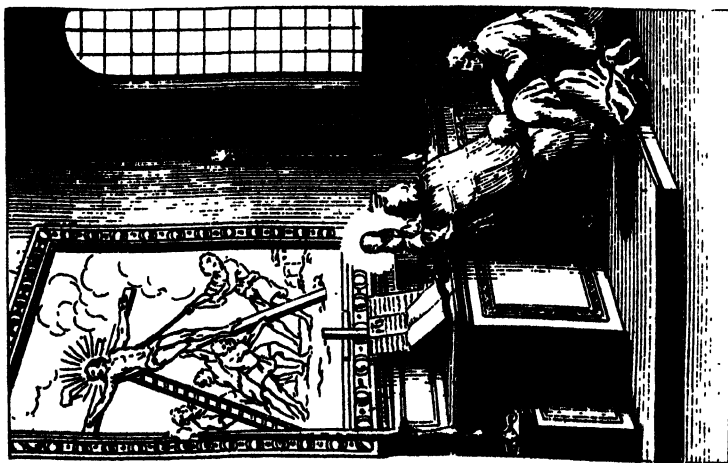
the priest's guide-book in administering the sacraments and bestowing blessings.

I. THE ROMAN MASS. The mass as celebrated in the Roman Church has less conspicuously than in the Greek the aspect of a divine mystery of union with Christ in the drama of passion and resurrection, but more emphatically that of a miraculous "unbloody sacrifice" reconciling man and God. The altar is generally in full view of the faithful. First comes the mass of the catechumens, which opens with prayers of contrition, supplication (Kyrie eleison) and praise (Gloria) during the Introit and incensing of the altar; it continues with a prayer appropriate to the particular feast (Collect) and with passages of instruction from Epistle and Gospel; and closes with sermon and Creed. Then follows the mass of the faithful, which begins with the offertory. The old custom during the Middle Ages was for the laity to bring to the Church their offerings of bread and wine, which the deacons collected at this point of the service and carried to the altar. The priest chants the offertory prayers, incenses the offerings and then washes his fingers in preparation for the most solemn part of the sacrifice, the Canon of the mass. Kissing the altar he asks God to bless a portion of the bread and wine which man has brought and make it "a holy and unblemished sacrifice." The ancient words of the Canon or Rule of Consecration are as follows:

Wherefore, O most merciful Father, we humbly pray and beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord, that Thou wouldst vouchsafe to receive and bless these gifts, these offerings, this holy and unblemished sacrifice.

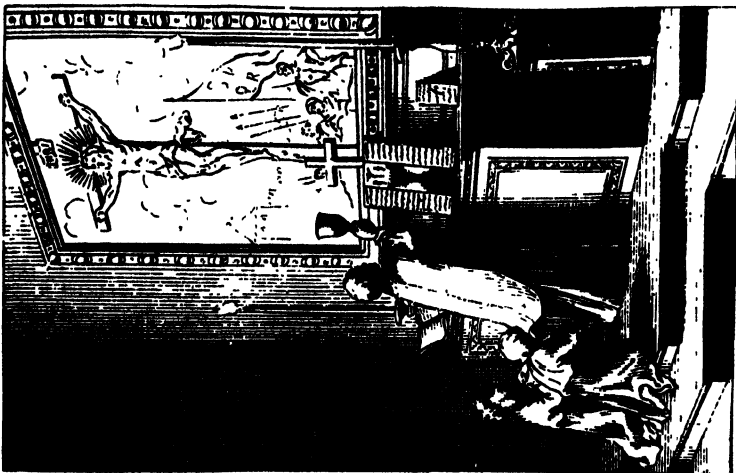
He asks that this be done for the sake of the Church and reads the Diptychs, that is, the names of particular saints and persons, for mass is always said on some particular behalf. Quoting the scriptural formulas of the eucharist, he elevates first the host and then the chalice to declare the miracle of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The priest breaks the host and drops a particle into the chalice, and the choir chants the *Agnus Dei*:

Lamb of God, Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.
Lamb of God, Who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy on us.
Lamb of God, Who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.



(a)

165. The Roman mass. (a) Adoration of the host. Corresponding aspects of the crucifixion are shown.



(b)

165. The Roman mass. (b) Elevation of the chalice. Corresponding aspects of the crucifixion are shown.

Thereafter he gives the kiss of peace and takes the communion. This part survives from the ancient *agape*, but the laity partake irregularly and only of the bread. If any of the laity are to receive the eucharist, the deacon or server recites on their behalf the Confiteor or confession of sins, and the priest gives them absolution just before they partake. The mass closes with the post-communion benediction and dismissal, the reading of John 1, on the mystery of the incarnation, and prayers of the priest at the foot of the altar.

2. THE DIVINE OFFICE. Besides the daily sacrifice of the mass liturgical worship in the Roman Church consists of the daily prayers and readings called the Divine Office. These arose from the early institution of regular public prayer and devotion at stated hours of the day and night, which came to be known as the canonical hours. The monastic communities which gave themselves up to a life of devotion tended to develop these offices in the direction of a system of perpetual prayer. Matins were said about midnight and lauds soon after; at daybreak, prime; then terce, sext and none at nine, twelve and three; vespers in the evening; and compline after dark. The liturgy for these offices was composed, first of all, from the Hebrew Psalms and other canticles of scripture, to which were added new hymns, prayers and litanies, the Creed, sermons from the Church Fathers and chapters on the saint or festival of the day. From time to time devotions instituted by individuals or special communities were taken over as they recommended themselves for the general use of the Church.

The prayers and worship of the ancient Roman Church were relatively plain, though eloquent in their use of Hebraic scripture. But by the close of the fourth century the services were being further enriched from Greek sources. Bishop Ambrose is said first to have developed antiphonal responses as used in the East at Milan. In the Arian controversy new hymns and chants were promulgated by both sides to spread their views among the people. Thus the Orthodox sang the Doxology. The spread of monasticism into the West likewise amplified the offices of the Latin Church, for many monastic communities spent most of their time in choir service. "Collegiate churches" developed, that is, churches with a chapter of canons or clergy specifically engaged in daily chanting of the Divine Office. Benedict, the monastic reformer who ruled that monks should

occupy at least four hours a day in seven periods of worship, had to shorten the customary offices of prayer to leave time for the manual labor he regarded desirable. Tradition connects the name of Gregory I with liturgical development, but the Gregorian chants are probably of somewhat later date. At the new Christian courts in Gaul, Germany and England a taste developed for impressive ceremonies and chants, which resulted in a more eloquent and dramatic liturgy. The Middle Ages produced a wealth of religious poetry and contributed many of the finest lyric passages to the *Breviary* and even to the *Missal*. Among the best known are such hymns as *Veni Creator Spiritus*, *Regina Coeli*, *Salve Regina*, *Dies Iræ*, *Stabat Mater*, and the fine hymns and masses of Thomas Aquinas. The litanies of the saints and of the Blessed Virgin were also elaborated.

3. THE ROMAN SACRAMENTS. The number of the sacraments long remained undetermined, but after the Council of 1215 seven were regarded as essential: baptism, confirmation, holy eucharist, penance, extreme unction, holy orders, and matrimony. Through these, man makes his essential offering of contrition and faith and receives in return the divine grace indispensable to his salvation from sin and death. The exchange requires a proper disposition, therefore, on the part of the worshiper and a correct performance of the priestly offices which God has established through the Church. But personal unworthiness of the priest does not impede the sacramental grace. The relatively elaborate rite which the Roman Church still uses in baptism reflects the full significance which early Christianity attached to this deliverance from evil powers into the bosom of the Church. The custom of total immersion was generally abandoned after the ninth century, but besides the vows of sponsors and the sprinkling with water, the rite still includes anointing with holy oil, exorcism and the application of salt, priestly breath, saliva and the stole. In confirmation one affirms allegiance to the faith and is anointed by a bishop with holy chrism. The holy eucharist is the communion with God through partaking of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine of the mass. The doctrine of transubstantiation was officially affirmed in 1215. The practice of carrying the eucharist in processions dates at least from the eleventh century; reserving it and exposing it for veneration apparently began somewhat later. Penance for the sins committed after baptism in early

times was regarded chiefly as an unfortunate necessity, namely, that of inflicting public punishment on flagrant offenders. But gradually this was replaced by a system under which all were required to make private confession to receive discipline and absolution. This system appears to have spread from Celtic practice after the sixth century, and thereafter Penitentials were written for the guidance of confessors. Extreme unction, the sacrament administered to the dying (which must not be confused with the funeral ceremony or requiem mass), besides containing prayers for the restoration of health, affords opportunity for a final confession, reception of the eucharist and anointing with oil. The sacrament of holy orders is the conferring of priestly powers. In matrimony, unlike the other cases, the ministers of the sacrament are the man and woman who receive it; the priest merely blesses their union and sanctifies it with other Church rites, such as the nuptial mass. The religious view of wedlock itself probably derives from pagan and more especially the old Roman marriage rites rather than from distinctively Christian sources. In the Middle Ages weddings were often performed before the church door but not inside the church.

The sacred materials used in these rites and many other objects blessed by the Church for devotional uses are called sacramentals. Such are crosses and crucifixes, holy water, holy oils, incense, candles, rosaries, priests' vestments and scapulars of the religious orders, church bells, the palms distributed on Palm Sunday and the ashes of Ash Wednesday.

C. WESTERN MONASTICISM.

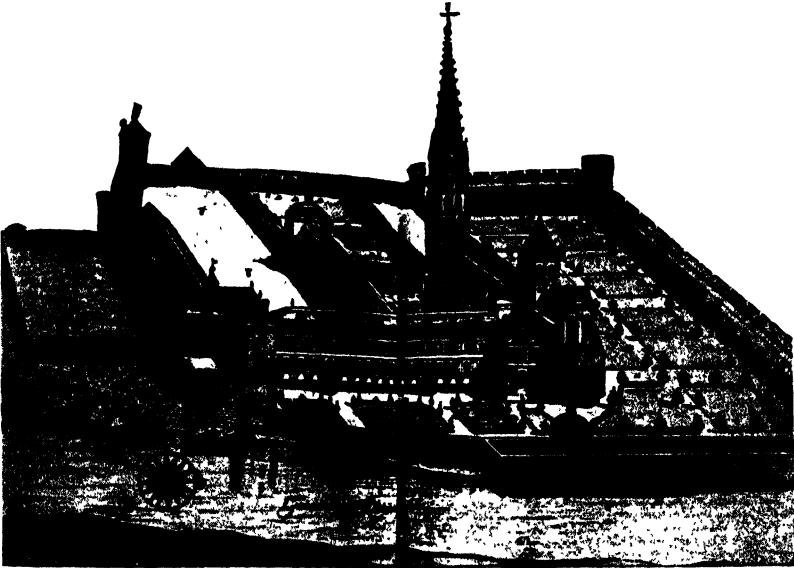
I. THE EARLY MONKS AND MISSIONARIES. Already in the fourth century some serious and eminent leaders of Latin Christianity, like Jerome and Augustine, had turned to the monastic life. Worldliness in the Church and increasing wars and disorders in the world led men to retire from civil society and seek refuge in monastic retreats. The island of Lerins off southern Gaul in 410 became a monastic refuge from invasion and was made famous by St. Vincent, Cassian and other men of learning. In the provinces further north, amid disruption and barbarity, monks soon became the mainstay of Christianity. St. Martin (316-96) abandoned his military career to become an ascetic leader in Gaul. Eighty recluses are said to have dwelt with him in caves by the banks of the Loire. Gaining a reputation

for wonderful works of saintliness and mercy, he became bishop of Tours by popular choice. St. Patrick (c. 380-461) in the next century preached in Ireland, and the distinctive Christianity developed there was largely promoted by Celtic saints (among them Finian, Kieran and the nun Brigid), who organized ascetic bands like native clans. Many of these ascetics traveled: Columba (d. 597) to Iona, Columban (d. 615) and St. Gall to Gaul, and Aidan (d. 651) to Northumbria. Their manner was rude and their asceticism harsh, but they successfully evangelized many heathen barbarians who were supplanting the Romans in these regions. The English missionary monks, Cuthbert (d. 687), Wilfrid (d. 709), Willibrord (d. 739) and Wynfrith or Boniface (d. 754), the latter two of whom labored in Germany, were in many ways the followers of the Celts, although they renewed their connections with Rome and increasingly accepted Latin standards.

2. THE BENEDICTINE RULE. These standards were spread from Italy by the Benedictine rule, which virtually set the norm for monastic communities in the West for many centuries. Its originator was St. Benedict (480-542), who founded a monastery at Monte Cassino in Italy and sought to regulate monastic life in a humane and useful manner. The monk took a life-long vow of obedience, poverty and chastity, and the rule commanded absence of private property, abstinence from meat except in case of sickness, and confinement within the monastic precincts. About four and a half hours of the day were reserved for public chants and prayers; about an equal time for obligatory manual labor; and a like period recommended for study or voluntary devotions. A similar rule, supposedly derived from St. Augustine, was adopted by the Canons Regular or Augustine Canons, who became the largest order in the West after the Benedictines. The Canons Regular were allowed more freedom of movement and often assisted in parish worship. But on the whole, Western monasticism for some centuries took the form of cloistered communities, where property was held in common and where systematic attention was given to devotions, study and productive labor. Both the Benedictines and Augustinians also established convents for nuns.

The main buildings and compartments characteristic of Western monasteries are illustrated in figure 166. The plan here is dis-

tinctly communal in contrast to the more scattered cells and units still to be seen in some Eastern monasteries. In the West, as in the East, medieval monasteries were often fortress-like. Some were built on imposing sites and were most impressive in construction. The abbey of Mont St. Michel in Brittany is a supreme example. Among



After Monasticon Gallicanum

166. Benedictine abbey of St. Savin near Poitiers, showing dormitory and refectory in foreground, behind it cloisters, abbot's dwelling and guest hall. At the right, the abbey church, gardens and fortified walls; at the left, stables and storehouses. The church was founded by Charlemagne. Contrast this communal organization with the relative individualism suggested by fig. 162.

other famous ones are St. Albans in England, St. Pierre of Ghent, Belgium, and Monserrat in Spain.

3. CLUNY AND MONASTIC REFORM. By about the ninth century the Western monasteries had very widely become corrupt. Rules were disregarded and more attention given to the acquisition of wealth and luxury by political subservience and extortion from the common people than to the religious life. These conditions called forth a series of reforming efforts, centering first in Aquitaine, where Benedict of Aniane (c. 817) undertook to revive the Benedictine rule,

and later (910) the House of Cluny was established by Berno and ruled with skill and firmness by him, his successor Odo (927-42) and other able abbots. The fame and influence of Cluny spread. Peter Damian in 1063 undertook to reform the Augustinians. Some reformers were not content, however, to restore the temperate rule of Benedict and the Canons, but founded stricter orders. The most famous of these are the Carthusians, established in 1086, and the Cistercians of 1098, who were soon made prominent by Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). The reform affected not only the monasteries but the entire life of the Church. The monastic ideal was viewed as the religious ideal. The whole priesthood was thenceforth required to be celibate, and the superiority of priestly office over temporal office was emphatically proclaimed. Pope Gregory VII, who announced this program, was the monk Hildebrand, inspired by the Cluny reforms.

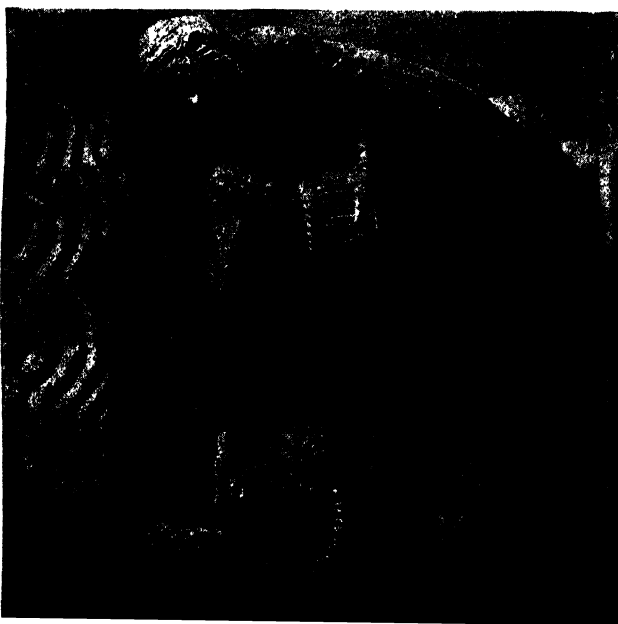
The next phase in the development of Western monasticism brought an extension of the monk's influence over popular imagination and devotion. It came with the establishment of the great preaching orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, in the thirteenth century. These new orders broke with the established monastic tradition of self-supporting cloistered communities, for their members went forth among the laity as mendicant friars to preach and to illustrate a life of self-effacing poverty. They arose less from the strictly monastic idea of retiring from the world than from new needs and religious sentiments which had arisen in the Christian laity. Their activities and accomplishments can best be described in connection with the developments in the lay communities which called them forth. The still later religious orders of the Reformation and modern period will also be discussed in their appropriate setting.

D. THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD.

I. THE CONVERSION OF EUROPE. The world at large could not be "religious" in the monk's sense of concentrated devotion to God. In fact, it seemed likely that most of the world was altogether lost in darkness and evil. God could not but reject it, yet his mercy was such that he had established channels of grace for the redemption of many, and Christian charity consisted in making these available wherever possible. The most obvious need in the early Middle Ages

was to bring grace to the heathen. These were so numerous that it took many centuries for the Church and the gospel to reach all even in western and central Europe. Christianity had been established in Roman Spain, Gaul and Britain well before the fourth century, but thereafter the new barbarian peoples that overran these provinces had to be converted. In the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries the Burgundians, Franks, Irish, Scots, English Saxons and Swiss accepted Christianity. In the next century the evangelization of the Frisians, Bavarians and German Saxons was pressed, but the conversion of the Saxons extended into the ninth and tenth centuries as well, during which time the faith also gradually spread among the Danes, Swedes and Norwegians in the north, and the Moravians, Bohemians, Poles and Hungarians to the east. The Pomeranians, Prussians and Slavic peoples on the eastern Baltic were not reached until the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Lithuania being the last country officially to renounce paganism (in 1386). In most of these countries the masses accepted the Church system passively as something introduced among them from without by the decision of rulers and leaders. When the world was thus gained by the conversion of multitudes, it was inevitable that many of their ways, both secular and religious, should be brought into the Church.

2. FEUDAL SOCIETY AND THE ECONOMY OF REDEMPTION. Fighting prevailed as the habitual way of the feudal nobleman among the Christians as among the heathen. Power and dues were the basic terms of feudal relationship. The recognition of power involved giving dues, while non-recognition entailed enmity. The growth of social stability meant the emergence of a fixed hierarchy of powers and estates. The limitations of medieval economy made it relatively easy to determine by natural necessity what the proper or just dues of various estates were. While the Church had certain conceptions of a different nature in its tradition (such as those of peace, equality, purity, etc.), its system easily adapted itself more and more completely to these facts of worldly society. If the layman could not give his all to God, like the monk, he might at least give the dues proper to his estate. The Church, as administering God's law in the canon courts, undertook to say what these dues were. The system of penance with its penalties and indulgences became in time assimilated to this system of dues. Of course, nothing that the layman could



167

167. The offerings of Cain and Abel. The hand of God descends from the clouds in benediction and acceptance of Abel's offering. Romanesque capital from church of Moitier-St.-Jean, 12th century.



168

168. Saint Martin cutting his cloak to share it with a naked man. From church of St. Martin, Salamanca, 13th century.

give to the Church was sufficient for his salvation. God's power being unlimited, he had an infinite claim which no vassal could satisfy. Only because God was willing to sacrifice himself again and again and in his mercy gave men more than they deserved, could they be redeemed from his just enmity and condemnation. But to merit and receive this redemption it was at least necessary for men to give such fealty as they could.

The possibilities of penance and payment were considerably enlarged by the belief in a purgatorial fire after death and the desire to alleviate its sufferings. It was not an easy matter in practice to draw a sharp line between the saved and the damned, for within as without the Church there were all degrees of sinners, the majority of whom possessed souls which needed purification before they could enjoy the peace of heaven. And it was only natural to suppose that works of piety and prayer performed in this life might reduce the severity of purification after death. The Church, therefore, extended its system of indulgences to include the penalties of purgatory as well as the penalties of canon law. Later the system was still further extended to give opportunity for the living to help the souls of their deceased relatives or friends in purgatory by means of their intercession or by endowing professional intercessors. Thus purgatory served to fill the gap between the trials of this life and the final day of judgment.

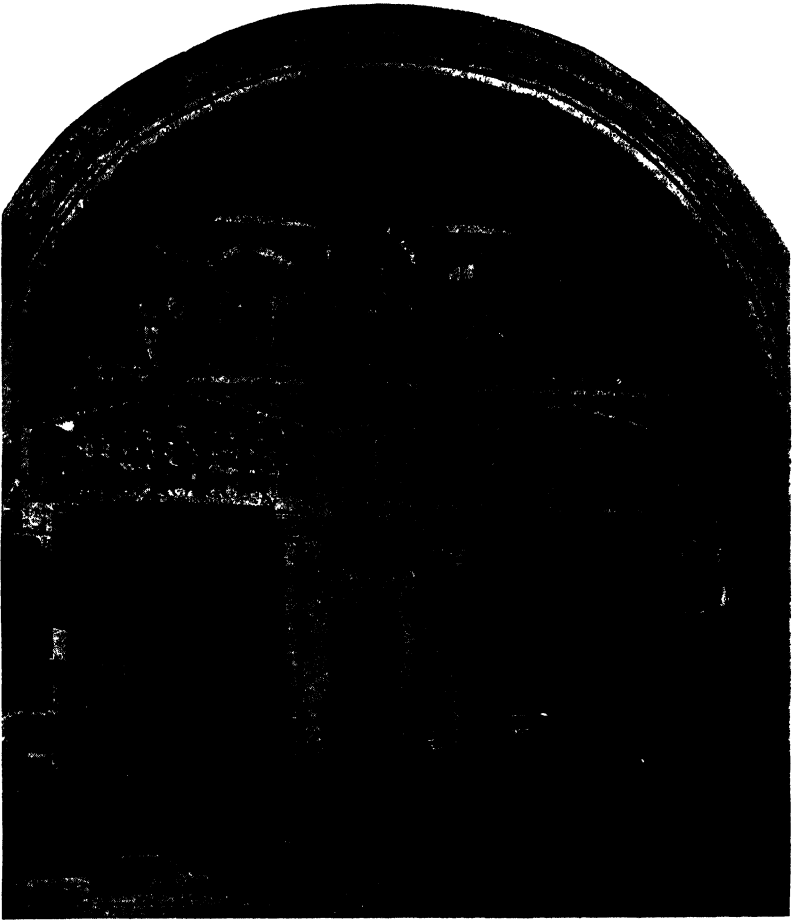
God's purpose was not to allow the world to go on forever in its mixed condition. Its end would come with the return of the Lord, not as savior but as final judge, to take the faithful into the eternal church of the saints in heaven and forever to abandon the unfaithful to the eternal torments of hell.

3. CHURCH IMPERIALISM. The battle of vices and virtues in the soul must continue, of course, until the end of time, and the incessant fighting in the world was readily interpreted by the Church as a phase of the continued struggle between good and evil. But this interpretation became increasingly embarrassing, since private warfare between Christians was both difficult to justify and becoming more and more obnoxious to society. About 990 the Church began an attempt to curb it, known as the Truce of God or Peace of the Church. It appeared first in France and was supported by the House of Cluny, then spread rapidly into Flanders, Germany and Italy.

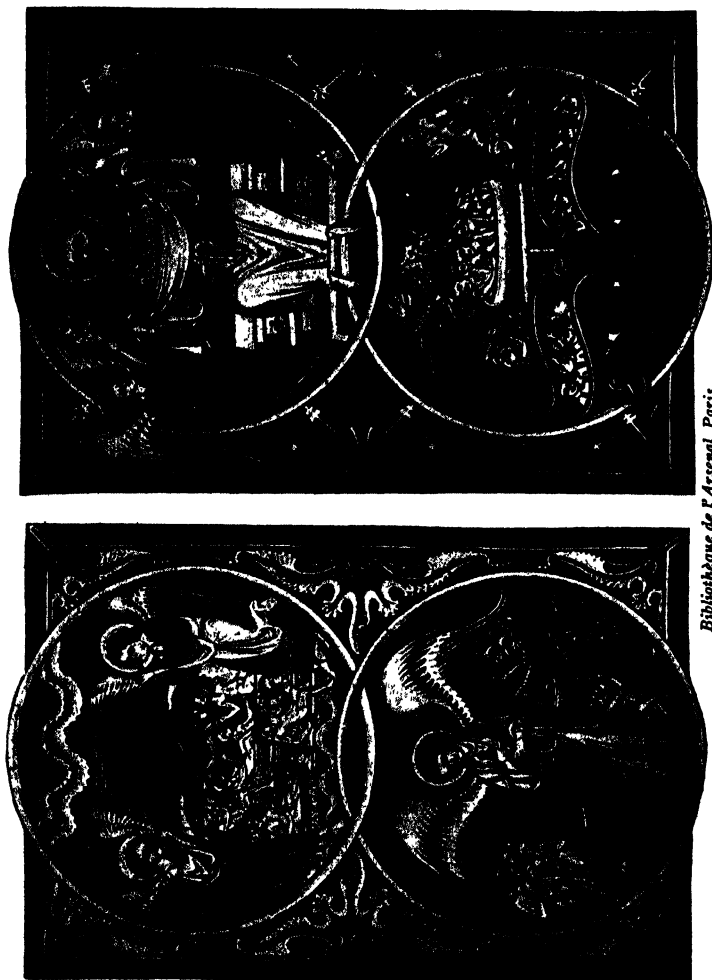


Museum of Messina

169. The Redemption. Wood crucifix, 14th century.



170. The Last Judgment. Above, Christ in the nimbus receiving the blessed, led by St. Peter, at his right, and condemning the wicked. at his left, where angels with book, scales and sword deliver the damned to devils. Below, at Christ's right, the portals of the Church Triumphant with souls in Abraham's bosom; at his left, the jaws of hell with the damned in torment. Below the figure of Christ is represented the resurrection. West portal, Conques, 12th century.



Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris

(b)

(a)

171. (a) Resurrection and Judgment; (b) Salvation and Damnation. From the Psalter of St. Louis and Blanche of Castille, 13th century.

Regulations prohibiting private warfare between noon on Saturdays and prime on Mondays, as well as during Lent, Advent and several major festivals, were passed by many local synods and widely supported by lay rulers. The growth in the ambitions of the Church and in the common consciousness of Western Christendom was less fully revealed in the desire to curb fighting among Christians than in the attempt a century later to unite their forces in crusades to the Holy Land. The first of these was launched in 1095, and seven others (not including the Children's Crusade in 1219) took place between then and 1270. Whereas the first crusade was summoned by Pope Urban II, who granted a plenary indulgence to all who took part, and the second in 1147 was inspired by the eloquent St. Bernard, the others were promoted chiefly by lay monarchs and soldiers and to some extent by commercial interests. Several important military religious orders arose in the crusades. The most famous were the Templars and the Teutonic Order of Knights, both of which attained great power and wealth. The latter effected the conquest of Prussia for Christianity in the thirteenth century.

Both the Church and the world in Europe now teemed with new energy and ambitions. Worldliness grew apace with the added stimulus of Eastern luxury and refinement. The horizons of local communities were expanding; towns were growing up, especially in Italy; the fixity of estates and classes was beginning to break down. Great monarchs invaded the sphere of local nobility from above, the middle classes from below. There was much dissatisfaction with the aggrandizement of feudal churches and aristocratic monasteries governed by lordly bishops and abbots as local princes enjoying the revenues of salvation.

The papacy developed a program for reforming and consolidating the Church. The clergy were to be celibate and independent of secular control as far as possible. The bishops and archbishops were to be responsible to the pope, and in general the hierarchical structure of the priesthood was affirmed more than ever. All denial of priestly authority was condemned. The system of penitential revenues was not relaxed but was even extended by the papal program. To support the central administration, its ambitious policies and imperial magnificence, Rome now issued frequent and extensive indulgences which no longer bore much relation to the earlier con-

ception of just dues, but were justified as ways of accumulating abundant merit.

4. LAY DISSENT, THE MENDICANT FRIARS AND "MODERNA DEVOTIO." A radical current of dissent from Church imperialism and worldliness appeared in the rise of lay sects (chiefly among the middle classes), which denied the claims and dues of the hierarchical priesthood and emphasized a return to the primitive leadership of Christ. The layman himself was urged to lead a life of simple poverty and asceticism, to preach the gospel, hear the confession and cure the soul of his brother. Some of these sects, like the Waldensians founded by Peter Valdo of Lyons in 1177, were entirely within the fold of Latin Christianity in their ideas, while others like the Cathari and Albigensians were influenced by the Gnostic-Manichæan doctrines of the Bogomils, an early sect which had spread westward from Bulgaria by the eleventh century. These Cathari held that matter was evil and they aspired to salvation not by the imperfect sacramental penances of the Church, but by the *consolamentum* given by their apostles, who were "perfect" in poverty and asceticism.

The most successful development in the Church, however, for expressing the new religious life of the time was the orders of mendicant friars established by St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) and St. Dominic (1170-1221). Dominic was a noble Spaniard who studied theology and became an Augustinian Canon in the cathedral church of Osma. Going to Rome with his bishop, he was charged by Pope Innocent III to preach among the Albigensian Cathari. From about 1205 to 1215 he traveled about the country barefoot, in utter poverty, preaching, teaching and disputing with the heretics. Francis was the son of a rich merchant and his mother is said to have come from the French nobility of Provence. He cultivated aristocratic companions, but after doubtful success in military exploits and a prolonged illness, he became retired and contemplative. His distaste for his father's business and acute difficulties with his father over economy led him to become a recluse and mendicant. He may have encountered Waldensian influence, and about 1209 he renounced all worldly possessions in accordance with the Gospel teaching of poverty. Thereafter he wandered in the villages and country, preaching and singing, working in the fields or begging for

his food. When twelve companions had joined him in poverty, they went to Rome and secured permission from the pope to continue preaching. Both Dominic and Francis renounced worldliness for ascetic poverty; both preached among the laity instead of retiring to cloisters; both were orthodox and recognized priestly authority.

Dominic visited Francis and was moved by the simplicity of his



Louvre

172. Saint Dominic receiving scepter and book for his order from St. Peter and St. Paul. Fra Angelico, c. 1430.

surroundings to decide that the rule of the Dominicans, drawn up about 1220, should provide for corporate poverty of the order as well as individual poverty. It was thought that Francis and his followers might unite with the Dominicans, but this they refused. Dominic was a theologian and teacher; Francis, a poet saint and mystic, who retired more and more into seclusion. In the retreat of La Verna the year before his death he is said to have received the stigmata. Francis prohibited even the possession of books by his followers, but after his death Gregory IX, who had befriended him, the lay brother Elias and others drew up rules which, while



173. The Dominican mission. Beside the Cathedral of Florence at the left are seated the Pope, Emperor and bishops watching over the faithful, represented in part by sheep that lie at their feet. At the right, Dominic, Peter Martyr and Thomas Aquinas preach to the infidels and heathen; the wolves of heresy carrying off the sheep are attacked by dogs (the *Domini canes*). Above at the right are scenes in the Earthly Paradise. A Dominican points to the gate of heaven, which the saved enter as little children. At the top, Christ with the lamb on the altar at his feet; about him the angelic host, with the Virgin at his right. Fresco in Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, 14th century.

*Louvre*

174. Saint Francis receiving the stigmata. Below, St. Peter shows Pope Innocent III in a dream that Francis is supporting the falling Church; the Pope sanctions the Franciscan rule; Francis preaching to the birds. Attributed to Giotto, 14th century.

they alienated most of the "spiritual Franciscans," guided the power which the dead saint exercised over the imagination into channels of a preaching and teaching order much like that of the Dominicans. The rules were in time modified so that both orders might have corporate property; both developed secondary orders of nuns; but neither became cloistered. And finally, both developed tertiary orders of laymen who wished to take limited vows of poverty and increase their religious devotions. These lay brotherhoods and sisterhoods proved a most important means of spreading instruction among the laity and of developing new forms of popular religion alongside the priestly liturgical worship.

Religious societies of laymen developed outside of the tertiaries and cultivated a new type of piety, called *moderna devotio*. A noted instance was the Brethren of the Common Life, founded in Holland by Gerard Groot and distinguished for its work in the education of children. One of its members, Thomas à Kempis, in 1441 wrote the *Imitation of Christ*, which is perhaps the best known of the new devotional books. This literature was written for private use, and one of its most popular forms was a new kind of book of hours, composed for systematic private devotions and differing radically from the liturgical books.

Thus the world, though not cured of its worldliness, was being more fully penetrated by the power and inspiration of the Church. At the outset of the Middle Ages the Church, enveloped in a relatively barbarous world, extended a system of redemption from damnation but was often unable to redeem its institutions from barbarism. Now its powers and those of the developing European society were so interfused that the common life was being elevated into a new civilization flowering and expressing itself in the Church. The way in which the wayward asceticism of a mendicant could be transmuted into the ideal figure of St. Francis and give rise to institutions of permanent value and nobility is a striking instance of the change. That the combination of churchly and worldly power retained its sinister side was shown in the fury with which the Albigensians were exterminated after the failure to convert them and in the Inquisition which the papacy established in 1252 to pursue heretics further. But that it was also a creative and inspired combi-

nation of power can be seen today in the shrines, the literature and the art with which these centuries glorified their major devotions.

E. THE SAINTS AND THE CALENDAR.

I. SAINTS AND THEIR POWERS. The saints in heaven continue to dwell with the Church on earth in their feasts, their miracles and their patronage. From the ancient feasts at the tombs of the martyrs the Church developed the practice of consecrating every altar with relics of some saint. Miracle-working shrines and relics became the objects of pilgrimage. A notable instance today is the shrine of St. Anthony of Padua. In earlier times practically every country district had its local saints of healing and protection (see fig. 175). Localities, individuals and groups of every sort adopted special saints as their patrons. Anthony of Padua, Mark of Venice, Genevieve of Paris, Wenceslas of Bohemia, George of England, Patrick of Ireland are examples of local patrons. Intimate prayers for special favor could more readily be addressed to one's own saint than to the universal God, and the saint's power to secure divine blessings for his devotees was evidenced by his miracles.

Special callings and aspects of life were also brought under the patronage of appropriate saints, and in course of time this served to make the celebration and devotions of the Church a very rich and concrete expression of the diverse needs, interests and ideals of men. Hubert, the patron saint of hunters, Cecilia of musicians, Catharine of theologians, François de Sales of journalists and in recent times Louis Gonzague as patron of youth and chastity are some examples.

Among the saints universally venerated in the Roman Church the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Joseph and St. John the Baptist are of first importance through their close relation to Jesus. Among the most prominent others are the four evangelists; Peter and Paul of the apostles, because of their connection with Rome; of early martyrs, Stephen and Lawrence; the archangel Michael as heavenly captain of the armies of the Church; the penitent Mary Magdalen; Nicholas and Martin for their works of charity and in modern times Vincent de Paul; Louis IX, the chivalrous crusading king of France; Bernard among the monks; Francis of Assisi; Dominic; Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuits; and among the women mystics,



175

Photo Levy et Neurden

176

After Leidinger

175. Breton saints of healing. Lubin is invoked for all afflictions, Mamert for intestinal disorders, Meen for insanity, Hubert for dog bites, Livertin for headaches and Houarniaule to dispel fear. 176. Christ casting out devils, which enter nearby swine. Illuminated manuscript of the Gospel, German, c. 11th century.

Catherine of Siena and Teresa of Spain. Among the doctors, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas have great authority, but their veneration as saints can not compare with that accorded the foregoing.

2. THE CULT OF THE VIRGIN AND THE HOLY FAMILY. In many of these cases devotion and imagination have developed the lives

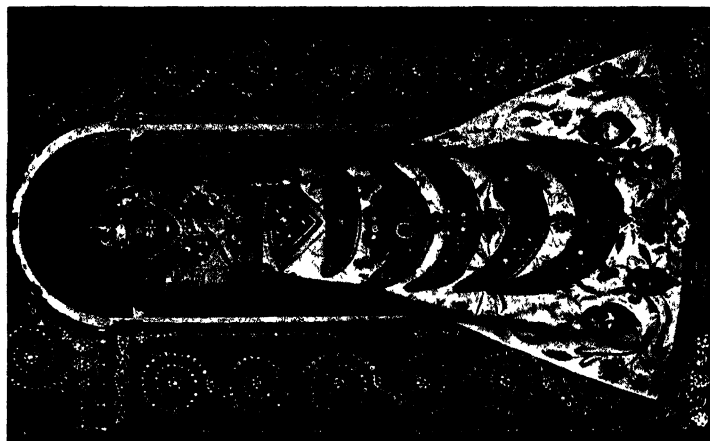


177. Image of saint being carried in procession through the streets of a medieval village. Painting by Peter Breughel the Younger, *c.* 1620.

and cults of the saints into major sources of inspiration and power. But the supreme instance of this is the veneration of the Queen of Saints, the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Eastern Church had early elevated her as Mother of God to a position as close as possible to the Trinity. The feasts of the Annunciation (March 25) and Purification (February 2), then of her death and Assumption (August 15) and lastly, of her Nativity (September 8) had come into the West from the East before the seventh century. To these festivals, which honor Mary primarily as mother, the Western Church has added a particular veneration of her purity and virginity. A festival called

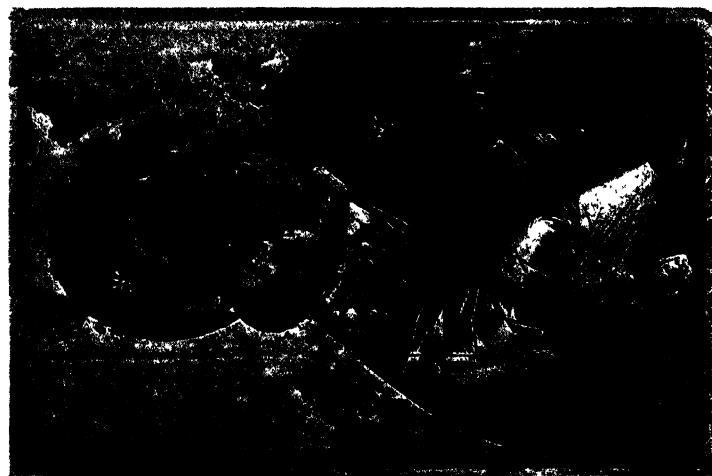
*Cairo Museum*

(a)

*Loreto*

(b)

178. Madonnas. (a) Coptic, 6th century. (b) Cedar-wood image at the Santa Casa of Loreto, Italy, c. 13th century.



Moscow

(c)



Louvre

(d)

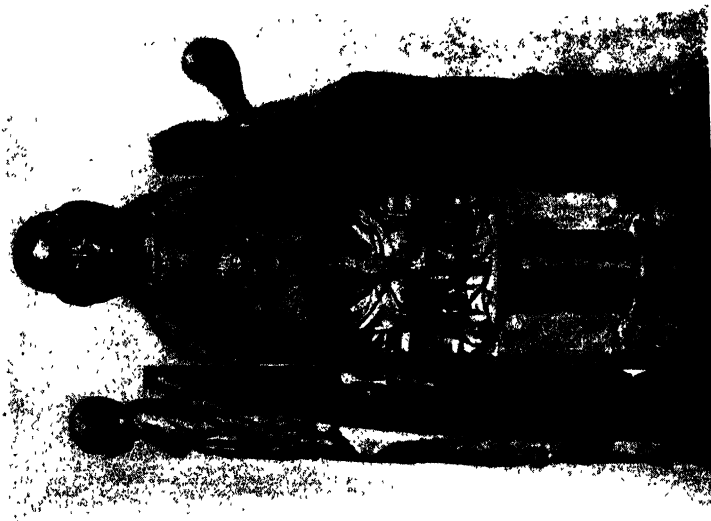
178. (c) "Our Lady of Vladimir," 12th century Byzantine (see p. 342). (d) Painting by Baldovinetti, 15th century. Both (b) and (c) are miracle-working images and are claimed to be essential likenesses "after the original by St. Luke."



179

British Museum

179. Death of the Virgin. Christ receiving her soul and the apostles mourning. Byzantine miniature from an illuminated Gospel. 12th century. 180. Representation of the Trinity enclosed in an image of the Virgin. French wood carving.



180

Musée Cluny

the Conception of the Virgin was early observed by some churches in both East and West. Originally it probably celebrated her conception of Jesus, but in time Eastern theologians began also to glorify Anne's conception of Mary. Western Churchmen, particularly among the monks, were much devoted to the idea of the perpetual virginity and purity of Mary, but even such an enthusiastic adorer as Bernard doubted whether this should be celebrated by a festival in honor of Mary's conception by Anne. The Franciscans, however, adopted such an office in their worship, their doctor Duns Scotus formulated the doctrine that Mary was immaculate, that is, received no taint of original sin from her conception, and finally in 1854 Pope Pius IX instituted the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) as universally obligatory.

Scarcely less significant than these major holidays of the Virgin are the lesser feasts of her Name, Visitation, Presentation in the Temple, her Seven Dolors and the Holy Rosary. The last is a prayer in which are repeated *Ave Maria* (Hail, Mary) and passages of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and Gloria. It began as a private devotion, but it became extremely popular, and when the victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 was credited to its recitation, a feast was instituted in its honor. Numerous apparitions of the Virgin in particular places and special aspects of her power, as Mediatrix of all Graces, as Mary Help of Sinners and as Our Lady of Ransom, are also celebrated. The great shrines raised in her honor in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the cathedral of Chartres, show her dignity and significance in its finest aspects as Mother, Virgin, Heavenly Queen and Lady of Mercy, the chief intercessor on our behalf at the throne of Christ.

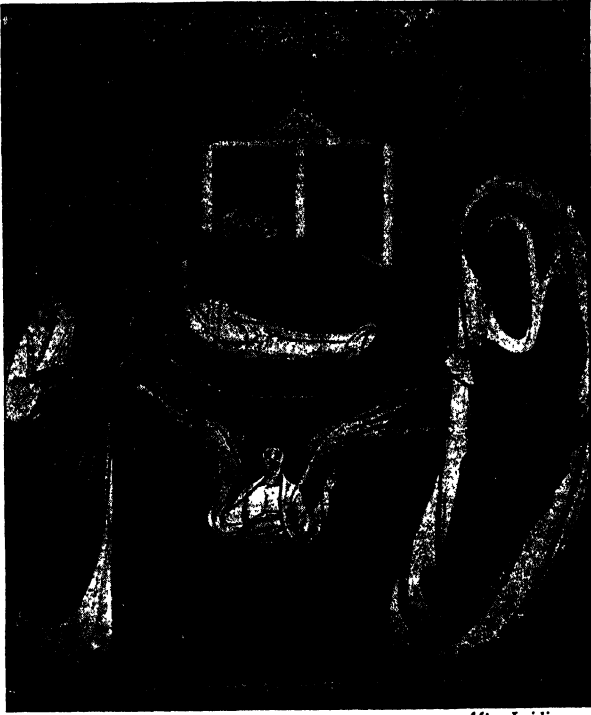
Next to the Mother of Jesus, St. John, who baptized him, and St. Joseph, his foster-father, have been exalted to high veneration. John the Baptist has been prominent in the imagination of the Church throughout the ages, while the position of Joseph until modern times was relatively inconspicuous. An office was read in his honor and many leaders during the Middle Ages gave him their private devotions. About the sixteenth century many religious orders began to keep the nineteenth of March as St. Joseph's day, and soon after some of the Hapsburg emperors and Spanish kings became devoted to his cult. In 1621 Gregory XV made his festival

obligatory, and since then the veneration of St. Joseph has become increasingly popular. In 1870 Pius IX conferred on him the office of Patron of the Universal Church. The patriarchs of the Old Testament are also reckoned among the saints, since Christ redeemed them when he descended into the lower regions, but no cult of them has developed.

The four evangelists are often represented iconographically by their symbols: a man or angel for Matthew, a lion for Mark, a bull for Luke, and an eagle for John.

3. THE CHURCH CALENDAR. Besides Sundays and the feasts of martyrs the earliest holidays to be observed by the Church were Easter and Pentecost, then Ascension Day and Epiphany. The resurrection and the outpouring of the Spirit upon the apostles were the great facts to be celebrated. The fasts and preparations for Easter during the weeks of Lent next became important as the instruction and purification of catechumens occupied a larger place in the Church. Catechumens were usually baptized at Easter. In the fourth century the celebration of Christ's nativity was transferred in Rome from Epiphany (January 6) to Christmas (December 25). Perhaps the influence of pagan holidays here made itself felt, after Constantine had given official support to Christianity. The festival of All Saints developed upon the inclusive commemoration of all martyrs which was instituted in the seventh century when the Church converted the Pantheon in Rome into a chapel. The offices which monks held on behalf of their departed brethren resulted after the tenth century in the festival of All Souls. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Corpus Christi, celebrating the sacrament of the eucharist, and Trinity Sunday were added to the major holidays of the Church.

These holidays have been elaborated by the Church into an ecclesiastical year which celebrates the life of Christ as the epitome of human existence and its redemption. The year begins with Advent, four Sundays before Christmas. This period prepares for the coming of the Messiah by repentance and renewal of hope. Isaiah's prophecy of a redeemer is read. Purple vestments and altar cloths, denoting penance, are used. The Feast of the Immaculate Conception and one of the four seasonal or Ember Day fasts fall within this period. Christmas celebrates the Savior's birth, the coming of



(a)

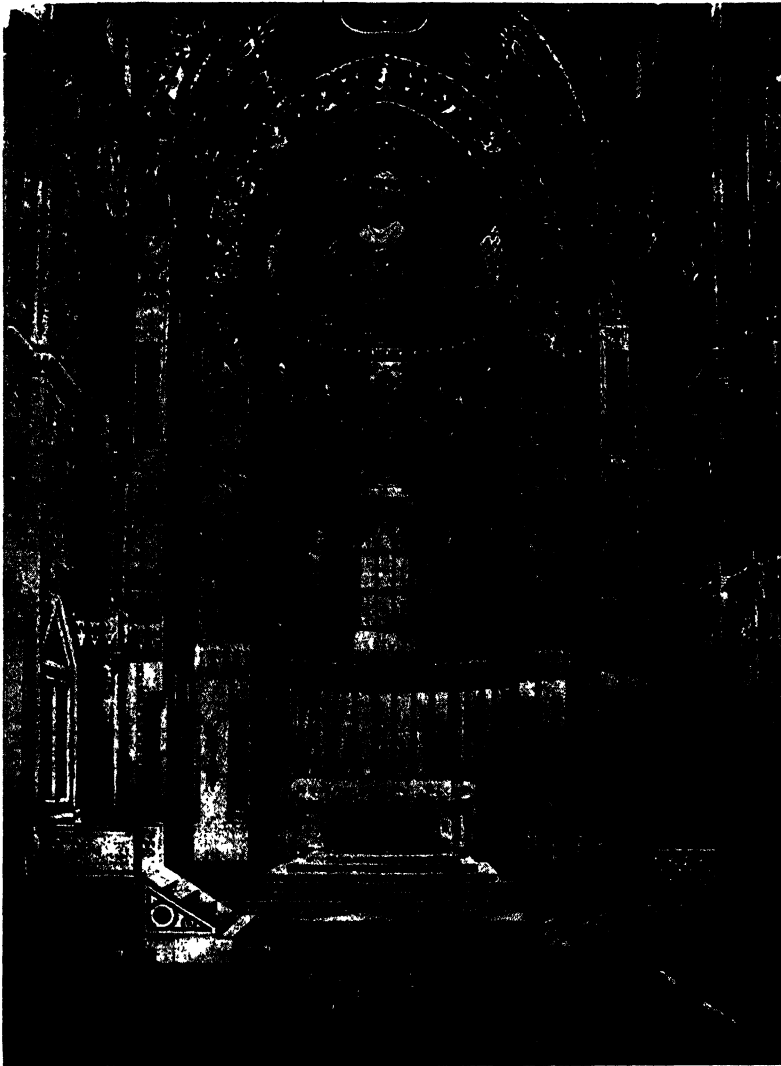
After Leidinger

(b)

181. The Nativity. (a) The Holy Family, angels, ox and ass at Bethlehem. Miniature in a German manuscript, 11th century. (b) Adoration of the Christ-child. Modern Swedish painted fabric.

the light of the world, and inaugurates a period of rejoicing during which the child Jesus is glorified in the feasts of his Circumcision (January 1) and Epiphany or manifestation. White, denoting purity, innocence and glory, is used. On Septuagesima Sunday, nine weeks before Easter, there begins a period of instruction on the human pilgrimage, with lessons from the parables of Jesus. On Ash Wednesday, forty days before Easter, the period of Lenten fasting begins during which the temptation and the sufferings of Jesus are recalled, leading up to the theme of his final sacrifice celebrated during Passion or Holy Week with special masses and penitential services commemorating the incidents from his triumphal entry into Jerusalem to his death and resurrection. Purple is used in this time, except on Good Friday, the day of the crucifixion, when black is used. The celebration of the resurrection and the triumph of Christ begins on Easter Sunday and continues until Pentecost or Whitsunday, fifty days later. Ascension Day is the fortieth day of the period. White is used, except on Pentecost and its octave, when red, the color of fire, is used in celebrating the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. Trinity Sunday is the Sunday after Pentecost, and on the Thursday following, Corpus Christi is celebrated with a procession bearing the holy eucharist. The Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus occurs on Friday after the octave of Corpus Christi. The ornaments of all these festivals are white. The time from them to the next Advent is occupied with the theme of renewed pilgrimage, during which green ornaments are ordinarily used to denote the growth of the Church, except in the masses of saints and martyrs which are offered in white and red vestments. The festivals of the Transfiguration, the Precious Blood of Jesus and the Assumption of the Virgin fall within this time.

The Sanctoral cycle or calendar of saints' days combines with the above cycle of feasts celebrating the redeeming life of Christ. In the Middle Ages the number of local and patron saints became so numerous and their veneration so profuse that the cult of the saints and their holidays tended to obscure commemoration of the life of Christ. Reforming popes undertook to correct this tendency, especially after the Protestant attacks on the cult of saints. Already in the thirteenth century the papacy began to reserve the right of canonizing saints previously exercised by bishops. Since 1587 the



182. Apse of the cathedral of Monreale, Sicily. The mosaics and inlaid stone and the manner of depicting Christ, the Virgin and the saints, show the continuance of Byzantine art and iconography in medieval Italy and their fusion with Gothic architecture. 12th century.

procedure of canonization has been in charge of the Roman Congregation of Rites, and the sanctioning of cults is preceded by careful consideration and strict inquiry into the life and miracles of the proposed saint. Pope Pius V in 1568 issued a breviary dignifying many celebrations of Christ, the Virgin, the apostles and major saints with additional offices, while diminishing certain offices of lesser saints. Subsequently the dignity accorded to local festivals celebrating the patron saints and the dedications of churches was reduced, and an attempt was made to diminish the prominence of these holidays also. In the eighteenth century Benedict XIV published a scheme for the suppression of many lesser feasts, but the problem of balancing the local and the general interests of the Church in these matters, as in all others, is an extremely delicate one. Though administrators may undertake to regulate the Church's program of worship, they must recognize the pressure of the actual cultic interests that develop. And these interests are dependent on a great miscellany of incommensurable forces both political and devotional. A few examples of recent canonization suffice to show the variety of interests involved. Joan of Arc, the great heroine of France, was canonized in 1920; Therese, the Little Flower of Jesus, an ecstatic nun, in 1925; Peter Canisius, the theologian, was canonized in 1925; and eight Jesuit martyrs of North America in 1930.

F. CATHEDRAL ART AND THE EPIC OF THE CHURCH.

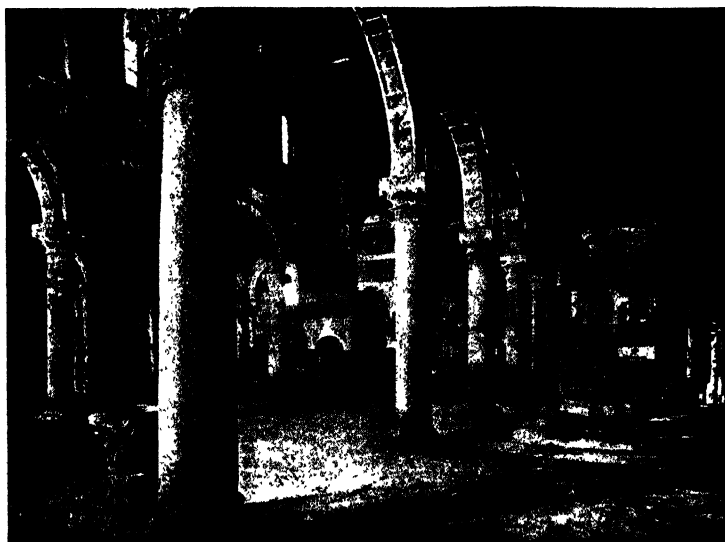
I. CHURCH ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY. The Byzantine church had developed Christian iconography and church arts at a time when the churches of western Europe were still primitive in these respects. Many conventions and cultic symbols were therefore transmitted from the East to the West. Small objects, which pilgrims could carry, such as images and miniatures in ivory and brass, no doubt played a part in the transmission. But more important were the manuscript sources of Western iconography. Much of what is seen in the sculpture and glass of the Western churches can be found described and illustrated in earlier texts. The scriptures themselves are, of course, incomparably the most important source, but some other works are known to have been widely copied and circulated from the ninth century on. The Apocalypse of Beatus and the Bible of Farfa are two examples which came from Spain. Both of these had miniature illustrations. The illumination and illustra-



183. Illuminated Psalter. "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." The initial letter shows the fool talking to King David and being confounded by the voice of God. Above, the child Jesus confounds the Doctors of the Law in the Temple. English manuscript on vellum, 14th century. British Museum.

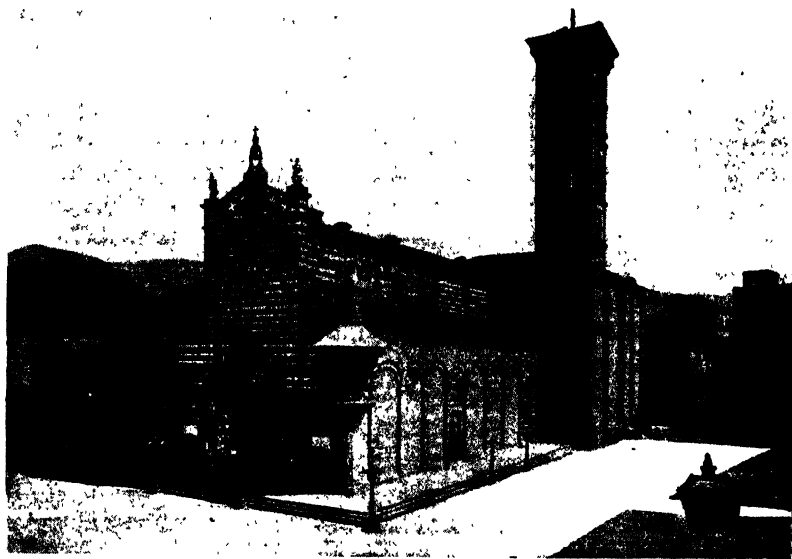


184



185

184. San Ambrogio, Milan. On the site of St. Ambrose's fourth-century basilica, where later the Lombard kings were crowned and swore fealty to the faith. The present church (9th-12th centuries) preserves the large open court (*atrium*) of the catechumens before the portal. 185. Santa Maria Maggiore, Toscanella. Showing baptismal font, *ambos* (pulpit) and typical features of a Romanesque church of the 10th and 11th centuries.



186



187

186. Cathedral of Pistoia, showing characteristics of later Romanesque churches in Italy, 12th century. Note the outdoor pulpit and the bell tower. 187. Village church in the Tyrol.

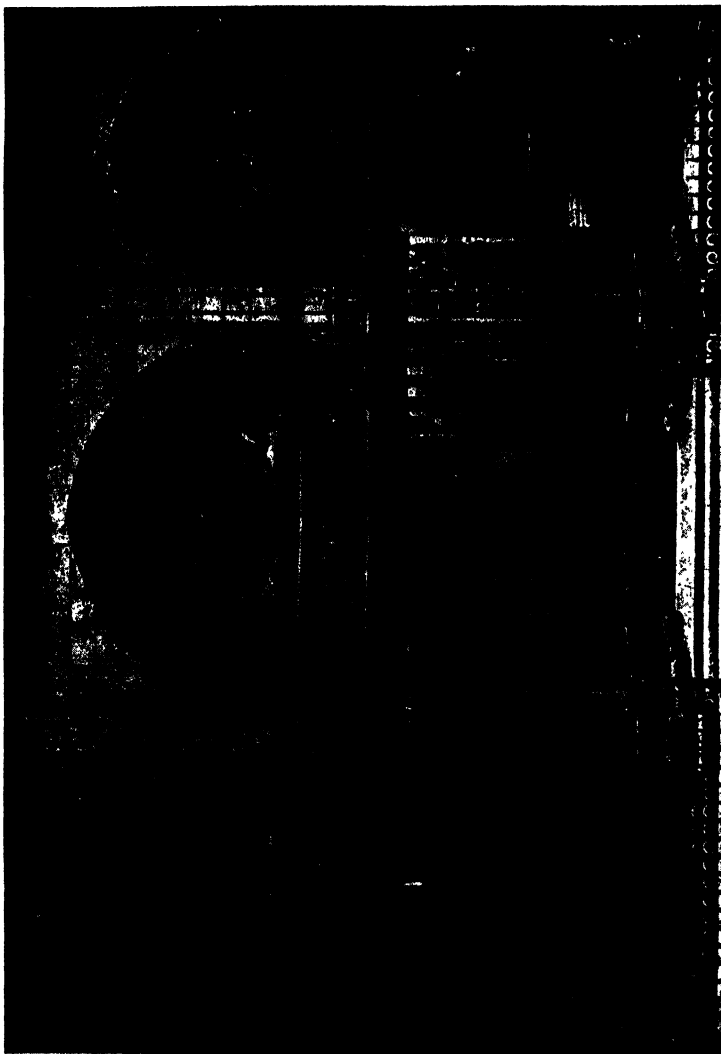
tion of manuscripts was already well developed in the seventh and eighth centuries, particularly in the East, in some Spanish and in Celtic monasteries. The art no doubt had been cultivated by the pagans, but besides the preciousness and beauty of manuscripts, the veneration and daily use of certain scriptures in offices of prayer and religious devotion gave added point to the illumination of letters and their glorification with ornament and illustration. One of the very finest early examples of the art in the West is the Celtic manuscript of the Gospels known as the *Book of Kelles* (not later than the ninth century). Besides the illuminated copies of scriptures, the various apocalypses, the books of hours and a steadily increasing number of lives of the saints, there were ancient works on secular subjects which enriched Western iconography. Among them were: the *Consolations* of Boethius, which supplied figurative conceptions of philosophy; Martianus Capella's imaginative characterization of the arts and sciences; Prudentius' *Psychomachia* or battle of the virtues and vices; and the anonymous *Physiologus*, an etymological and fanciful discussion of animals.

Though Western church art and iconography are thus based on rich antecedents from ancient times and owe much to borrowing in all periods, they achieved an independent and distinctive development. In architecture the Western churches were chiefly of the Roman basilica and Romanesque styles until the twelfth century and continued to be so still longer in Italy. Modifications were made as the needs of the cult changed. The old open court of the catechumens in front of the church, so much used in ancient times, was abandoned when there was no longer a society of the unbaptized surrounding the faithful, or was reduced to a porch in front of an elongated nave within the church. Separate baptisteries also became less common as the practice of immersion was dropped. The square before the church, however, continued to be an important place of congregation and procession. Some rites and much preaching took place there. Bell towers were used increasingly as the church edifice and square became more and more a center of communal life. Within the church important tombs remained a typical feature. As special cults of the Virgin and the saints received large attention, chapels were built around the apse and along the aisles of the nave. Apse chapels are more characteristic of churches in the Gothic

style, which became predominant in the north after the twelfth century. In the Gothic churches the transept was extended, giving the church a cruciform design; the walls were greatly heightened, the arches pointed and the towers surmounted with spires. The Gothic style was taken to Spain and Italy, but it did not displace the native style of the latter country. In the Renaissance Roman and Hellenistic architecture were revived and adapted to modern uses. The Renaissance and baroque churches have not the power and sublimity of the earlier styles, but at their best they have the humanity, warmth and urbane worldliness which their times brought into the Church no less than into the rest of life (see figs. 195 and 197).

The Eastern Church's decision after the Iconoclastic controversy to prohibit sculpture never affected the West. The Roman Church allows images as well as pictures but objects to the Eastern phrase "veneration of ikons," since it holds that no representations are to be venerated. The sculpture in the Romanesque churches consisted chiefly of low relief and the carving of capitals, while figures in the round prevail only since the later Gothic style. The carvings on portals and choir screens presented in the course of time an ever fuller record of the life and teachings of the Church. This is true especially of the cathedrals, erected at the seat of bishops and intended to illustrate the Church in all its glory. A brief description of the figures on a large cathedral portal may, therefore, give a fairly significant impression of the medieval Church at its height.

The western portal of the cathedral of Chartres (see fig. 188) dates from about 1154 and stands in point of style and fullness midway between earlier Romanesque portals and the more elaborate deep-set porches of the later Gothic churches. The elongated figures on the columns of the portal represent the "kings and queens of Judah," pillars of the church on earth according to the Old Testament. The capitals of these columns are carved with New Testament scenes of the life of Jesus, the crown of human existence. Above these historical representations of temporal existence, in the tympanums over the three doorways, are portrayals of eternal life and divine being in three aspects. Over the central door is Christ on high as signified by the nimbus which envelops him. He holds the book of revelation. Around him are the symbols of the four

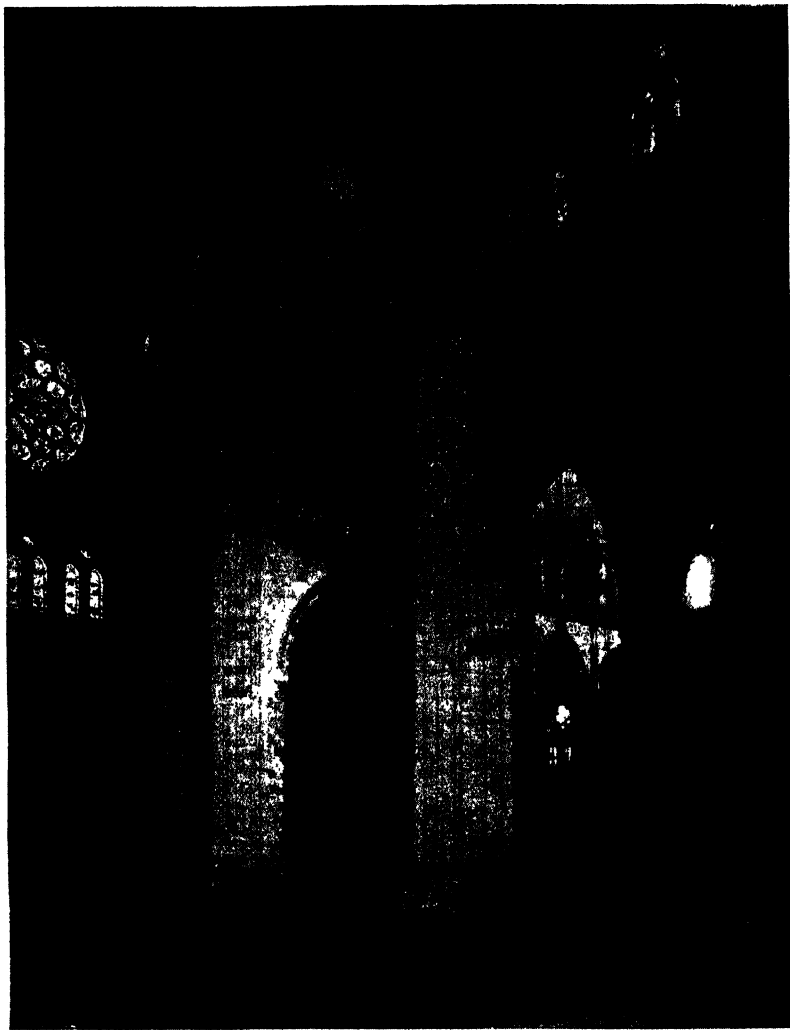


188. West portal of the cathedral of Chartres, 12th century (see text).

evangelists and below him the twelve apostles. The figures in the vault of the central arch represent the twenty-four old men of the Apocalypse and other persons of mystery. In the tympanum over the right-hand door, the Virgin and child and the scenes of Christ's birth and presentation depict the incarnation. The vault contains figures personifying the seven arts and sciences, each of which is accompanied by an ancient master of the art. The left tympanum presents the ascension, and the vault above it contains a calendar of the year, each month being indicated by a sign of the zodiac and a person employed in some occupation of the month. These doorways, therefore, illustrate on the right the contemplative life of the sciences, on the left the active life of the occupations, and in the center revelation or the life spoken of in mystic prophecy. The whole portal thus presents a compendium of life in its essential phases as seen in the wisdom of the Church. It is a most eloquent portal, and especially appropriate for Chartres, which besides being an episcopal seat was a notable early center of medieval learning.

The last judgment was more commonly portrayed on the main portal of medieval cathedrals. At Chartres this is shown on the porch of the south transept; while the porch on the north is devoted to the Virgin and saints. Further themes frequently represented in cathedral sculpture are the stories of creation and the fall of man, which are taken as counterparts of the incarnation and redemption. Other Old Testament narrations are also interpreted by analogy with the New. Thus, Noah's ark as a ship of salvation prefigures the Church; Christ is prefigured by Isaac; the Virgin, by the burning bush. Besides these biblical subjects the *Psychomachia* or struggle between virtue and vice in the soul is depicted, generally by figures in pairs representing opposed qualities: hope and despair, faith and inconstancy, love and anger, fortitude and cowardice, chastity and lewdness.

Murals were little used in the northern churches, but color was introduced through the stained-glass windows, which are an inimitable glory of the medieval Gothic cathedrals. Windows were often dedicated by guilds and other donors to their patron saints, whose lives and legends they depicted. In Italy, where Byzantine mosaics and ancient painting furnished a tradition of mural decoration, stained glass was little used, but the interior of the churches came



189. Cathedral of León, Spain. This typical Gothic church of the 13th century illustrates the spread of the northern architecture southward. This view shows one of the transepts, with its rose window, and part of the brilliantly fenestrated apse.

to be covered with frescoes. Church sculpture kept more to low relief in marble and bronze; mosaics and colored stone continued to be used. Painting was at first iconographic and showed much dependence on Byzantine conceptions of an "essential image." In the thirteenth century, however, a more narrative and didactic mode of painting emerged, which sought rather to convey the moving ideas



190. The Cathedral of Nôtre Dame rising out of the town of Amiens. Erected 1220-88.

or actual meanings of a subject. Giotto (1266-1337) first brought this mode to grandeur, but the variety and individuality shown in its speedy development by many others is very striking. Gradually the element of pathos and emotional expression became more pronounced, not only in painting but also in other representative arts. Subjects like the Madonna, the Passion and the Pieta were treated increasingly for sentimental effects. In the fifteenth century pagan and secular themes became as important for art as those of the Church, and interest in the possibilities of art outstripped that in service to the cult. The Renaissance Church, itself, patronized this extension of art and sought to enrich its own mansions with these new forms of worldly splendor. Striking examples of this are the

Piccolomini library in the cathedral of Siena and the Riccardi chapel in Florence.

2. RELIGIOUS DRAMA. Probably even more telling than plastic depiction was the living enactment of religious themes in public worship and in festival celebrations. The mass with its processional and its foundation on Christ's Passion gave ample opportunity for liturgical drama, which was being developed in parts of Gaul, in England and among the Celts already in the ninth and tenth centuries. In Easter masses the processional was elaborated with dialogue to represent the women coming to the sepulcher and conversing with the angel. The theme of the descent from the cross also gave rise to dramatic elaboration of the Good Friday mass. Such beginnings were gradually developed into the Passion play, which attained particular fullness and importance in the Tyrol during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. After that the clergy began to discourage it.

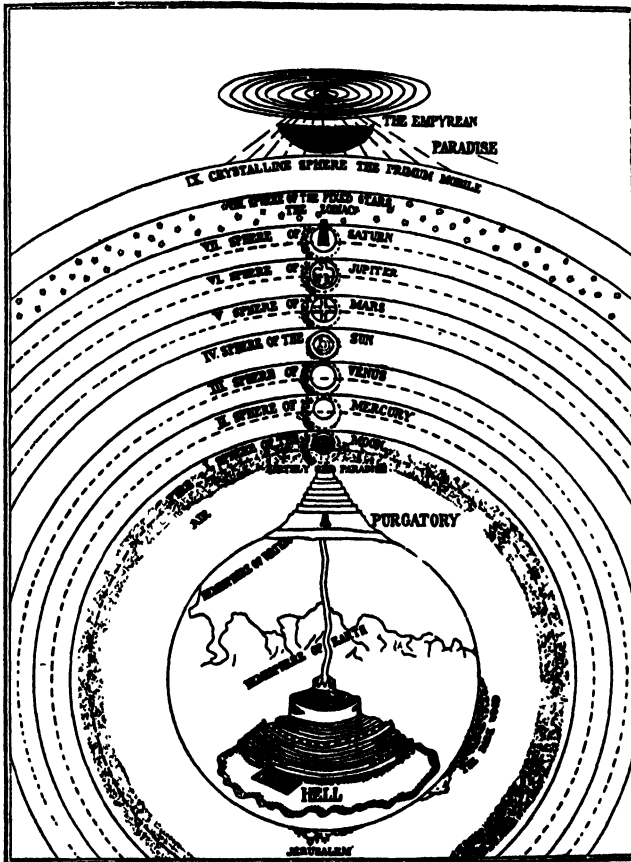
By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries saints' days and other holidays were commonly the occasion of "miracle" plays presented in the churches or more freely in the squares before them. The Genesis stories of Adam and Noah and other patriarchs were among the earliest themes treated, and then came the miracles of saints and of the Virgin. By the fifteenth century the free treatment of legends of the saints had given rise to plays called "mysteries," dealing with unfamiliar themes and including eventually some secular subjects like the siege of Orléans and the destruction of Troy.

The "moralities" (for example, *Everyman*) were another variety of play. They presented the drama of life through characters personifying the virtues and vices. Death and the *danse macabre* also became popular themes.

3. "THE DIVINE COMEDY." The great poem of Dante (1265-1321) is not in the strictest sense an instance of church art, but an individual creation. Dante wrote as an independent man of letters and expressed his own estimate of individuals and their policies. But he did this by placing the people and events of whom he treats in the moral scheme of the universe as outlined by ecclesiastical tradition and learning. And his depiction of this cosmic moral scheme, which alone concerns us here, though in part a personal creation, is a summation of centuries of Christian imagination and

medieval science. *The Divine Comedy* is the epic of the Western Church.

The setting of this epic is the entire universe, the physical plan of which can better be seen in figure 191 than described in words.



191. Plan of the Universe as described by Dante.

Dante visits successively the regions of Hell, Purgatory and Paradise. His guide through Hell is the poet Virgil. Hell lies within the bowels of the earth and bears over its gate the sentence, "All hope abandon ye who enter here." Before the gate of Hell Dante meets a great crowd of neutral souls, who flit about eternally and whose

banner is forever whirling, since they have no allegiance. Within Hell are those who belong to the company of Lucifer. They are assigned to nine descending circles of increasing torment according to the gravity of their offenses. The first circle is Limbo, a place of privation but not of positive torment, where are the souls of unbaptized children and of virtuous heathen. The second, third, fourth and fifth circles contain those souls that are lost through incontinence in the form of lust, gluttony, avarice and anger respectively. The sixth circle contains the heretics; the seventh, tyrants, suicides and all others who offended God, nature and art by violence and bestiality. The eighth circle is for the fraudulent and the ninth or lowest for the treacherous. Treason is the worst offense, and here in the blackest pit lie all traitors with Judas, Brutus, Cassius and the arch-traitor Lucifer at the pole furthest removed from God.

The mount of Purgatory rises upward toward the sphere of the moon from a point on the sphere of earth and water opposite Jerusalem. It contains those who love God but whose love is imperfect, so that they need to be purified before they can enter Paradise. Before the gate of Purgatory are souls who neglected salvation through indifference. Within Purgatory are seven ascending terraces. On the first, second and third are those whose purgation is long and severe, for their love is distorted by pride, envy and anger respectively. On the fourth terrace are those whose love is defective through sloth; on the fifth, sixth and seventh, those whose love is excessive through avarice, gluttony or incontinence. These can be most readily cleansed. Just below the sphere of the moon on the summit of the mount of Purgatory is the Earthly Paradise, where dwell the souls whose innocence has been regained. Here Virgil must leave Dante, and Beatrice descends to guide him upward through the heavenly regions.

In his account of Paradise Dante combines the Church's theology of the celestial hierarchy with Hellenistic astronomy and astrology. The sphere of the moon is the first of nine heavenly spheres that encircle the earth concentrically, each actuated by a portion of the angelic host. Guided by Beatrice, Dante's vision ascends through these spheres. In each he beholds a company of the redeemed whose

careers on earth suggest the influence of that sphere, and in each he finds occasion to discuss the relation of different virtues and sciences to perfection. In the first heaven, of the moon, actuated by the Angels, are seen those who were forced to be inconstant in their monastic vows, whom he questions about freedom. In the second, of Mercury and the Archangels, appear those whose ambitions were realized in honorable and just deeds. In the sphere of Venus and the Principalities are seen those noble in love; in that of the Sun and the Powers appear the brilliant Doctors of the Church; in that of Mars and the Virtues, the Crusaders; in that of Jupiter and the Dominations, the great monarchs whose empires were just; in that of Saturn and the Thrones, the contemplative mystics. Beyond these planetary spheres in the eighth heaven, of the fixed stars, actuated by the Cherubim, Dante sees the triumph of Christ with the Church and is questioned by St. Peter, St. James and St. John about faith, hope and charity respectively. In the ninth heaven, of the *primum mobile*, actuated by the Seraphim, he beholds the Angelic Hierarchies themselves.

Finally, above the rim of the world is the motionless Empyrean. Here with his sight supernaturally strengthened Dante has the *visio Dei* and sees how the presence of God pervades the whole company of saints which constitutes a mystic rose with the Trinity at its center. Around one side are the saints of the Old Law with the Holy Innocents who died before baptism was instituted. Opposite them are the saints of the New Law with infants who died after baptism had been established. The female saints are headed by Mary; the male, by John the Baptist.

About these heavens Dante says further in his *Convito*, II, 14: "The seven Heavens nearest to us are those of the Planets; and above these are two movable Heavens, and one motionless over all. To the first seven correspond the seven sciences of the Trivium and Quadrivium; that is, Grammar, Dialectics, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry, and Astrology. To the eighth, that is, to the starry sphere, Natural Science, called Physics, corresponds, and the first science, which is called Metaphysics; and to the ninth sphere corresponds Moral Science; and to the Heaven of Rest, the Divine Science, which is called Theology."

G. RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE, SCHOLASTICISM AND MYSTICISM.

1. THE CONTEMPLATION OF REVELATION. The Latin doctor, St. Augustine, said that the knowledge of nature is of almost negligible importance compared with the knowledge of God and his grace. Men can attain this religious knowledge because God has endowed their souls with the power to contemplate the eternal truths of his revealed word. The senses when properly illumined by rational ideas convey some knowledge of natural things, but when undisciplined are a source of distraction and confusion. The disadvantage which the sensuous man suffers in the pursuit of such knowledge is suggested by the statement of John Scotus Erigena (c. 815-70): "If man had not sinned, he would certainly not have fallen into so profound ignorance of himself, just as he would not have suffered the ignominious generation from the two sexes in the likeness of irrational animals."¹⁶ In fact, Augustine's views fitted the setting of subsequent learning in the monasteries perfectly and remained the underlying theory of knowledge throughout most of the Middle Ages. The offices of prayer and devotion to which the monks gave a major portion of their time inevitably constituted the main body of their professed knowledge. God and the heavenly hierarchy constituted the world which could be best known by contemplation and best loved by monastic devotion. The external illumination of the scriptures became the chief glory of libraries, and the illumination of their inner meaning, the summit of learning.

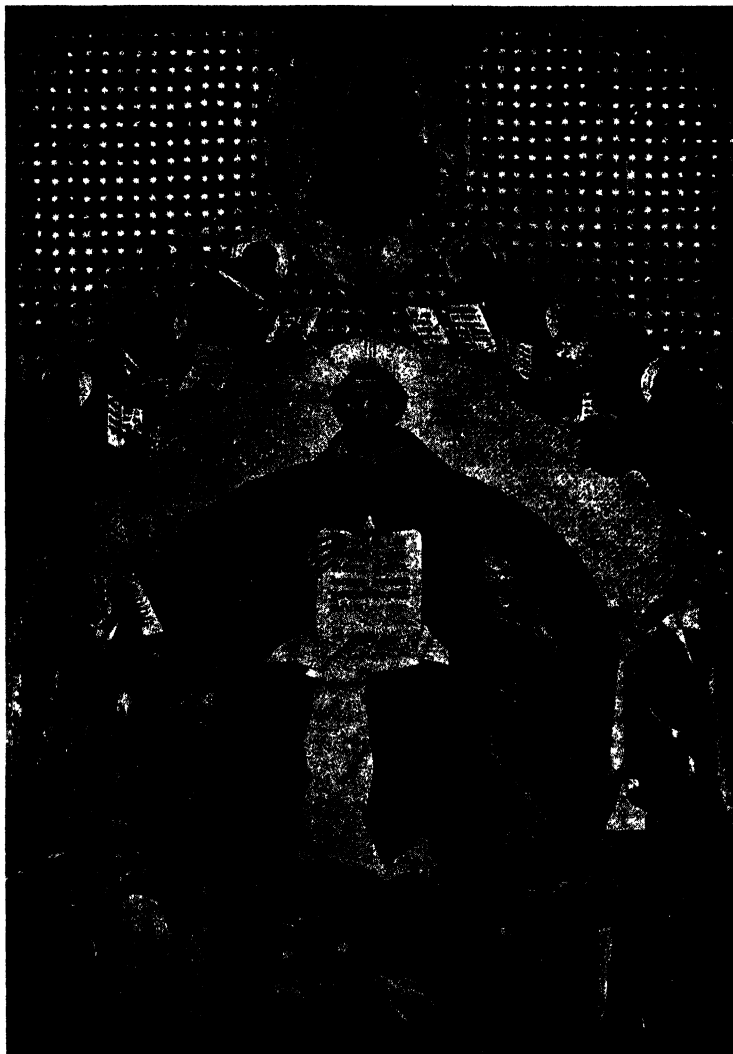
2. SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE. In the ninth century schools were promoted by Charlemagne for his family and other nobility, and education appeared in a somewhat more varied aspect. Scholars made fuller use of available ancient books and through them came to discuss the kinds and divisions of knowledge. Some of the leading teachers of that time, like Alcuin and John Scotus Erigena, came from Celtic or Northumbrian monasteries, which were then among the most flourishing. Erigena, knowing Greek as well as Latin, translated writings of Dionysius the Areopagite (an unknown fifth-century writer in the East, subsequently regarded as a convert of St. Paul's), whose works, *The celestial hierarchy*, *The ecclesiastical hierarchy*, *Divine names*, and *Mystical theology*, at-

¹⁶ R. P. McKeon, *Selections from medieval philosophers*, vol. I, p. 133, to which the following account of scholasticism is much indebted throughout.

tained great influence. Erigena uses Dionysius' "negative theology" of the one ineffable Godhead, its partial manifestations and their names, for a treatise, *On the divisions of nature*. Man knows things as so many essences or revelations of God's ideas, while God himself or the first nature is ever present to his thought as the unknown creator and revealer.

The system of Erigena remained a heterodox and for long an isolated speculation. Even two centuries later St. Anselm (1033-1109) prefaced his much more orthodox philosophical writings with an apology for venturing to understand by reason the things of faith. He believed, however, that the faith is the most reasonable knowledge man possesses, God's existence and all his other qualities being self-evident from the perfect idea faith has of him. Anselm in his *Cur Deus Homo* also undertook to show the logic of the incarnation as necessary to atonement. Of still more pervasive influence upon the medieval schools were the *Four books of sentences* by Peter Lombard (c. 1100-60). These furnished a compendium of the essential topics to be discussed and also initiated in germ the method of question and answer thenceforth followed by the scholastics. Most of the later teachers prepared commentaries upon them, and it was complained that students for three centuries paid more attention to them than to the Bible. Besides answering certain questions, like that of the number of the sacraments, in a way which the Church generally adopted, Peter Lombard arranged the themes and problems of theology in an order which became customary. Thereafter, systematic theology treated first of God and his attributes; secondly, of God in relation to the world; thirdly, of God in relation to man, his conduct and redemption; finally, of the Church and its institutions.

The introduction in the twelfth century of the unknown works of Aristotle through contact with the Islamic scholars, together with the expansion of secular civilization in other respects, promoted a greater interest in the natural world. Aristotle's works gave the schoolmen an encyclopedic body of natural science and philosophy for which they had no parallel. The problem of the relation between science and religion became acute. The philosophy of Aristotle was regarded with suspicion because of the prominence it gave to observation of nature as a source of knowledge, and still further because



192. The wisdom of St. Thomas. Three rays descend on him directly from Christ and one through Moses, Paul and each of the Evangelists. In addition, he receives light from the books of Aristotle and Plato. In his hands he holds the Scriptures and on his lap his own works, from which rays descend to the clerics below. From his work against the heretics a ray falls upon a book of Averroës who lies discomfited at his feet. Painting in the Church of St. Catherine, Pisa, by Francesco Traini, 14th century.

its theory of the soul had been interpreted by Averroës in a way unfavorable to individual immortality. Bonaventura (1221-74), a head of the Franciscan order, in his *Itinerary of the mind to God*, admitted that "shadows of God" are to be found in things of the natural world, but he held that these are not to encourage us to seek God in things but to lead us to turn from the world to "contemplation of the traces of God in the soul" and finally to the contemplation of God "not as cause but as object." Bonaventura followed the Augustinian tradition in regarding God's revelation of truth to the soul as the source and measure of all our knowledge. His Dominican contemporary, Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), however, adopted the Aristotelian position and undertook to work out on this basis a comprehensive statement of Christian theology, refuting both the critics of Aristotle and the errors of Averroës' interpretation. Thomas rejected Anselm's view that faith gives us a perfect idea of God. The finite human mind is so limited that it must get knowledge from observation and reflective abstraction. The resulting knowledge is conditional only and deals chiefly with the soul and things, but Thomas held that this very relativity points to a final and perfect Reason beyond human knowledge, but underlying it. We can infer some truths, such as the unity of God, from our own reasoning, and God in his infinite goodness has revealed others through the faith of the Church. With respect to the world's relation to God, Thomas defended the view that although faith decides that the creation of the world is in time, eternal creation is a rational possibility. He likewise availed himself of much of the Aristotelian ethics, emphasizing the basis for good provided in nature.

Though the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas became a standard for modern neo-scholasticism, his system was not generally followed by the medieval schoolmen. The Franciscan teachers Roger Bacon (1215-94), Duns Scotus (1266-1308) and William of Ockham (1300-49) all developed independent views. These men and their disciples continued the Augustinian tradition of rational first principles as a primary source of knowledge, but the objects which they aimed to know tended more and more to be the particular beings of the world. Whereas Thomas had tried to answer the question how man can rise from particulars to a knowledge of the universal truths of God, these scholastics turned to the problem of how to get

from universal reasons to a more adequate knowledge of individuals. Roger Bacon is distinguished for his emphasis on experiment and his writings on mathematics, perspective, optics, geography, astronomy, alchemy and philology, though he did not neglect theology. Scotus emphasized the individuality of beings and their wills and sought universals not only to define species but also particulars. Ockham shared this particularism (both in politics and in science) but urged "not to multiply essences beyond necessity." He developed the principles of reason as formal and especially mathematical aids in measuring experience. Universals were now mere names, whereas at the beginning of scholasticism they had been the "divine names" and ideas in the mind of God. The upshot of this "nominalism" for religion was not a denial of the realm of faith but of the power to establish religious knowledge by reasoning. As observation of the arbitrary facts of experience was needed for the knowledge of nature, so the bestowal of an arbitrary faith by God's decree was necessary for religious knowledge.

3. INDIVIDUAL AND CULTIC MYSTICISM. Christianity almost from the beginning gave a central recognition to mysticism in its sacraments or mysteries wherein the soul was converted, purified and united with God in a way past understanding. But individual mystics greatly developed such aspects of the common religion by infusing them with the intensity of their own experience and coloring them with their special revelations. The mystics, like other members of the Church, spoke of God's revealed word and used ideas of traditional theology to illumine it. But what they distinctively emphasized was the soul's experience of illumination: its awakening to a need, the obscure search and progress toward clarification, the trials of purification to be endured and the final consummation of union with God. These themes were already present in Hellenistic religious thought, and the reappearance of mystical theology in the Middle Ages is in some respects only an instance of the gradual recovery of ancient ideas. To this restatement of mystic doctrines was added the living and continued influence of those whose personal conversions, visions, sufferings and ecstasies were extraordinary and made a lasting impression on both themselves and others. The passionate effort to live for God alone promoted such experiences and fired the mystic ideal of union with God.

The literature of medieval mysticism began to be conspicuous in the twelfth century. Bernard of Clairvaux, by his attacks on the scholastic attempt to philosophize Christianity and still more by his ardent sermons and writings on the *Search for God*, the *Song of Songs* and on the adoration of the Virgin, did much to develop mystic aspects of the common cult. His *Homilies on the Song of Songs* supplied later mystics with many of their favorite conceptions and expressions. He emphasized the thought of Christ as bridegroom of the soul and described purification, illumination and union as the three great stages of mystic progress to God. A famous instance of more individual mysticism in the same century appears in the life and writings of Hildegard (1098-1179), prioress of a convent near Bingen. Visionary even in childhood, she became known as the "sibyll of the Rhineland" and exerted a wide influence for monastic and moral reform. Her writings contain medical and physical lore as well as prophetic revelations in figurative language like that of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse. Mystic theology was carried to a fine point in the same century by the Victorines, Hugo and Richard. The latter used the "negative theology" of Dionysius as a speculative basis and developed a system which endeavored to combine this with Christocentric mysticism as it appears in Bernard.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century the German Dominican Eckhart developed a theology emphasizing God's unfathomableness and at the same time the inseparableness of the soul in its uncreated ground or "spark" from him. The way to realize the union of God and the soul is to depart from self and become "nothing." Statements of Eckhart's were condemned by the Church after his death, but he was an effective preacher and influenced men like Tauler and Suso, who in turn preached the doctrines of mystic poverty and union with God, not only in monasteries and convents but also to the laity who were then being widely affected by the tertiary orders. The term "friend of God" became a current expression for the popularized mystic ideal. "Friends of God" were regarded with considerable suspicion by the hierarchy and widely identified with heretical sects, but the conflicts within the Church during the fourteenth century, which added to the distress of the Black Death, gave them a significant function of spiritual ministration and also protected them from official persecution.

The disorders in the Church encouraged mystics with sufficient inner authority to intervene for their correction. Thus the ecstatic Catherine of Siena (1347-80), who envisioned herself in mystic marriage with Christ, undertook the mission of persuading the pope to return from his "exile" in Avignon to Rome. Later, in the sixteenth century, the Spanish ecstatic Teresa of Avila (1515-82) became a reformer of the Carmelite order. The autobiographical and other writings of Teresa furnish some of the most intimate and clear descriptions of mystic experiences available. More intellectual, philosophic and poetic are the writings of her contemporary and helper in reform, the extreme ascetic mystic, John of the Cross (1542-91). His definition of "mystic theology" as "that infused contemplation in which God secretly instructs the soul and instructs it in perfection of love" admirably epitomizes the traditional claim of the mystics.

The visions of mystics, their intense and ecstatic devotions and their sense of intimate union with God promoted new developments in Catholic worship. The Feast of Corpus Christi, celebrating the Blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist, owes its introduction in the thirteenth century in considerable part to the visions of a Belgian nun. The effect of the feast is to draw greater public attention to the mystic union of God and the Church. A still more complete example, however, is the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. At least as early as the twelfth century the heart of Jesus was extolled by writers on his Passion and divine love. From that time on, individual monks and nuns addressed contemplation and adoration to the Sacred Heart, and many received visions confirming this form of devotion. In the early seventeenth century it was quite widely cultivated among the religious in France, and in 1675 at the convent of Paray-le-Monial Jesus showed his heart to Marguerite-Marie Alacoque and asked that a feast be instituted in its honor on the Friday following the octave of Corpus Christi. The Jesuits supported its introduction, and in 1765 the pope gave his approval. Various specific meanings have been attached to the Sacred Heart by its individual devotees, but the Church at large sees in it the epitome of God's love and especially his sacrificial love on behalf of the world. The cult proved very popular and gave rise to a number of subsidiary feasts besides the main one. Among these is



193. Madonna with images of the Sacred Heart attached to both Virgin and Child. Wood figure from Gassicourt, France, 13th century.

that of the Most Pure Heart of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In addition to these public feasts there is much private devotion before images of the Sacred Heart. Sometimes the hearts of Jesus and of Mary are shown joined together.

H. CATHOLIC REFORM.

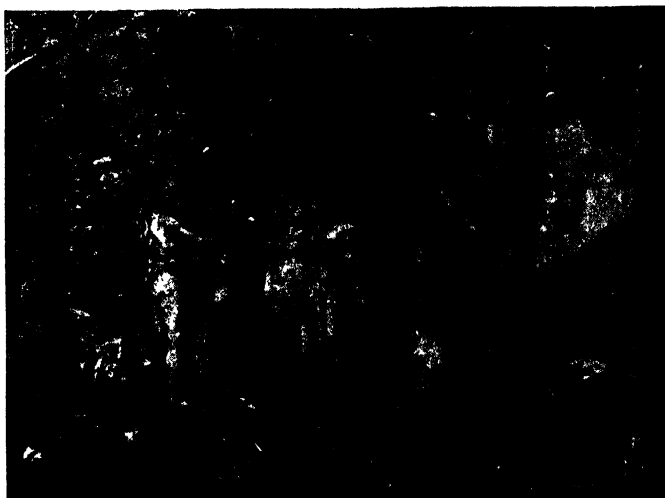
I. RISE OF THE REFORM ISSUE. Dissent from papal supremacy and other Roman doctrines of the Church became wide-spread in the fourteenth century and was aggravated as the subserviency of the Avignon popes to the French monarchy grew irksome to other nations. Throughout Europe the various nations wished relief from papal taxation and control over their own churches, particularly in the matter of appointments. Among leading critics of the papacy were Marsilius of Padua, William of Ockham and John Wycliffe of Oxford (1320-84). The English church and monarchy were already relatively independent, and English critics defended and sought to increase this independence. Wycliffe, for example, argued that the temporal power of kings is derived directly from Christ, and he built up a theory of the church as composed essentially of the morally elect or predestined. Priests and popes have authority only in so far as they conform to the law of the Gospel. Accordingly he emphasized the authority of the Bible, prepared an English translation of it and sent out "poor priests," popularly known as the Lollards, to preach the Gospel in apostolic poverty among the common people. Wycliffe's views were extreme, but the papal condemnation of his teaching was little enforced by the English, and his ideas were taken up on the continent by John Huss (1373-1415), the leader of a nationalistic reform movement in the Bohemian Church.

Under these circumstances the papal schism became increasingly distressing and forced Catholic leaders to the reform view that there must be some power in the Church to restore unity to the Church and correct the papal intrigues and abuses. A council called at Pisa by the cardinals in 1409 failed to resolve the schism, but the Council of Constance (1414-18) succeeded. In its desire to accomplish this first objective, however, the Council failed to consider regional grievances and bore down heavily on the Bohemian Protestants. Huss was tried by the Council and burned as a heretic in 1415. The Council of Basel (1431-49) drew up a general program

of limitations on papal jurisdiction but was unable to put it into execution. Though the adoption of a general reform thus failed, the French monarchs at Bourges (1438) and at the Lateran (1515) secured important concessions or "Gallican liberties" in matters of taxation and appointments within the French Church. But the Germans, being divided, remained more open to Roman domination.

Another circumstance which indirectly fed the demand for reform was the fact that during the last half of the fifteenth century humanism flourished in the Church. The popes from 1447 to 1521 were all patrons of humanistic learning and art. They collected magnificent libraries, built and adorned sumptuous chapels, churches and palaces. Some of them, like Nicholas V, sponsored the reform of Church abuses, especially abroad, but most of them indulged their favorites at home with offices, and some, like the notorious Alexander VI, cultivated not only humanism but all the vices of corrupt pagan despots. Such corruption added to the desire for reform and by way of reaction strengthened the illiberal puritan party among the reformers. Humanism, however, also contributed positive reform influences of its own. It promoted a broader and more critical appreciation of literature, including the texts of the Church. Among the cultivated who were at the same time sincerely Christian, a humanism arose which opposed fanaticism, ignorance, superstition and vice in the Church. Erasmus (1466-1536), who brilliantly exposed the weaknesses and follies of the Church in his satires and moral essays, is the most famous of such Christian humanists, though he stood too aloof from partisan conflict to influence the immediate course of reform very much.

Monasticism, though regarded by many of the reformers as parasitic and irremediably corrupt, furnished some of the most vital forces in Catholic reform. One of the earliest and most dramatic protests against the worldliness and corruption of the Renaissance Church was made by the Dominican friar Savonarola (1452-98) in Florence. His eloquent prophecies of doom and fiery denunciations of wickedness in high as well as low places aroused the population to penitential conversion. When the Medici were deposed after the French invasion of 1494, he was for a brief moment the virtual dictator in a reformed city. But he aroused powerful enemies; Alexander VI excommunicated him; and when the populace also turned



194. The creation and fall of man. Below, God creates Adam and then Eve. Above, Adam and Eve eat the forbidden fruit and hide from the voice of God. In mode of treatment these marble reliefs from the façade of the Cathedral of Orvieto illustrate the beginnings of the humanistic trend of Renaissance art. Executed under Lorenzo Martani, 14th century.

against him, he was put to death by the city government. Not long after the failure of Savonarola, however, other monastic leaders, to say nothing of the monk Luther and the Jesuit Loyola, succeeded in creating more lasting instruments of reform.

The issue of reform in the Church with regard to both administration and religious life was now everywhere pressing, and it was only a question of who would promote and control it in various regions and along what lines. The situations and circumstances which led reformers in the northern countries to a breach with Rome and to the establishment of independent churches are mentioned in the account of these Protestant churches below (section IV). Here we continue directly with the progress of reform within the Roman Catholic Church.

2. THE FORCES OF CATHOLIC REFORM AND THEIR PROGRAM.

a. SPANISH LEADERSHIP. The most militant and zealous forces for Catholic reform came from Spain. There in the latter half of the fifteenth century the consolidation of the monarchy, the expulsion of the Moors, the reform of the clergy under Ximenes, the founding of universities, the institution of a Spanish Inquisition and the activity of monastic reformers served to create a powerful combination of Church and state and to put all the energies of an awakened patriotism and flourishing Spanish culture at the disposal of Catholicism. In 1482 the monarchy by concordat with the pope secured royal control of nominations for the higher ecclesiastical posts in Spain, supervision of Church courts, rights to tax the clergy and even to approve the promulgation of papal bulls. Having gained such liberties at home, Spanish influence in the sixteenth century extended itself on behalf of a strengthened Catholicism abroad. In Italy, along with the political control of Naples by Spain after 1503, the influence of the Spanish Church was felt first by devout leaders of reform, like Caraffa and Contarini. In 1534, with Paul III, the papacy came under the influence of these leaders and at last committed itself to reform. Contarini, who favored an evangelical theology, in 1541 tried as papal legate in discussions at Regensburg to conciliate the German Protestants, but agreement on papal authority and other points failed. Thereupon, Caraffa persuaded the pope, while continuing administrative and moral reform, to reinstate a

universal Inquisition against the heretics along Spanish lines. In 1555 Caraffa himself became pope.

b. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1545-64). Paul III was very reluctant to call a council (with its traditional implication of limiting the papacy), but the Emperor Charles V urged it as a means of consolidating the Church's position toward reform, and it was agreed that all its decisions had to have the pope's approval. The Council of Trent was called also to define officially the doctrines of the Church, in order to clarify the issues between it and Protestantism. It declared Church tradition coequal with Scripture as a source of truth and reserved the right of interpretation to the Church. "Justification" was held to require both God's "prevenient grace," not given for any merit in man, and man's free coöperation with God in faith and good works. The Catholic doctrine of the sacraments was reaffirmed. Two-thirds of the Council's decrees, however, were devoted to matters of practical discipline and church management. These included provisions against the abuse of indulgences, regulation of the veneration of saints and the celebration of holidays, provision for increased clerical training, public preaching and instruction, approval of an index of prohibited books and plans for the systematizing of administration in the Roman curia. The organization of the Roman Congregations along present lines, as described above (p. 363), dates largely from this time. The supremacy of the pope was implied by the Council but not so explicitly affirmed as in the *Confessions of the Tridentine Faith*, which the papacy circulated at its close and enjoined every priest and teacher of theology to make.

c. RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND REFORM. Even more important than the definition of a program at Trent was the fact that organized bodies were arising in the Church to give effect to the movement and spirit of reform. Outstanding among these were the new religious orders, such as the Theatines, Oratorians, Ursulines, Visitationists, the Lazarists and their affiliates, and above all the Jesuits. The Theatines, founded at Rome in 1524 by Gætan and Caraffa, sought to provide quiet retreat for devout contemplation and personal consecration of the clergy. Though small in number they included influential members and took a prominent part in the papal reform of the breviary, which was designed, as indicated above, to

correct the overshadowing of the celebration of Christ by the numerous offices of saints. The Oratorians developed from the daily services instituted at Rome in 1535 by Philip Neri, at which religious music (especially that of Palestrina) was sung and four simple discourses offered by different speakers: on some preceding reading, on a text of scripture, on some point of Church history and on the life of a saint. The society was introduced into France by Berulle in 1613 and into England by Newman in 1847. It specializes in the improvement of preaching. The Ursulines were instituted in Italy by Angele de Merici in 1535 as a society of young women to minister to girls. The Visitandines, founded in 1610 in France by Francois de Sales, were a sisterhood instituted for introspective contemplation as well as works of charity. Both of these societies became cloistered under a flexible rule which enabled them to continue their ministrations. The emphasis on works of mercy was still more emphatic with the Lazaristes, founded in 1624 by Vincent de Paul, who visited the hospitals and the prisons, and with the related Sisters of Charity which he established in 1633 for work among the poor. In all these new religious orders the reform program of personal devotion, popular teaching and works of charity was developed within the structure of Catholicism.

Simultaneous with the rise of these new religious orders came a reform in the older medieval orders. In place of prevalent laxity and corruption, more stringent and austere disciplines were reinstated in the monasteries. Among those who carried austerity furthest were Teresa and other Spanish mystics in their reform of the Carmelites; also Armand de Rance in his reform of the Cistercians at La Trappe in 1662.

d. **THE JESUITS.** Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556), a Spanish nobleman, was converted from his career as an ambitious knight of the world by reading lives of the saints while convalescing from a wound received in battle. At the monastery of Monserrat he hung his weapons on the Virgin's altar and thereafter gave himself up to austerities and "spiritual exercises" of which he kept note. He resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and endured great hardships as a mendicant on the way. In many places he visited the sick and those in prison. Discussion with the Franciscans at Jerusalem convinced him of his unfitness for converting the infidels, and

he resolved to seek education at home. He studied at Alcala, Salamanca and then at Paris from 1528 to 1534. There he gathered about him companions, Francis Xavier, Lainez, Rodriguez and others, to whom he taught his "spiritual exercises" for bringing the mind under the control of vivid perceptions of the life of Christ and the Christian warfare with evil. These men wished to go to Jerusalem, but the way being closed by the Turks, they sojourned in Italy, engaging in preaching and all kinds of menial charity. As the papacy was then embarking on the work of reform and on the struggle with the Protestants, Loyola and his friends resolved to put themselves directly at the disposal of the pope. The plan was indefinite, but in 1540 Paul III authorized them to form the Company of Jesus.

They organized as a spiritual army for the pope. Each member was bound to give absolute obedience to the "general" of the society and to labor wherever he and the pope should direct. Loyola was General until his death. As the society grew, "provincials" were appointed by the general, and the members were classed in various ranks: novices, lay brothers, scholastics and priests. The principle of complete obedience to superiors was extended throughout. *Spiritual exercises* was used as a manual of individual training under the guidance of a master.

The Jesuits became a principal organ for extending the *imperium Romanum* of the Church. In their missions in all parts of the world (see p. 484) and in their efforts to reclaim countries from Protestantism, they employed all the means of education, religious ministrations, statesmanship and diplomacy. Not only their authority and discipline but often also their cultivation, worldly sagacity and secular utility made their work exceptionally effective. Their schools became famous for excellence of teaching, and it was principally through them that Thomistic theology and ethics were revived. They advocated more frequent communion and confession. In their attempt to develop the general principles of the confessional into a system of practical ethics, they employed a casuistry which sanctioned actions if "probable" or "more probable" grounds for permitting them could be found. This principle was naturally subject to abuse. Their defense of prudential ethics, their laxity and their emphasis on free will and moral ability led the Jesuits into bitter

conflict with Catholic as well as Protestant Augustinians, particularly with the Jansenists of Port Royal, whose power they crushed.

The Jesuits were a main factor in checking revolt from the Church in the Germanies and in opposing the Huguenots in France. Within the Portuguese, Spanish, French and Austrian empires,



195. The Church of Jesus, Rome. One of the chief Jesuit churches as well as a monument of the late Renaissance. Built by Vignolo 1568-77.

Jesuits occupied important political and commercial posts, both at home and abroad. As their aims and policies in directing these temporal powers were often not those of the monarchs and their courts, they had by the middle of the eighteenth century made many enemies. They had numerous clerical antagonists, too, who supported their lay opponents. A crisis came in 1759 when all Jesuits were expelled from Portugal. They were suppressed in France in 1764, and Spain and Naples followed suit in 1767. These powers even secured the abolition of the order by Pope Clement XIV in 1773. In 1814, however, during the eclipse of these monarchies by

the Napoleonic régime, the order was restored by Pius VII. Though they did not regain their former temporal power, except to some extent in Spain and Spanish America, the Jesuits vigorously resumed their activities and became the chief Ultramontane party, promoting the ascendancy of the papacy in the Church.

I. ROMAN CATHOLIC RENEWAL. In modern times Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have alike been confronted with a world of new social and cultural forces. The relation of both forms of Western Christianity to the pervasive modern issues of secular education and secular standards, of science and intellectual reconstruction, of humanitarianism and social reform is discussed below in the treatment of Christianity in the modern world. Here it remains to indicate in what ways the distinctive features of Roman Catholic Christianity have been continued or renewed since the period of reform.

I. THE IDEA OF ROMAN UNITY. The Spanish, Portuguese and French empires had taken Catholicism to the Western Hemisphere and the Far East, where its missionaries developed the Church empire of Rome. Protestantism and nationalism combined, however, to set limits to this empire both in Europe and abroad. In the sixteenth century Holland and England repelled the Spanish Catholic power. In the seventeenth, France expelled the Huguenots, but in her foreign policy played off Catholics and Protestants against each other in the Germanies, where neither party proved able to eliminate the other. We have noted the suppression of the Jesuits in the eighteenth century. The most serious blow, however, to the power of the Roman Church came with the French Revolution in 1789 and with the similar revolutions that have occurred since in practically all Catholic countries. These revolutions have in greater or less degree confiscated Church properties, suppressed monasteries, promoted secular education and endeavored to nationalize the clergy.

The Roman Church has thus been obliged in the last century and a half to relinquish the greater portion of its temporal power, though less completely in some countries than in others. It has been obliged in practice to recognize a kind of separation between church and state which it does not approve in theory. But at the same time this very separation has enabled it to renew the Church's ideals of autonomy, unity and catholicity in effective and striking ways. In

the matter of Church appointments national differences have been recognized within the Church by extending to the clergy of various countries the right to forward lists of recommended candidates to Rome. But the autonomy of the Church within the national state has been guarded by diminishing the right of civil powers to make nominations. The unity of the Church, especially in doctrine and



196. Youths with cross sticks participating in a religious procession in a Spanish village.

morals, was emphasized by the recognition in 1870 of papal infallibility in these spheres. A new Feast of Christ the King, instituted in 1925, together with the subsequent restoration of a papal state, gives renewed emphasis to the sovereignty of the pope: Finally, the catholicity of the Roman Church is strikingly proclaimed in the recent institution of world-wide Eucharistic Congresses to be held every two years in different places. They bring together Catholic representatives from everywhere to promote unity and participate in a universal celebration of the eucharist. The Catholic Youth International has a similar unifying aim.

2. THE AUTHORITY OF TRADITION. The rapid changes and confused currents of recent times have caused the Church to discover new applications of its teachings and to seek new ways of extending its ministrations, but at the same time to turn to its traditions as an ultimate anchorage for thought and practice. The supreme importance of Church teaching over all other kinds of education was again affirmed in a papal encyclical of 1930. The Church has greatly extended the facilities for instruction. A majority of the modern religious orders devote part of their energy to Catholic education, and some, like the Christian Brothers founded in 1684, are exclusively engaged in this. The Paulists, an American organization founded in 1853, give special attention to home missions and literature designed to acquaint non-Catholics with the essential features of Catholicism.

In the sphere of conduct the Roman Church continues to speak of a life regulated by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience as "the religious life." A life of Christian asceticism thus remains for it the highest type of life. In general, however, the Church emphasizes the daily virtues of forbearance and charity and undertakes to save the individual in the world rather than to recommend either escape from the world or the reconstruction of the world. It discourages revolution against constituted authorities but regards no social institution as sacred except the Church and the family. Marriage being an indissoluble sacramental tie, the Church continues to disallow divorce but decrees marriages invalid in certain cases. In the sphere of domestic morals the obedience of wives to their husbands and children to their parents is enjoined. A papal encyclical of 1931 on Christian marriage condemned the use of contraceptives.

While the Church in modern times has been at considerable pains to define its ritual and ceremonial procedure, it has not generally maintained a high appreciation of its best liturgical traditions. Roman Catholic worship has on the whole retained simplicity and warmth, but except in rare instances it has lost much of its beauty through the decline of Church music and other arts. Here again help for modern troubles is being sought in a return to tradition. Pius X in 1903 declared in favor of Gregorian music in preference to modern styles, and a number of institutions have founded schools for its renewed study. The revival has not yet had wide effect upon

the churches, but there are scattered places in which the traditional expressive values of the mass and the offices are again more adequately realized.

3. LITERARY CATHOLICISM AND ITS PHILOSOPHIES. Though the main developments of European philosophy after the sixteenth century were no longer closely linked with Catholicism, there remained within the Church a great body of cultivated men whose writings expressed Catholic ideas and sentiments with distinction and related them effectively to the general intellectual culture of their times. It is possible here to mention only a few of the most outstanding of such writers in different periods, whose points of view represent various philosophies or attitudes still current among Catholics of liberal education.

The *Introduction à la vie dévote* (1608) by François de Sales attained a popularity as devotional reading second only to the Bible and the *Imitation of Christ*. It typifies what has been aptly called the "devout humanism" of its day, which interpreted redemption as the gracious perfecting of natural human gifts by true devotion or love of God. De Sales described the perfection of such devotion and its harmony with all the obligations of civil and secular life. In contrast to this suave and untroubled outlook is the questioning and searching spirit which appeared in the *Pensées* and *Lettres Provinciales* of Blaise Pascal (1623-62). Pascal combined with the analytical power and skepticism of a scientist a sense of interior illumination and the will to believe in it as necessary to salvation. He defended the evangelical views of the Augustinian Jansenists against the Thomistic rationalism of the Jesuits. Among the many other Catholic writers of the same century Bossuet and Fénelon are perhaps the best known.

In more recent times, after the predominantly anti-Catholic rationalism of the eighteenth century, there came a revival of literary Catholicism which took as its central theme the beauties and values of Catholic tradition. Chateaubriand's *The genius of Christianity* (1802) represents this emphasis in its earlier more romantic form. He and his contemporary "traditionalists," notably Joseph de Maistre, dwelt upon the contrast between the crudeness and shallowness of the new revolutionary civilization and the mellow wisdom accumulated through ages of Catholicism. In the course of the nine-

teenth century romanticism gave way to a more realistic temper, in some quarters aggressive and confident, in others pessimistic and disillusioned. Literary Catholicism today is still in the main "traditionalist," but its chief accents have changed. On the one hand, it emphasizes the needed authority, security and escape which the Church provides in a world adrift and disillusioned; and again, it stresses the comprehensiveness of Catholicism and the way in which it holds all the diverse and ordinarily conflicting tendencies of life in an ordered balance under a regulation that must appear supernatural. This last consideration is a favorite one among neo-scholastic intellectuals, who regard Thomism as the most adequate of all philosophies and have the express sanction of Leo XIII for reviving it. Essayists like Chesterton and Belloc make essentially the same point in a more popular way, though their peculiar vein of "paradox" is now out of fashion. There are many other writers who express an intense personal commitment to various aspects of Catholicism, but whose viewpoints are, therefore, more individual and in a sense less Catholic. The Spanish writer and revolutionist, Unamuno, is an interesting if somewhat heterodox example. Of special current interest is the renewed cultivation of Catholicity as a theme for modern poetry, fiction and journalism.

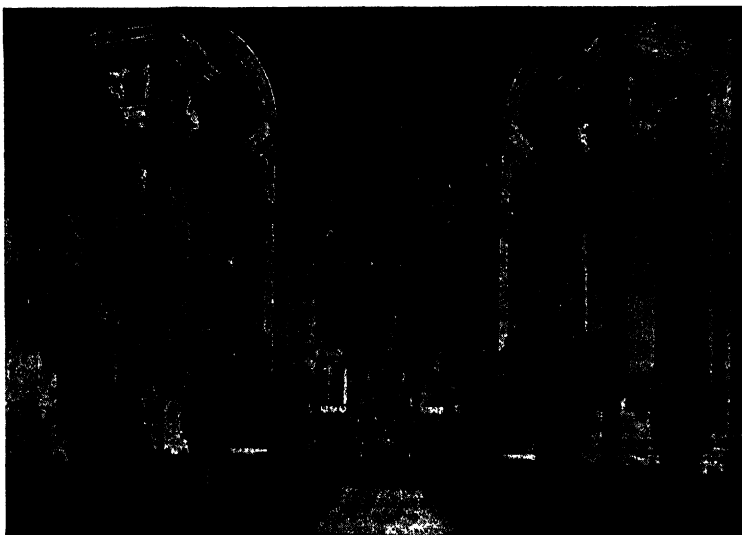
4. POPULAR PIETY AND MYSTICISM. Popular religion among Roman Catholics in recent times exhibits the evangelical, moralistic and humanitarian tendencies which have been prominent in modern Christianity at large. But distinctive features of the Catholic cult have remained and have developed further as vital sources and manifestations of popular piety. There has been a fairly continuous promotion of local shrines and devotions, especially in such regions as Canada and the United States where tradition was meager in these respects. Local manifestations of supernatural grace in the form of personal holiness, divine healing, unusual influence over institutions, revelations, visions and other miracles are cultivated wherever possible, and some gain general recognition. A prolific pamphlet literature of popular tracts and prayers (which frequently carry indulgences), pictures, symbols and other tokens that have been blessed serve to advertise and disseminate these special variations in Catholic worship. The popularity of certain cults proves such that derivatives arise in numerous places. This, has recently

been the case with the cult of St. Therese of Lisieux, the Little Flower of Jesus. There are several shrines in this country at which her power has been manifested and to which relics have been brought.

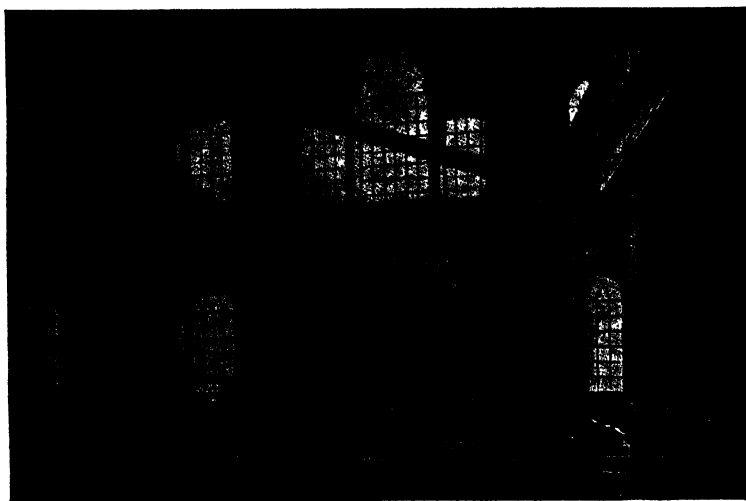
But by far the most important developments of modern piety in the Roman Church at large have been the modern cults of the Sacred Heart and of the Holy Family. Rooted in long and central traditions, these cults have been peculiarly adapted to give concrete expression and add supernatural aura to popular sentiment in its idealization of humanity, compassion, love and other basic themes of personal morality and family life. The various public celebrations, the religious societies and the still more numerous private devotions which have developed about these cults constitute in themselves an extensive and diverse history.

IV. THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

A. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS. Protestantism, even more than Catholicism, means many things to many people. By its very nature it is extremely diversified. The process of religious schism has been going on continuously, for in all ages there have been groups and forces which have revolted against the dominant religion. In this sense Protestantism is merely another name for the sectarian and heretical tendencies in any religious tradition. However, Protestantism has a more positive significance in that it represents an enduring type of Christianity and among many people has become, in turn, a dominant tradition. Protestants are successful heretics. Having revolted against the Roman Catholic Church and then against each other, they have succeeded in perpetuating their distinctive traits in permanent churches. The occasions and aims of these revolts were various, and the circumstances which transformed the revolts into dominant institutions were even more various. It is, therefore, impossible to understand Protestantism adequately in terms of its origins, or to assume that it is still essentially a movement of revolt against Catholicism. Each of the various Protestant churches represents an achievement on the part of a particular group or people in developing its own interests and ideals. Together they are the reli-



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After Hauttmann

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After Wallace

197. Catholic church at Steinhausen, Germany. Built in baroque style by Dominikus Zimmerman, 1727. 198. Presbyterian church at Bridgetown, New Jersey. Built in 1790.

gious expression of the social and intellectual diversity which characterizes modern culture.

Three general aspects can be distinguished, though none of them is common to all denominations: the force of class or national differences; the evangelical emphasis on the authority of the Bible and on the experience of salvation; and a distrust of ecclesiastical authority, ritual, asceticism and "holy works." We have already noted the recurrent movements of dissent during medieval times, as European society and culture became increasingly differentiated into classes and nations. The earliest Protestants to gain their independence were the Waldensians and Bohemians, and all three of the above factors were involved in their revolts. In the case of those revolts which were motivated largely by popular discontent, such as the Lollard Movement in England and the Anabaptist uprisings on the continent, no permanent churches were established. The only exception to this rule are the Quakers, and they owe their organization less to their initial social protest than to their subsequent prosperity. The great revolt or Reformation of the sixteenth century centered largely in the growing commercial classes of the northern countries, whose interests, education and politics all led them away from Rome. The political circumstances which, especially in the cases of England and Germany, precipitated the breach with Rome are commonplaces of secular history and need not be rehearsed here. They reveal the fact that Protestantism originated as a political revolt, which was only in part motivated by the desire for religious reform. The Church of England, the Lutheran Churches of Germany and Scandinavia and the Calvinistic Churches of Switzerland, Holland and Scotland were primarily the product of growing national cultures promoted by the rising commercial classes. In these cultures and for these classes the authority and law of the Church, the Roman rites, the monasteries and landed wealth of the Church and especially the system of penance and "holy works" became increasingly burdensome and artificial. The revolt in Switzerland, led by Zwingli, was in addition influenced by the humanism of the Renaissance. On the whole, however, Roman Catholicism was much more under the influence of the Renaissance than were the Protestants, and the "worldliness" of the Church was one of the prime causes of the demand for "reformation." For Roman Catholicism

had become more than a religion: it was a culture, dominating the learning, arts, business and politics of its adherents. As such it conflicted with the new national and secular cultures of the north. Princes and merchants whose worldly interests and prosperity were not dependent on Rome naturally desired a religion which interfered less with their secular life, or which might even positively promote it. The Protestant emphasis on justification by faith, on the sufficiency of the Bible as a religious guide and on the simplicity of a "sober, righteous and godly life" created a relatively free, inexpensive and unobtrusive religion.

After the great national churches had been established and had in turn become "cold" and oppressive along with the classes who supported them, a third type of Protestantism arose, generally known as pietism or evangelical Christianity, different from both the social protests of the medieval dissenters and the formalism of the state churches. In Germany pietism took hold after 1670 among small groups who cultivated inner religious experiences, personal piety and philanthropic institutions; at Oxford it took a similar form, but under the leadership of the Wesleys and Whitefield it became a revivalistic movement among the masses. The great popular churches of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the Baptist and Methodist, originated among the poor and unlearned but appealed to them not as agencies of protest but as stimulators of religious emotion and enthusiasm. These churches readily cut across national lines and won the support of great masses in all the Protestant countries. In general they did for the industrial worker and the frontiersman in Protestant countries what Catholicism did for the feudal peasant. These churches, too, have now become socially respectable, and, especially in America, they find their stronghold among the more prosperous classes, while they carry on extensive "home" missions, as well as foreign missions, and support various undenominational religious organizations for the benefit of the poorer "brethren." In the meantime new forms of protest and consolation, both religious and secular, are taking hold among the new poor.

These generalizations fail to do justice to the complexities of Protestantism and are naturally subject to exceptions; they may serve, however, as a key to understanding the significant differences

which still animate the Protestant denominations in spite of the fact that the initial theological controversies have lost much of their vitality. A brief description of several of the denominations will serve to illustrate more fully the various phases and tendencies of Protestant religion.

B. THE ANGLICAN OR EPISCOPAL CHURCH. The Episcopal Church is still essentially a national institution, being either the Church of England itself or independent Episcopal churches composed largely of Englishmen or of Americans who retain something of their English heritage. In origin it is certainly national. Though it originated formally in the Act of Supremacy of 1535, which constituted the king "on earth supreme head of the Church of England," the preparation for this Act was the work of several centuries, as we have seen. The revolt of Henry VIII against Rome was generally popular among English middle-class laymen and really did not affect the great majority of the lower clergy, who continued in their parishes relatively undisturbed by the ecclesiastical changes and crises between the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. Though the doctrines and rites of the Church of England remained essentially Catholic during the reign of Henry VIII, some Protestant elements were introduced at that time and more followed during the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth. The monasteries were suppressed between 1536 and 1539. An English translation of the Bible was ordered in 1538, which paved the way for the King James Version, completed in 1611. The Articles of Faith formulated by Henry VIII were quite hostile to the ideas of the Continental reformers, but the Elizabethan Thirty-nine Articles of 1571, which still constitute the basis of the Anglican faith, embodied Calvinistic ideas, notably the repudiation of the doctrine of transubstantiation by the assertion that Christ is present on the altar "only in a celestial and spiritual manner." Even more important than these changes, however, were the composition and adoption of the Book of Common Prayer, for which the liturgical changes of Henry VIII had paved the way.

Edward's second Book of Common Prayer, based on the mass and the Catholic rubrics, has received only minor revisions since 1552, when "communion" was substituted for "mass," and "table" for "altar." It succeeded in translating the forms of the Catholic sacri-

fice into authentically English prayers and praises. The worship is liturgical, but less elaborate than the Roman Catholic. Emphasis is shifted from sacramental worship to worship by prayer and praise. There is considerable participation by the congregation in the responses, confessions, psalms and hymns. The regular services of Morning and Evening Prayer, though based on Roman models, are independent of the special communion service, which is based directly on the Canon of the mass.

There are no images, no auricular confession, no prayers for the dead, no monasticism and no celibacy for the clergy. Only two sacraments are recognized "as generally necessary to salvation," baptism and communion. Communion is administered to the laity in both forms, bread and wine. Much of the Catholic tradition is retained in the church calendar; the major feasts and fasts are celebrated, though there is relatively little veneration of saints. The cathedrals and church edifices retain their Gothic solemnity; the altar, choir, pulpit and other arrangements are similar to the Catholic but generally more dignified and cold than in modern Catholic churches. There is little display of gold, shrines and images; and the altars are usually modest; the light from the stained-glass windows, the high stone vaulting and dark woodwork add to the general austerity and restraint which characterizes Anglican worship.

Since 1571, when Queen Elizabeth renounced her headship of the Church of England in purely religious matters, the real head of the Church has been the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is one other archbishopric, that of York. The Church clings to the theory of the apostolic succession and refuses to admit the validity of non-episcopal orders. In this and in its general ecclesiastical structure it resembles the Catholic Churches. On the side of doctrine, while both the Apostles' and the Nicene Creed are upheld as the formal basis of the Anglican faith, the greatest latitude in interpretation and considerable variety in theological belief prevail. The compromise attempted in the sixteenth century between Catholic and Protestant views, while extolled as the *via media* of true Christianity, has not proved entirely stable, and there have been movements within the Church, now in a Catholic and now in a Protestant direction, from the days of the Reformation down to the present. However, after the controversies with the Puritans in the seventeenth

century, the Anglican theologians abandoned what little Calvinism had crept into the Thirty-nine Articles. Since the prevalence of liberalism and deism during the eighteenth century, there has been a general tolerance in theological opinion and considerable diversity in ritual. On the one extreme is the "low church," which reduces the liturgy to a minimum and is evangelical in its theology; and on the other, is the "broad church," which cultivates historical and literary scholarship and social liberalism. "Broad-church" liberalism was inspired chiefly by Thomas Arnold, who conceived the possibility of a united national church based on liberal ideas and traditional rites, but the program of this early Whig liberalism was considerably broadened by the humanitarian appeal of Maurice, Kingsley and other preachers of economic reform.

Since the Oxford Movement, beginning in 1833 and continuing under the leadership of the Tractarians, there has been a steady growth of "high-church" religion, culminating in Anglo-Catholicism. This movement aims at a restoration of Catholic doctrine and rites, with the exception of the sovereignty of the pope. Anglo-Catholic tradition really started in the days of Archbishop Laud and was kept alive during the eighteenth century by the nonjuring bishops, many of whom reverted to the use of the mixed chalice in communion, to prayers for the faithful departed and to other Catholic usages. Bishop Ken, the most influential of the nonjurors, developed the doctrine of apostolic succession into a reverence for primitive catholicity. In his will he claimed that he died "in the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith professed by the whole Church before the disunion of East and West, more particularly in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands, distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations." The emphasis on mysticism, the mystical interpretation of the eucharist as the spiritual or "real" presence of Christ and the desire for a positive and authoritative dogma to combat current skepticism have made a strong appeal and have led to increasing ritualism and "sacramentarianism," especially to the cult of the reserved consecrated elements of the eucharist. Taking cognizance of this trend, in 1928 the bishops submitted a revised Prayer Book to Parliament, in which Anglo-Catholic ideas and practices were given some slight recognition, but the evangelical and anti-clerical forces combined to defeat it. After prolonged de-

bate the Prayer Book of 1928 was published, though "unauthorized," as "the standard of permissible deviation from the Prayer Book of 1662 during the present emergency and until further order be taken." The controversy raised several general issues, notably the threat of disestablishment, which is greatly feared by some of the higher clergy, though others might welcome it.

The decennial Lambeth Conferences have proved to be occasions for the systematic discussion of fundamental problems of the Church and of religion and morals generally; but they have also revealed the increasing difficulties in the way of the adoption of definite recommendations on specific problems. The lines of cleavage are well indicated by the three separate conferences which were held in 1930 after the Seventh Lambeth Conference: the Anglo-Catholics held an open-air service at which the patriarch of Alexandria was especially honored; the Conference of Evangelical Churchmen met to discuss "God's call to union"; and the Conference of Modern Churchmen discussed "problems of personal life."

The Episcopal Churches of the United States, of Scotland, Ireland and other countries, are, of course, disestablished, but they retain their vitality largely through the force of English tradition and culture. The American Church was organized as an independent church in 1789. Its stronghold lies in the eastern cities and the southern aristocracy, where the remnants of colonial culture still survive. In general it has been decidedly more Protestant and "low-church" than the Church of England, its liturgy having been decidedly influenced by the Scottish. Recently it, too, has shown "high-church" tendencies, first in the east and then in the west. The crisis between the two tendencies came in 1875, when some of the "low-churchmen" revolted and organized the Reformed Episcopal Church. The most vigorous leaders of the Church now, however, are the extreme "high-churchmen" on the one hand, who are sympathetic to Anglo-Catholicism, and the liberals on the other, who are taking an active part in social reform.

C. THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES. The Lutheran Churches owe their strength to the fact that they became state churches of the German and Scandinavian peoples. Luther, who was more conservative and Catholic than most of the reformers, had thought little about building up a new independent religious organization. When

the Catholic Church rejected his reforms and excommunicated him, he appealed to the German princes for support in the reformation of Christianity. He early proclaimed the right of civil authorities to discipline the clergy; and while he sympathized with the grievances of the common people, he opposed their revolting against their superiors. Hence, although Lutheran religious sentiment spread very rapidly among both laity and clergy, its adherents depended for protection upon whatever civil powers chose to protect them. From the year 1525, when the Lutheran became the established church of Saxony, there was an increasing number of North-German and Scandinavian rulers who from mixed religious and secular motives were willing to assume this function. In 1529 several princes drew up a "protestation" declaring their right to make whatever religious innovations they saw fit within their domains. From them the term "protestant" was applied to the reformers generally. Until 1648 there was more or less constant and devastating warfare between coalitions of such princes and those who remained faithful to the Catholic system. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that in one German state after another Lutheranism tended to form a little patriarchal system. The prince became the absolute ruler of the church; the noble patron became the tyrant of the pastor. While ranging from the ultra-aristocratic Church of Sweden to considerable freedom and innovation within some pietist communities, Lutheranism inclined in the main to be socially conservative and ritualistic in its worship.

The Augsburg Confession of 1530, written by Melancthon, though later modified by Luther's Schmalkald Articles and by the Formula of Concord (1580), remains the basic statement of Lutheran theology. It has been adopted, together with its modifications, into what are known as the Symbolical Books. These contain nine symbols of faith: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed (including the *filioque* clause), the Athanasian Creed, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, the Schmalkald Articles, Luther's Larger and Shorter Catechisms and the Formula of Concord. The Lutherans maintain the sacramental theories of Luther with respect both to baptism and the eucharist. They regard the sacraments as agencies of divine grace and the Word of God as the inspired promise of grace.

Luther's personal contribution is even more conspicuous in the Agenda or liturgical books and hymnals. In 1526 he published *A German mass and order of divine service*, which, though basically Catholic, states that most of the symbolism and ritual is not essential to the service. Nevertheless Luther's ritual is one of the finest products of Protestantism and is cherished by the German people as one of its chief national heritages. It has been the occasion of some of the most bitter disputes and schisms in Lutheran history. During the eighteenth century its use was undermined by both pietism and rationalism, but Frederick William III restored it in 1822, and since then, with minor revisions, it has remained in general use among the German Lutheran churches. Its structure is that of the mass, but the prayers are translated into the language of the people and their contents adapted to changes in belief and national tradition. Luther encouraged the practice of common prayer and congregational participation in public worship. His greatest achievement in this direction was his encouragement of the singing of chorals. His own compositions set the style for German sacred music, as his translations and writings set the style for the German language. Since his day the German hymn has received a notable development in the hands of such writers as Philipp Nicolai, Karl Gerhardt and Christian Gellert. Not only the choral but liturgical music in general was enriched by the work of Johann Sebastian Bach, who, next to Luther, is chiefly responsible for the dignity and grandeur of Lutheran worship. The chief traditional Christian festivals are celebrated, and on October 31 there is a special commemoration of the Reformation.

Diverging movements in eighteenth-century religion split the Lutherans into various groups, which diverged still more during the nineteenth century and have only recently shown signs of a *rapprochement*. The increasing power, wealth and "worldliness" of the state churches, coupled with the growth of rationalism and formalism, induced certain groups to go to the other extreme of pietism and to reassert the evangelical principles of early reformers. The headquarters of the pietistic movement in Germany was at first the University of Halle, where groups of theological students, under the leadership of Spener, Francke and Zinzendorf, formed circles for prayer, Bible-study and the cultivation of personal piety. Similar circles were established in churches throughout Germany and became

centers of protest against ritualism, formalism and rationalism, as well as positive centers of new devotional exercises, missions and philanthropic enterprises. The extravagances of some of the pietists, in turn, led to a general reaction, and though the Reformed Church theologian, Schleiermacher, and some Lutherans following him, attempted to raise piety to a more dignified and liberal level, the majority of the leaders of the state churches during the early nineteenth century tended in the direction of rationalism and formalism.¹⁷ Later under the influence of Albrecht Ritschl, there was a revival of personal piety and a renewed interest in religious traditions. Since then liberalism and pietism have become reconciled and have led to the cultivation of both critical theology and the religious sense. A notable contemporary illustration is the Marburg school of theology, whose present leader is Rudolf Otto. The "crisis theology," which has made considerable headway among the Reformed and Lutheran Churches, is a quite different illustration.

As a result of these various tendencies Lutheranism presents a great variety of belief and worship. Each congregation is allowed considerable autonomy, and there is little inclination among Lutherans to force all members of the church into a single body. The attempt to form a Prussian national union of Reformed and Lutheran Churches in 1807 not only proved impractical but deepened the lines of cleavage between the conservative and the evangelical Lutherans. The so-called "Old Lutherans," who adhere strictly to the Augsburg Confession, are now in a minority; whereas the Evangelical Lutherans have affiliated themselves for administrative purposes with the Reformed Churches. The German churches are still supported in part by the state, and there is a tendency at present to emphasize their national character as *Volkskirchen* rather than their confessional character as *Bekenntniskirchen*. In other words, there is a tendency to minimize their doctrinal (or "confessional") functions and to make them primarily agencies of public worship, of popular rites and national cultus. On the other hand, Lutheran theologians have attempted to make their church international and to give it a more positive intellectual content. For this purpose they have encouraged closer affiliation between the German and Scandinavian

¹⁷ See below, sec. V, B, 3, for a further discussion of modern Lutheran theology.

Lutherans, and similar trends prevail among American Lutherans as well.

In the United States the Lutheran churches are relatively isolated and diversified. Their form of church government resembles the Presbyterian. A General Synod was formed in 1820, which led to the formation of the United Lutheran Church, but only about one third of the Lutheran churches have joined this union. In the Middle West there is a Synodical Conference of the more strict, confessional and exclusive groups centering about the Missouri Synod; and in 1930 three large synods merged to form the American Lutheran Church. There are, in addition, many independent synods and branches of the various Scandinavian national churches. English-speaking Lutherans have modified their worship by the incorporation of many elements from the Episcopal Church, and they resemble increasingly the other leading Protestant churches in America. On the whole, American Lutheranism has remained more conservative than European, and its members are isolated from the main currents of modern continental thought.

D. THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES. These churches are the fruit of the Swiss and French reformers, Zwingli and Calvin, and represent a more thoroughgoing form of Protestantism. From the German cantons of Switzerland, where Zwingli established the Reformed Church, it spread into Germany and became the chief champion of evangelical principles. From Geneva, where Calvin erected his theocracy, Presbyterianism, as his form of church government came to be called, spread into France, Holland, England and Scotland. Though the English Presbyterians were the dominant party in the Puritan Rebellion, and though Presbyterianism was the established church in England under Cromwell, little now remains of the English Presbyterians, most of whom either became Independents or joined the Unitarians. The stronghold of Presbyterianism for English-speaking peoples has been Scotland; for here the Presbyterians have been the chief religious influence since the days of John Knox (1560) and the establishment of the Church of Scotland (1592). The Presbyterian form of church government, however, was not completely established in Scotland until 1690. The official "standards" of all the English-speaking Presbyterians are the Westminster Confession and Catechisms of 1649.

In Scotland there is a distinctively "high-church" party in Presbyterianism. Presbyterianism was reintroduced into England from Scotland. And furthermore, the Puritan and Scotch-Irish emigrations to America made Calvinism, in one form or another, one of the strongest Protestant forces in the United States.

The Calvinistic type of reform was dominated by middle-class laymen. Calvin, himself, was a lawyer and conceived Christianity as a legal and moral system which could be applied in practice quite independently of the clerical régime with its system of confession, absolution, penance and "holy works" in general. As Augustine had conceived Christendom as a "City of God," so Calvin revived the Augustinian theology in his *Institutes of the Christian religion* as a practical, social and moral philosophy independent of priestly authority and mediation. Calvin seems to have been emancipated from the burdens of ecclesiastical moral jurisdiction by a rather sudden experience of "election" and redemption by God's grace, which convinced him of God's absolute sovereignty over the human will, operating immediately and supernaturally without human "means of grace." This discovery, however, was developed by him not primarily as a philosophy of personal religious experience, but as a comprehensive theory of theocracy in moral and political affairs. As such he tried to justify it to Francis I, who was persecuting French Protestants on the ground that those who reject ecclesiastical authority must also be untrustworthy as civil subjects; and as such Calvinism spread among the more educated and prosperous classes of French, Dutch and English society. Calvinism thus became preëminently a religion of the rising middle class: the Huguenots, the Genevan reformers and the Puritans were composed largely of merchants, skilled artisans and professional men who were religiously devoted to the civic and industrial virtues, but felt superior to the practices of "popery." Their economic interests, education and politics made them increasingly conscious of the new world into which they were emerging. While their theology was drawn from the Bible and the early Church Fathers, they were at the same time much occupied with the problems of commercial expansion, constitutional government and progress, which had no place in medieval institutions. Their faith in the sovereignty of God was

the religious expression of their confidence in revolting against all earthly sovereignties.

In Geneva Calvin had tried to establish a holy commonwealth ruled by the elders or presbyters, who in turn were elected by the citizens, but the secular authorities continually interfered, and he was never able fully to realize his ideal. As far as the Presbyterian churches are concerned, theocracy means representative government. The "session" or court of a congregation consists of an elected "ruling elder," who is always a layman, and the "teaching elder," or minister. The sessions within a district constitute the presbytery of the district, by which the ministers are ordained. The presbyteries elect their ministerial and lay delegates to the synods and the synods their delegates to the General Assembly of the Church. The chief significance of this scheme of government is that laymen have equal power with ministers and that all ministers and elders have equal rights or rank. This scheme obviously rejects the whole theory of an ecclesiastical hierarchy, and though clerical ordination is retained, it loses its sacramental character and arbitrary power.

With the traditional theory of the priesthood, the Calvinists also rejected most of the traditional rites as "unscriptural inventions of men." Even instrumental music was forbidden. Worship was restricted to the reading and exposition of the Bible, to free prayers and to the singing of psalms. Periodically communion was celebrated by the elect to testify to Christ's "real body" or spiritual presence in the regenerate. All other ritual, except the sacrament of baptism, was discarded. The sermon became the center of the service, and though it was formally an exposition of scripture, it was commonly devoted to the discussion of current issues, theological, moral and political. Every major issue created a new sect, or, to use the terminology of the day, "carried on the reform from age to age."

As a result, worship became a type of instruction, and the church became a combined "meeting-house" and schoolroom. Calvin's personal influence was based largely on his preaching; but his preaching and that of the Puritan divines in general was really teaching. The sermons were not brief, popular appeals but painstaking and technical expositions of doctrine. The cultivation of this type of doctrinal and biblical learning was, until the recent development of

secular education, the chief intellectual avocation of the middle classes.

The appeal to scriptural authority was an invitation to endless interpretation, since it was possible to find texts to sanction almost any opinion. Of course, these radical changes in religious practices and ideas were not primarily caused by the study of scripture; rather the Bible was the only religious means by which the reformers could justify their general revolt against established institutions and traditions.

For these reasons Calvinism became a significant tradition quite apart from the particular churches which embraced it. Though reconcile with the most technical and supernaturalistic theology, it developed concepts of legal theory and ethics which proved of great value in the social philosophies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and it encouraged a scholarly tradition, especially in Holland, England and Scotland, which gave Protestantism in general a much broader orientation and theoretical justification than it received elsewhere. From this tradition emerged much of the discussion of toleration, of the rights of man, of the social contract and law of nature, which ultimately carried moral and social philosophy far beyond the limits of theology. In this way Calvinism achieved such an international influence and intellectual prestige as no other Protestant tradition has enjoyed.

It is impossible here to give an account of all the varieties of Presbyterians or to tell the history of their differences. Most of the differences no longer have any religious significance. In fact, not only the most debated doctrines of Calvinism but Calvinism in general is now cherished as a tradition but not believed literally. The General Assembly of the American Presbyterians in 1902 adopted a *Brief statement of the Reformed faith*, which, though not formally repudiating the Westminster Confession, "interprets" it in such a way as to destroy its distinctive emphases. Steps have been taken to bring about the union of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches in the United States. There is a world-wide Presbyterian Alliance embracing over one hundred organizations, and though there is no hope of welding all these organizations into a single church, there are mergers going on continually which indicate that the old quarrels are being buried. In Scotland the most serious split was occa-

sioned by the question of state jurisdiction over strictly religious affairs and led to the formation of three distinct bodies, the Church of Scotland, the United Free Church and the Free Church of Scotland. Recently these have been reunited. In America the first serious division arose after the Great Awakening of 1739-41; the New Sides favored the evangelistic methods of Whitefield and Tennent; the Old Sides repudiated them. At the same time the Church was split on two other issues, slavery and liberalism. A plan of union adopted in 1801 with some of the New England Congregationalists had introduced a so-called "Puritan Party" into the Presbyterian Assembly, whose theological liberalism and abolitionism offended the more conservative Scotch-Irish, especially those of the South. The conservative Philadelphia Synod precipitated the issue by removing a liberal minister in 1830. After protracted debate in several General Assemblies the Church split in 1837 into the Old and the New Style Presbyterians. The Civil War occasioned a further split between North and South, and the Southern Presbyterians have retained the Calvinistic tradition, both socially and intellectually, to a greater degree than have the Northern. Though many of these differences have been healed, the Presbyterians are now divided between the "fundamentalists," who insist on the gospel of regeneration, and the liberals, who repudiate the literal interpretation of Calvinism, the literal meaning of salvation and, in general, are giving their theology a moralistic and social meaning. Among certain liberal theologians, however, especially in Europe, there is a current revival and reinterpretation of Calvinism.¹⁸

Meanwhile public worship in practically all kinds of Presbyterian churches has become less Puritan and more formalistic. Their membership is drawn for the most part from the prosperous and educated middle classes, who are becoming increasingly conventional in their religious tastes and views. Handsome church buildings, many of them reverting to Gothic, skilled choirs and organists, up-to-date Sunday-schools, young people's organizations, missions, philanthropic and social activities have gradually transformed the general atmosphere of Presbyterianism and, for that matter, of Protestantism. The services of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches are still slightly more ritualistic than those of the other Presby-

¹⁸ See below, sec. V, B, 4.

terians, and their church government is slightly more democratic. Few Presbyterians still practise "close communion," that is, restrict the sacrament to the regenerate or to members "in full communion." They are tolerant and hospitable toward socially respectable Christians of all denominations, and Calvin's whole attempt to distinguish rigidly between saints and sinners has been practically abandoned.

E. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS. Congregationalism is the term now applied to independent local churches, free to formulate their own creeds and to govern themselves democratically. In 1580 Robert Browne organized the first Independent, Separatist or Congregational Church in England, and though this and several other early attempts proved futile, several Congregations were finally established in Holland, where the foundations of Congregational theology and polity were laid. The most significant development of independent Congregations took place in New England, where until the nineteenth century Congregationalism was practically the state religion. New England is still dominantly Congregational, and from it as a center Congregationalism has spread throughout the west, though the denomination is comparatively small in numbers. In England, too, there is now a considerable number of "independent chapels."

The early Congregations were based on the doctrine that a true or "primitive" Christian church is a particular society of believers, or members of the universal, invisible Church, bound to God by the covenant of grace, and covenanting with each other by an "external covenant" for purposes of worship and mutual encouragement. Each Congregation elected its own minister and other officers and in general constituted a democratic society of Christians, acknowledging the sovereignty of God. On these principles they felt free to separate from all other ecclesiastical organizations and authorities. For a while in New England each Congregation was practically an independent community. After several decades, however, it became necessary to call assemblies or "consociations" of the various churches to decide important questions affecting all the churches. Since then church councils have met from time to time to promote "fellowship" among the Congregations. In 1871 a permanent national council was created which has no legislative powers but ad-

ministers the missionary, educational and philanthropic activities of the churches.

Though the early Congregations were rigidly Calvinistic, they were not bound to any single creed, and hence changes were introduced with comparative ease and rapidity. Under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards the New England churches gave a renewed religious power and intellectual refinement to Calvinism. But after



After Loud

199. Regeneration. A revival meeting, during which some have come under conviction of sin and others have received the assurance of saving grace.

the middle of the eighteenth century liberalism made such headway among them that a large number of the Congregations joined the Unitarian Church when it became a separate denomination. Similarly a large number of the more conservative western Congregations were lost to the Presbyterians. The New England churches early became centers of anti-slavery agitation and missionary activity. In their manner of worship they are now indistinguishable from the other major denominations.

F. THE BAPTISTS. After the break-up of the radical Anabaptists, the opposition to infant baptism was kept alive in a more peaceful form by the Mennonites. During the early part of the seventeenth century some English Separatists, probably under Mennonite in-

fluence, revived the opposition to infant baptism, without the social radicalism traditionally associated with it, and founded what has since become known as the Baptist Church. The majority of these Separatists were Calvinists who believed that baptism should be merely a symbol of regeneration and not a sacrament or "means of grace" administered to infants, supposedly with supernatural effects, as is the doctrine of the Catholics, Episcopalians and Lutherans. At first they did not insist on immersion, but before long they came to believe that total immersion was the only biblical and legitimate form of baptism. These Baptists were not social revolutionaries, but they were extreme congregationalists. They believed in the total separation of church and state, in complete religious toleration and in the autonomy of each congregation. Above all they practised close communion and believed that the church should include only those who had definitely experienced regeneration. For the most part they were poor people; their ministers engaged in secular trades and were not salaried. With a few exceptions, notably John Bunyan, they were uneducated.

Roger Williams is generally regarded as the founder of the Baptist Churches in America, and Rhode Island early became their stronghold. They grew rapidly, especially in frontier communities. Even in New England, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, they found many adherents among the democratic elements who were socially liberal but intellectually conservative. Since 1845 their growth has been strongest in the South, and about one-third of all Baptists in the United States are negroes. Today the Baptists are one of the major Protestant denominations, carrying on extensive educational and philanthropic activities. Both socially and religiously they are more varied than any other church, being exceptionally adaptable to local conditions and changing needs and ideas.

In accordance with their principles, they have never organized into a centralized church body but have formed loose associations chiefly for philanthropic, educational and missionary purposes. The Baptists have been especially active in the mission-field and have made many converts in Russia and India. The larger Baptist groups now have salaried and educated ministers, and their public worship is quite similar to that of other large Protestant denominations, ex-

cept that the majority still practise close communion and encourage evangelistic methods.

G. THE METHODISTS. About 1730 a group of young men at Oxford, led by two brothers, both of them Anglican clergymen, John and Charles Wesley, and including George Whitefield, formed a pietistic group and sought salvation in a methodical régime of devotional exercises and works of charity. Failing to gain comfort by these means they embarked on missionary enterprises without much success. However, John Wesley thus came in touch with a band of Moravian pietists, and through them and their reading of Luther he attained a sudden and joyful assurance of his salvation. Whitefield and Charles Wesley had already had similar experiences and were preaching free, present and complete salvation by faith throughout England. Whitefield was a Calvinist; the Wesleys were Arminians. Whitefield's greatest success was his participation in the revival in Wales which led to the founding of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Connection, which became practically a national church for the Welsh peasants and miners.

The Wesleys addressed themselves chiefly to the poor of the English cities, whose condition was becoming increasingly wretched and among whom the Wesleys found a generous response and an urgent need for a gospel of immediate and emotional salvation. They also made converts among the middle-class members of the Church of England who were dissatisfied with the formalism and "worldliness" of the Anglican Church. The Wesleys remained in the Church of England and hoped that their revival would transform the Anglican atmosphere, but when they failed to find a response among Churchmen, they organized their converts into groups or classes, supervised by itinerant preachers and exhorters. As numbers grew, the great majority of these leaders were necessarily laymen. During John Wesley's life the Methodist societies were not allowed to hold services at the regular Church hours nor to receive the sacraments except from the Church of England; after his death, however, they were practically compelled to form a separate church, known as the Wesleyan Methodist Connection, governed by a Yearly General Conference or joint assembly of ministers and lay delegates. The Wesleyan churches in England have split into a number of small organizations, all practically identical as far as their reli-

gious beliefs and practices are concerned. In all probability they will soon be reunited.

The most important branch of Methodism is the Methodist Episcopal Church of America. After the American Revolution Wesley took steps to permit the American Methodists to organize independently, and since it was not practicable in America to depend for the sacraments on Anglican clergymen, he recommended that they make their own ordinations and constitute themselves an independent church. The superintendents whom Wesley had appointed, notably Francis Asbury, were then ratified by vote of the American preachers and were later known as bishops. In this way the American Methodist Episcopal Church was organized in 1784. Bishops are now elected by the General Conference of the Church, consisting of both ministerial and lay delegates. The ritual which Wesley prepared for the American church and which was based on the Anglican never found favor, and Methodist services have always been extremely simple. On the other hand Wesley's hymn-book, including Charles Wesley's hymns, has been one of the great factors in stimulating and in expressing Methodist ideas.

The characteristic feature of early American Methodism was the itinerant preacher, who without adequate education or remuneration traveled thousands of miles on horseback, preaching to small groups in pioneer communities, organizing classes and then making a regular circuit of his scattered "charges." Thus from the early centers of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, Methodism spread rapidly throughout the south and west. After about 1830 the Methodist Churches began to assume a more settled aspect. The itinerancy declined; there was a demand for "located" and educated ministers; schools and colleges were established; a printing house, missionary society, Sunday-schools and other typical Protestant bodies were formed; and Methodism gradually assumed the same general aspect which characterized the other popular churches.

There was a vigorous movement in certain quarters to revive "primitive" Methodism by the renewal of itinerant preaching, the founding of camp meetings and the emphasis on "revival meetings." These activities were carried to extremes by the Holiness groups, who preached an extravagant form of the Wesleyan doctrine of "perfect love" or "entire sanctification" as a "second, definite work

of grace" following upon conversion. Though the majority of Methodists repudiated this extreme form of evangelism, the emphasis on conversion persisted, and revivalistic services continued to be a general characteristic of Methodism. It is only recently that this emphasis has subsided among the larger and more liberal congregations. The emotional type of Methodism is still popular among the



200. A camp meeting. This old print shows an evangelistic appeal during a camp meeting. Whole families gather at the camp ground for a season of outdoor services.

negroes, who have several large Methodist organizations. The great majority of Methodist churches still conduct mid-winter revival campaigns. But in general Methodism is rapidly losing its "primitive" characteristics and is taking its place among the prosperous, educated, and "refined" Protestant churches. In the south and east, the Methodists are still on the whole less aristocratic than the Presbyterians and more liberal in their social theories and policies. In 1925 the Canadian Methodists and Presbyterians combined and formed the United Church of Canada; and in the United States there is an agitation for union with the Presbyterians. Except for social differences there is now little to distinguish these two de-

nominations, since the Presbyterians have abandoned Calvinism and the Methodists primitive Methodism.

H. THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS. The Friends or Quakers represent the extreme left wing of Protestantism. Growing out of the turbulent seventeenth century, with its religious wars and intolerances and its social unrests, Quakerism has survived and gains new power from every recurring period of distress and conflict. Two very different characters were primarily responsible for the growth of the Society of Friends: George Fox, a mystic and visionary, a preacher and prophet to the oppressed; and William Penn, a wealthy, influential business-man and politician, who came to respect and employ the Quakers because of their sobriety, peaceableness, thrift and devotion to their democratic ideas. Until 1660 the Friends were largely taken from the ranks of the disinherited and discontented, who hoped by intensive missionary preaching and by apocalyptic prophecy to establish the Kingdom of God in England; but severe persecution, fanatic demonstrations and opportunities for emigration induced them to adopt more passive tactics. Penn's "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania finally gave them a place to apply their principles unmolested. The most famous of the American Quakers was the itinerant missionary, John Woolman (1720-72), whose *Journal* is a classic exposition of Quaker principles and policies.

The Friends reject practically all of the traditional religious institutions—priesthood, professional ministry, sacraments, ritual, even the authority of the Bible. They believe in a radically democratic society and religion, in which each person is guided by the indwelling Spirit of God. Differences of opinion or conflicts of interest are to be settled by peaceable discussion or negotiation and mutual agreement. They oppose war, slavery, inequality of the sexes and all institutions which give one person absolute authority over another. Their worship consists in meeting silently for a period of prayer and meditation, followed by spontaneous addresses by members of the Society. Occasionally hymns and vocal prayers are used. There is no fixed creed. On the whole, the Quakers were theologically fairly conservative until 1827, when Elias Hicks, of Long Island, created a schism by denying the Trinity and asserting other liberal doctrines. The leadership in this liberal branch is now centered in Swarthmore College. In 1902 the conservatives, who are

greatly in the majority, organized the "Five Years' Meeting" by which the general affairs of the Society are conducted. The growth of liberalism since then has led to a gradual reconciliation. Active philanthropy is one of the fundamental principles of the Friends, and they have carried on extensive works of education, charity and social reform.

I. OTHER PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS. The denominations described above are fairly representative of the various aspects of the Protestant movement, but there are scores of others of which we can take no account in this survey. The Unitarians and Universalists, though Protestants, will be discussed below,¹⁹ since they are more directly exponents of liberalism. Among the other more important and distinctive Protestant groups are the following.

1. THE MORAVIANS. Their church is called *Unitas Fratrum* and represents the continuation of one of the earliest Protestant churches, the Bohemian Brethren, followers of John Huss, who was himself but one expression of the independent spirit of the ancient Bohemian church. The persecuted Brethren found an asylum on the estate of Count Zinzendorf early in the eighteenth century, where they were joined by many pietistic Germans, including the Count himself. Here they established their community, Herrnhut, which is still their headquarters and whence they have sent missionaries and colonies throughout the world. Their most prosperous colonies were established in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, notably the town of Bethlehem. The Moravians have maintained an intimate communal fellowship, expressed in their worship by a characteristic ritual in which the whole congregation participates. Their hymns, "love feasts," communions and festivals emphasize the atoning life and sufferings of Christ and the joy of participation in his cross and resurrection through the community of faith and devotion. The Moravians are also noted for their extensive missionary work.

2. THE SWEDENBORGIANS. The doctrines and writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) became the basis for the Church of the New Jerusalem. It was organized in England in 1782, whence it spread to America, where it now has two independent branches and about one hundred churches. Swedenborg was both a distinguished scientist and a learned student of the prophetic and cosmological

¹⁹ See sec. V, C.

theologies of his day. In addition he claimed to have received by special revelation the inner or "spiritual" sense of the Bible. This revelation is regarded by the New Church as the second coming of Christ "in the Word," as the Judgment of the World, and consequently as the beginning of the New Jerusalem. The study and exposition of these doctrines as a systematic theology, science and



201. Moravians in prayer. This old engraving shows a ritualistic expression of early pietism.

philosophy, based on the doctrine of "correspondences," constitutes the core of New Church religion. There is at present considerable disagreement among New Churchmen as to how strictly they should adhere to Swedenborg's teachings as a final authority.

3. THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST. This church had its origin in the work of Alexander Campbell and other preachers in pioneer communities of the Middle West early in the nineteenth century. Its initial strength came from Baptists who revolted against the theological sectarianism of the time and tried to bring about a "restoration of primitive Christianity." They relied professedly on the New

Testament as an adequate basis for what they termed "Churches of Christ," but in fact they emphasized a particular theory of baptism "unto remission of sins." Protracted controversies led to the formation of separate churches, and their members grew by accessions from all the Protestant churches. On the whole the Disciples have combined a simple creed and worship with a spirit of toleration and liberalism and have been a "Christian" influence especially in pioneer communities torn by religious dissensions. Viewed externally, however, their attempted restoration of Christian unity has had the ironical fate of creating more sects. A conservative group, calling itself the Church of Christ, seceded because of its opposition to instrumental music in worship.

4. THE ADVENTISTS. There are several groups called by this name because of their emphasis on the personal second coming of Christ in the near future. The movement began in England during the 1830's under the apocalyptic preaching of Hugh McNeile and Edward Irving, but it did not assume large proportions until William Miller in New England and New York prophesied the exact date of the second coming. When the dates failed, he organized his followers in 1845 at Albany into a body to await the event whenever it might come. Adventists believe that the second coming will be followed by the millennial reign of Christ and that immortality is gained only through faith in Christ, the unsaved being totally annihilated at the last judgment. They are, for the most part, believers in immersion as the only true baptism and are also total abstainers. In 1855 the Advent Christian Church was formed; in 1860 the Seventh-Day Adventists, followers of the prophetess Ellen G. White, organized a separate church; in 1864 another group formed the Life and Advent Union; and in 1866 the Church of God (Adventist) was organized. From this last group there was a secession in 1888 of those who believed in a literal restoration of Israel in Jerusalem and who called themselves the Churches of God in Christ Jesus.

Largest of these groups is the church of the Seventh-Day Adventists, so-called because of their belief that the seventh day of the week should be observed as the Sabbath. The Adventists are also characterized by their rigid system of tithing and by their extensive institutions for health and healing. Believing that disease is a result

of sin, they have persistently linked the problem of healing the body with that of saving the soul. Their largest sanitarium is that at Battle Creek, Michigan, which has become an important center of drugless healing and which has also contributed in a large measure to the financial support of the missionary and educational activities of the church.

5. THE MORMONS. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints is founded on the revelations of Joseph Smith, who claimed to have discovered and deciphered an ancient Book of Mormon in 1827. Partly by his successive revelations and partly by compulsion, his followers were guided westward until they succeeded in establishing themselves in Utah immediately before the Gold Rush. They now have numerous churches throughout the western states and carry on an extensive missionary work the world over. Their aim has been to build their own community of saints, based on Mormon laws and teachings, but "gentiles" have continually frustrated this goal, and the Mormons are now forced to abandon their hopes for an exclusive Zion or homeland and to maintain their church as one among others. The central doctrine of the Book of Mormon is the visit of Christ to the Nephites (descendants of Joseph and Judah) revealing to them their glorious future in the American Land of Zion, where he would gather the scattered House of Israel preparatory to his second coming. The reinterpretation of the Bible in view of the Book of Mormon constitutes the chief theme of preaching and teaching. The doctrine that a woman must be "sealed" to a man in order to be saved and the circumstance that women greatly outnumbered men in pioneer Utah led to the practice of polygamy, but this practice was never wide-spread and is now prohibited by church as well as by civil law in the United States. Worship is conducted much as in other Protestant churches. The Church is governed by a hierarchy of presidents, apostles and elders and maintains a priesthood. The territory of the Church is divided into "stakes of Zion" and these into "wards," and the theory of the Church is that its members constitute a society which is economically, socially and religiously independent of others. In practice, however, their exclusiveness no longer prevails.

V. CHRISTIANITY IN THE MODERN WORLD

A. THE IMPACT OF SECULAR CULTURE. The beginnings of the so-called secularization of Christianity are to be found in those discoveries of science and inventions of art which presented entirely new horizons for mind and for work. The combination of mathematics and experiment led physical science into the techniques and disciplines of the modern laboratory and led philosophy to new conceptions of the structure of the world. From the fifteenth century on, the Renaissance of classical literature and philosophy took on a more secular form and finally came openly into conflict with Christian doctrine, both Catholic and Protestant. Most humanists, like Erasmus and Sir Thomas More, were still in sympathy with the Christian Church and believed in the essentials of its faith. Nevertheless the growing individualism, paganism and secularism of the Renaissance conflicted with the authority of the Bible and Church, with the Christian cosmology and ascetic other-worldly morality.

Meanwhile the progress in the art of navigation and the growth of Oriental commerce opened a new and an old world to European conquest and exploitation. The enormous development of the mechanical and industrial arts has changed the whole economic mode of life. National integrations and international wars have created a new type of state and new problems of government. The cultivation of secular poetry, fiction, music, dancing and drama has transformed the standards and functions of art. In all these achievements religion has played a negligible rôle. The pioneers of modern culture, Galileo, Leonardo da Vinci, Machiavelli, Petrarch, Hobbes, Descartes and Francis Bacon, to mention a few of the greatest, invariably found the sources of their inspiration in secular channels. Today the extent to which secular institutions and concerns dominate religious is greater than ever. It is especially significant in the life of the common people, for though the upper classes have long found their chief satisfactions in secular pursuits, it is only recently that the peasant and the laborer have been given significant non-religious interests for their little leisure. Holidays are no longer primarily holy days for them, and other institutions besides the church now offer them literature, entertainment, recreation and consolation. The novel, newspaper, motion pictures, automobile, radio, lodge and labor union have reduced the church to a minor place in

the lives of the great majority. And the external aspects of this cultural revolution are accompanied by an even more significant inner transformation. There are religious novels, papers, motion pictures and broadcasts, and Fords take many to church, but on the whole the interests, themes and ideals served by these institutions and inventions are of a secular character. It is now a commonplace that religion suffers less from doubt than from indifference; and modern indifference has been created not by skepticism but by the positive significance of secular life.

The basic intellectual themes and moral standards of the majority of modern men are derived from their secular pursuits and institutions. The Christian theological "economy of redemption" no longer provides the basic categories of cosmology or of ethics. Business and politics have developed their own codes of law and conduct and justify them by secular theories of government, of competition, of value and of right and wrong. The novel, newspaper and the screen are more effective than the pulpit and the confessional in molding consciences and standards. In short, our culture has lost its unitary structure, if it ever had one, and has outgrown not only the traditional Christian patterns but any single pattern whatsoever. Competing groups, contradictory ideas and conflicting standards are the basic traits of modern civilization.

In this intellectual and moral diversity Christianity has shared. The disruption of religious unity is proof that Christianity has been adapting itself to its changing environments. The hope of enthusiastic rationalists that the Christian religion must speedily perish in a modern atmosphere seems further from fulfilment than ever. A living religion naturally participates in a culture even when it can not dominate it. It therefore remains to sketch briefly the particular ways in which modern churches have interacted with other modern institutions. And by modern churches we mean not only modernistic or liberal churches, for, as we shall see, the revival of Catholic tradition and the longing for authority and unity are also modern phenomena, intelligible only in view of the kind of culture which we have been describing.

I. THE SECULARIZATION OF EDUCATION. One of the most significant illustrations of this fact is seen in the secularization of education. Until comparatively recently the churches were responsible for prac-

tically all educational institutions except the technical professional education of the universities. Today parochial schools and church colleges are facing the growing competition (or persecution) of public and secular institutions of instruction and learning. The curriculum, even in church-owned schools, has undergone a similar secularization, and the church now considers itself fortunate if it can introduce religion as a very minor subject of study into the secular program of education. As a result the child, unless his home environment is religious, regards religion as of the greatest importance in theory and negligible in practice. A religious faith is thus transformed into a formal profession, exhibited in church, useful in emergencies, but divorced from the concrete objects of daily interest and devotion. Two alternatives confront the churches in their educational policy. They can concentrate on those schools which they are still able to control, giving their children and youth an education complete but definitely subordinated to religious ideas and duties. In such schools the traditions and teachings of the church are retained and cultivated as the primary subject-matters of instruction. Such education is definitely religious in the sense that it culminates in the traditions of the church. This is the policy adopted by the Catholic and the more orthodox Protestant churches. Some of the liberal Protestants have attempted the opposite and are introducing what is usually regarded as secular material into their programs of religious education. In their Sunday-schools and whatever other agencies of religious education they possess, they incorporate nature-study, boy-scout activities, patriotic themes, plays, discussion of social problems, etc., in the hope of restoring in this way the concrete association of religion and secular affairs. By the first policy Christianity is maintained as a distinct and competing culture in modern society; by the other, its content is secularized and assimilated to modern culture. In neither case, however, is it probable that such education will restore the intellectual and moral primacy which traditional religion still claims in theory but which modern secular interests have destroyed in practice, for the fate of religious education is but an instance of the fate of religious living in general.

2. MODERN PAGANISM. The popes and princes of the Church were among the first to welcome and display external modernity as it was

cultivated by the humanism of the Renaissance. The Roman Church and the medieval universities had sponsored an academic and illiberal interest in the pagan classics and in "natural philosophy" but had subordinated them to Christian scholasticism. After the thirteenth century, however, the interest in pagan learning and art began to have a marked effect on Christian thought, art and morals. The Church became conspicuously worldly. In the polite society of the aristocracy, Christianity became little short of an affectation, and among the devout humanists it became literary subject-matter. A modern Catholic humanist writes, "God, Who loves to see us gay, has given us in the Bible and the stories of the saints an inexhaustible picture-book. May not the pleasure which we take in contemplating, colouring as it were, these pictures, be in itself a prayer?"²⁰ In this spirit the "beautiful and virtuous" Saint Magdalen became increasingly popular as an object of refined devotion. For a century, at least, this fashion prevailed. Christian literature was saturated with an air of worldly wisdom and learning. After the humanists of the Renaissance came a generation of pious litterateurs and voluble mystics. After the Cambridge Platonists in England came Milton, with his puritan epics. In Germany pietism produced a number of lesser poets like Klopstock, who performed their devotions in hexameter.

The reformers, from Savonarola to the Jansenists and the Wesleys, protested against this alliance of worldliness and devoutness; and the gulf between humanism and piety widened until the Enlightenment finally forced the issue into the open. The French Revolution was heavily surcharged with a classicist atmosphere, and for a brief time there was even a serious attempt to establish a pagan civic cult. The failure of this radical republican religion divorced neo-classicism from religion. As an intellectual tradition, however, paganism became increasingly significant during the nineteenth century, for classicists gradually freed themselves from humanistic affectations and by several generations of scholarly work and historical research succeeded in recovering a more accurate and profound appreciation of Greek culture. As a result the contrast between the pagan and Christian traditions is more keenly felt today than ever, and though the great majority of Christians is little affected

²⁰ Henri Bremond, *A literary history of religious thought in France*, vol. I, p. 30.

by the clash, intellectual leaders are attempting in various ways to meet this fresh challenge of Christianity's most ancient foe. The Roman Catholic Church has officially revived the Thomistic version of the Aristotelian tradition, and among liberal mystics, especially in England, neo-Platonism is being revived as containing the essentials of Christianity. Both of these attempts at reconciliation, however, rely on the late Roman tradition, and it is certain that the growing interest in classic Greek art, thought and morals has little in common with Christianity and is having a serious practical influence as a rival way of life.

Two types of paganism are current today. The one is a product of neo-classicism and has recently revived the name "humanism." Though not explicitly a cult and quite distinct from the current religious movement likewise called humanism, this classicism proposes to be a movement of reform for manners and morals as well as for literature and philosophy. By some it is aimed at Christianity directly, who regard it as a stabilizing force, holding a critical and restraining mean between the extremes of Christian enthusiasm and modernistic "expansiveness." The other type of paganism is less moralistic. It attempts to cultivate in a modern way ideal expressions for the natural values and forces of human experience, freed from supernatural sanctions and other-worldliness. Like Marcus Aurelius, though perhaps less stoically, it seeks to make the best of this life instead of seeking refuge in a better one. It seldom takes definitely religious form; perhaps the nearest approach to a neo-pagan faith was made by the disciples of Nietzsche, since their gospel was the most violently opposed to the Christian. Modern paganism treasures classic art and mythology, and the Christian, too, for that matter, wherever they are imaginative and beautiful transcriptions of the facts of human existence. This naturalistic attitude is, of course, more pervasive than the revival of classic paganism and has other sources.

3. SECULARIZED CHURCHES. Since modern culture gives every appearance of being in its infancy, there is reason to assume that it is too early to predict what forms Christianity will take in the future. The presumption is that the work of reconstruction has barely begun. The ritualistic churches are naturally least susceptible to this process. In the non-liturgical Protestant churches the change which

has already taken place is indicative of the pervasive influence of modern culture and is especially instructive since it illustrates the contrast between the Protestant movement and the modern. The fierce convictions and enthusiasms which characterized early Protestantism, the painstaking study of the Bible as the sole source of truth and the intense cultivation of a religious way of life by an exclusive group are all still exhibited today in out-of-the-way places; but most of the churches which once displayed them and still do lip-service to them have now adopted more secular, urbane and tolerant gospels.

Outwardly the service of worship has undergone little change, but its spirit has undergone a considerable transformation. In place of the general congregational participation and crude spontaneity of the old-fashioned "meeting" a Protestant church today attempts, within its very serious limitations, to make its service a work of art. Professional musicians (commonly a quartet) sing anthems of a more or less sacred nature and under the guidance of an organist usually give a minimum of liturgical structure to the service. Congregational singing of the hymns is becoming increasingly perfunctory. The prayers are more carefully prepared literary compositions than formerly and briefer. The scripture lessons, except in the more liturgical churches, consist usually of the responsive reading of a psalm and a few verses bearing on the theme of the sermon. The sermon is still the dominant feature, but its quality has changed. It has become steadily briefer, twenty-five minutes being now regarded as quite sufficient. It is seldom expository in the old biblical sense; a Bible text is used to suggest a theme, and the theme is then developed quite freely. The themes may still be doctrinal, in which case their exposition is usually apologetic; for, in general, the beliefs of the churches are on the defensive. The defense is seldom based literally on scripture, but on science, philosophy, common-sense or on "the spirit of Christ." Sermons are seldom evangelistic, and the highly emotional appeals for conversion which dominated many of the denominations are now regarded as both bad form and bad theology. In fact, the whole theory of salvation and justification, which has been the chief theme of Protestant reform, is now either forgotten or translated into secular and moralistic terms. With a few notable exceptions, sermons are usually neither learned discourses

nor rhetorical harangues but trite discussions of conventional themes. The "preaching service" has receded into the background, and few congregations are held together either by the preaching or by the services of worship. In many instances the Sunday evening services, where they still exist, are frankly forms of entertainment, consisting of pictures, music, book reviews, debates or similar devices inspired by the secular arts.

Thus, within a few generations, the whole temper, environment and objectives of Protestantism have undergone a radical change. The churches are no longer fighting Catholicism, nor are they being persecuted for heresy. They have themselves become a type of orthodoxy, increasingly allied against growing forces of indifference. New forces of protest are brewing, and though some of the churches are eager to join in a new reformation, it seems probable that the majority of them will continue to regard themselves as already reformed, and that the new wine will find new bottles. For the most part Protestantism has become a genial *Volksreligion*, a popular expression of public sentiment, exerting a pervasive, steadying influence in morals and politics. But it has lost its leadership and depends for its intellectual life and creative imagination on the secular arts and forces of modern society.

B. SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND MODERN THEOLOGY.

I. NATURAL RELIGION. Intellectually the dominant force in modern culture has been the growth of the mathematical and experimental sciences, together with the philosophies they have generated. The discoveries and accurate measurements of the laws of motion and the mechanisms of nature not only made the world of sense intelligible and orderly, but kindled confidence in the methods of physical science as the most certain ways of arriving at truth in general. This confidence became practically a religious faith after Newton succeeded in giving mathematical formulation to the laws of motion, thus giving physical nature an ideal harmony and order. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the success of science was the more conspicuous in view of the turmoil of religious war, persecution and sectarian controversy. Under these circumstances men turned eagerly to the cult of nature for a sense of peace, order and reason. There followed a general reaction against religious fanaticism and enthusiasm, and the suspicion grew that God may be more

clearly revealed in his works than in his Word, or that man may worship God better by the rational study of nature than by reliance on ecclesiastical revelations.

Many of the more sober and philosophical leaders recognized the need for tolerance and reason. To combat the extravagant claims of authority and revelation they attempted to demonstrate what Locke called "the reasonableness of Christianity." They made no attempt to defend the mystery of the Trinity nor the Christian miracles, but they believed that the doctrine of a benevolent providence, the faith in immortality and the principles of morality rest on purely natural foundations and must be evident to every rational being. The more conservative rationalists claimed that supernatural revelation itself is based on reason since it is supported by historical evidence, and that it is worthy of belief only because it is sufficiently attested. The general tendency, however, was to minimize the super-rational and to emphasize the glory of God's natural order and the universal benevolence of the Creator. The Newtonian physics became the background of Christian theology, and the concept of natural law, the basis of moral optimism. Leibnitz's *Theodicy* and Paley's *Natural theology* are representative statements of this theology; and the first stanza of Alexander Pope's famous "Universal Prayer" is a typical emotional expression.

Father of all! in ev'ry age
In ev'ry clime adored,
By saint, by savage, and by sage,
Jehovah, Jove or Lord!

By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the faith in the reasonableness of Christianity was being undermined, and the optimism of the deists gave way to the skepticism of the Enlightenment. The religion of nature came to be regarded as a substitute for Christianity. Radicals like Blount, Tyndal and, above all, Voltaire took a critical attitude toward Christianity as a whole. Hume, in his *Dialogues on natural religion*, and Kant, following him, undermined the rationalistic arguments for God and left only faith as the basis for the Christian theology. The excesses of the French Revolution and its cult of Reason finally aroused Christians to the dangers of rationalism and became the signal for a reaction against "free-thinking" in general.

2. EVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION. During the nineteenth century the influence of science on religion was more romantic and came from the historical and biological sciences. Hegelian theologians developed a philosophy of history which culminated in the doctrine that the epochs of human history constitute the progressive rational realization of the mind of God. When history, geology and biology adopted evolutionary theories of nature, liberal theologians and idealistic philosophers were not slow to transform these formulas into a new argument for theism. Evolution was identified with creation and was generally assumed to have a "spiritual" trend or goal; the conception of God's immanence in nature was generally accepted and supplanted both the "creator and governor" theology of the deists and the transcendentalist doctrine of the "over-soul." Spencerian and other evolutionary theologians developed the general theme of natural progress and the gradual "evanescence of evil." Darwin's attempt to give a strictly mechanical interpretation to biological evolution, followed by philosophical criticisms of teleological theories of evolution, led to a reaction against the too easy identification of evolution with progress and of natural law with divine purpose. But the recent tendency among physical scientists and philosophers to abandon the rigidly mechanical interpretation of nature has encouraged a revival of evolutionary theology. Some argue for an "emergent" deity; others argue that the natural evolution of intelligent beings is evidence of a creative intelligence or personal God in nature; still others regard the realm of values or the capacity of human beings to distinguish and pursue ideals as the manifestation of God. Meanwhile developments in physics and astronomy have again focused theological speculation on the inherent structure of the universe rather than on its ultimate goal or meaning, and there is a tendency to interpret nature as exhibiting more types of order and processes than can be explained in terms of physical analysis alone. Philosophers who picture the universe as an "organism" or as a "living whole" have encouraged a revival of pantheism and a fresh attempt to construe the forms of cosmic energy as manifestations of the life of God.

In general, philosophical theism today bears much the same relation to Christianity that deism bore in the eighteenth century; it gives Christian theology a scientific veneer which both protects and

conceals the traditional content of the Christian gospel. For though there is an evident desire on the part of theologians to come to terms with science, this desire has prompted the repeated assertion that religion and science do not conflict, rather than a positive reconstruction of theology in the light of science. Philosophers and speculative theologians are, to be sure, engaged in this enterprise, but their systems have as yet exercised little influence on the controlling ideas and practical interests of the churches. The religious value, in other words, of such speculation has been, on the whole, the negative and apologetic one of separating science and religion in order that they may not conflict.

3. CRITICAL THEOLOGY. More penetrating upon Christianity than scientific cosmology has been the growth of scientific methods of historical criticism in evaluating the Bible and the traditions of the church. After Hume and Kant had spelled the doom of rationalistic theology, Christian philosophy took two different directions, both of which have continued to be fruitful down to the present, one based on the analysis of religious experience and the other on the history of doctrine, the former emphasizing the personal and practical aspects of religion, the latter, the progress of the spirit through history. They are usually, though inaccurately, distinguished as the psychological or experiential and the historical approaches, respectively. The philosophical foundations of both these approaches are found in Kant's doctrine of the primacy of practical reason and faith and in the development of this idea by Fichte, Schelling and the other romantic idealists.

The experiential theology received its first great impetus from Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834). He addressed himself boldly to the "educated despisers of religion" as one who, though enlightened by critical rationalism, did not despise true piety. He pointed out that religion has deeper roots than intellectual assent to doctrine, and that man's sense of participation in and dependence on the life of God is not necessarily destroyed by the failure of rationalistic theology. He and his followers, deeply influenced by pietism, therefore continued to cultivate this inner religious life and the morality which gave social expression to it. His worship of Christ as a perfect illustration of the union of man with God and as therefore the mediator between man and God was largely

independent of both the troublesome problems of history and the traditional theologies of atonement. A similar work of revaluation was carried on by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle and the Transcendentalists in Great Britain and America. They developed the theory of an intuitive religious consciousness and of an absolute moral law, both of which are independent of the methods of scientific understanding and of any external authority whatsoever. More recently the domain of religious experience has been explored by many psychologists, anthropologists and theologians, who have freed this experiential approach to a large extent from the philosophical preconceptions of transcendental idealism.

The other approach, the historical, received its inspiration from the romantic treatment of history, from the philosophy of Hegel and from the textual criticism of the Bible. The pioneer work in biblical criticism had been carried on under rationalist presuppositions. Philosophers like Hobbes and Spinoza made some of the earliest attempts, and in 1753 Jean Astruc made the "conjecture" that Genesis is composed of two distinct accounts. Through the labors of Johann Gottfried Eichhorn of Göttingen and other scholars, rationalistic criticism was intensively cultivated in Germany. It was championed in the literary work of Lessing and reached a sensational culmination in David Strauss' famous *Life of Jesus* (1835). But Strauss had come under Hegelian influence through his teacher at Tübingen, Ferdinand Baur, and subsequent criticism was controlled largely by hypotheses taken more or less directly from the Hegelian philosophy of history. Through the Tübingen school the method of interpreting the books of the Bible in view of their historical environment and occasions was firmly established.

By Albrecht Ritschl (1822-99) these two approaches were synthesized and transformed into a comprehensive theology. He looked for the truths of religion neither in the history of reason nor in the testimony of individual feeling, but in the successive and cumulative revelations of God in the consciousness of the church or "religious community" in its historic development. This development is fundamentally a process of social judgment whereby God is known, not in his own nature, to be sure, but in terms of his "value" or meaning for human life. In this way Ritschl and his numerous followers (especially Adolf von Harnack) succeeded in encouraging

both a life of intimate church communion and a rigorous pursuit of historical investigations. Since his day the historical understanding of the Christian faith has broadened considerably; it is no longer dominated by the problems of textual criticism nor by the history of dogma, but by the study of the various aspects of religion in their social and cultural relations with other human institutions. The most notable example is the work of Ernst Troeltsch. As a result, Harnack's attempt to base an objective and genetic science of theology on the history of dogma has given way to attempts to reconstruct dogma in the light of modern knowledge and experience and thus to create a "positive theology" rather than a mere scientific apologetic.

4. CRISIS THEOLOGY. Two concrete current theologies might be mentioned here to illustrate attempts to construct positive theologies based on modern thought and experience, the one being a neo-Protestantism championed by Karl Barth and the other, neo-mysticism. Barth's system goes under the name of Crisis Theology and grew out of his disillusion over both liberalism and socialism; it is based on the idea that in the experience of crisis or judgment man is driven to the revelation of God. Man must despair of his own ability to know God or to achieve a progressive realization of the divine either in himself or in society, and out of this despair comes the realization that God has revealed himself in Christ and in his Word as a transcendent "totally other." God does not grow out of human experience, as Schleiermacher and all subsequent theology maintained, but enters into it as a complete and compelling revelation of absolute truth. The nature of this truth can not be known empirically, but can be inferred dialectically from the qualitative distinction between time and eternity, between history and origin, between the word of man and the word of God. "The Church will not see the dawn of the Kingdom of God in any work of human culture, but still will keep an open door for the signs which announce themselves, perhaps in a great many works of human culture, that the Kingdom of God is coming nigh."²¹ This, in other words, is a restatement for the modern age of the primitive apocalyptic prophecy, combined with the Reform theology of the sovereign glory and free grace of God. The Barthian system may not be very important in itself, but it is

²¹ Karl Barth, *Die Theologie und die Kirche*, p. 377, translated and quoted by John McConnachie in *The significance of Karl Barth*, p. 260.

significant as a symptom of disillusion with conventional liberalism and as a discovery of new meanings in old concepts.

5. NEO-MYSTICISM. The philosophy of neo-mysticism, on the other hand, is an outcome of the emphasis on religious experience, against which Barth revolted, and is being cultivated by speculatively inclined liberals, who have turned from the worldly and social gospels to the cultivation of an inner religious life. The writings of William James, Baron von Hügel, Dean Inge, Rudolf Otto, Evelyn Underhill and Rufus Jones, to mention only a few of the outstanding contributions in this field, have brought about a new current of Christian thought. Historically it is related to the movements begun by Schleiermacher, Chateaubriand and the romanticists, but its current inspiration is derived neither from German idealism nor from Ultramontanism. It has at least four distinct new sources. First, modern empirical psychology has explored the phenomena of conversion, trances, visions, prayer and spiritual communion and has thrown light on the physiological mechanisms involved, as well as on their motivations or courses. The net result of these investigations has been to project the experience of regeneration or conversion, which evangelical Protestants had erected into an all-important and unique event in the normal religious career of a sinner, against the background of mysticism as it has been practised in all ages and religions. Against this background the experience appears to be not the normal prerequisite for every Christian, but the abnormal attainment of those relatively few who are led by crises or by unusual disciplines to extremes of emotional and imaginative stimulation. The emphasis in these psychological investigations has been clinical rather than theological, and they have been concerned in the main to discover the effects of these experiences on mental and physical health or adjustment. A more theological and philosophical approach grew out of the theory that Christianity owes much to Hellenistic mystery-religion, especially to neo-Platonism. As a result, there has been an intensive study of the philosophical doctrines of immediate union with absolute being and of the various "ways" or "ladders" to God as they have been described by Hindu, Greek and Christian mystics. A third type of interest in mysticism has grown out of the revival of ritualism and sacramentarianism. Liturgical worship is now seldom condemned as "cold," "mere form," or "papist superstition and

magic," for its appeal and power are too conspicuous, and even the "lowest" churches are cautiously reintroducing ritual. It is now evident that there is a positive value in the esthetic satisfactions and mystic symbolisms of the eucharist and other rites, quite apart from the theories of their magical utility which have traditionally been used to justify them. In some minds this discovery has induced a worship of worship, and the traditional rites are being cultivated as ends in themselves. In general, however, ritualism is being revived as one of the many ways, and a very popular way, by which men attain the sense of being in the presence of God. Lastly, the discovery that science is an art of measurement, description and conceptual manipulation of objects, has suggested that there is also a qualitative appreciation or immediate experience by which we attain direct access to reality. The position of idealism has been reversed, and instead of the sense world or esthetic experience being regarded as a screen separating us from things in themselves, the procedure of intellectual understanding or reason is now regarded as a process of abstraction or alienation from the real thing. This insight has been developed in one form or another by William James, Henri Bergson, A. S. Edgington and the Realists. Though it is not necessarily a defense of religion nor an argument for mystic intuition, this doctrine has been interpreted as such by the philosophers just mentioned and even more so by their theologically inclined disciples.

From the religious implications of the ideas derived from these various quarters there has arisen a general conviction that the power of Christianity lies less in its theology and cosmology than in its cultivation of religious experience. The Protestants emphasize the importance of the emotions and the inner personal sense of union with God. In place of the literal interpretation to which the evangelical fundamentalists cling, the liberals among them are ready to accept psychological or philosophical interpretations, because they are primarily concerned with the "moral fruits" and immediate satisfactions of the mystic experience. The Catholics and high-church Anglicans, on the other hand, emphasize the theory of mysticism as a modern interpretation of the mystery of the eucharist, the mystic body of Christ and other fundamentals of Catholic tradition. In either case, whether mystic experience or mystery rites are emphasized, there is a decided reaction against rationalistic liberal theology. This must

not be confused with classic mysticism, for apparently there is little mysticism actually being practised; it is merely the philosophy or theory of mysticism which is used to sanction the conventional religious practices and institutions. In this way a new meaning and vitality have been given to those distinctively Christian elements which liberalism in the past has rejected in favor of a more "scientific" and secular religion.

6. THE MODERNIST CRISIS. The most explicit and clearly defined conflict occurred in the Roman Catholic Church. Chateaubriand, Lamennais and the Traditionalists were among the first to point out the values of Catholicism quite apart from the question of its literal truth, and a large group of distinguished scholars and men of letters have followed them in being loyal Catholics in spite of their espousal of modern science and critical history. Cardinal Newman, although himself a convert from liberalism to authoritarianism, gave another impetus to modernism by his *Essay on the development of Christian doctrine* (1845), in which he claimed that the transition from primitive Christianity to Roman Catholicism is not a change but an organic growth, and that similarly Christian dogma might be expected to "develop" in the future. More explicit and radical applications of modern ideas were made by Gioberti and Rosmini in Italy and were associated by them with political liberalism. Motivated largely by the political and social implications of this early liberalism, Pope Pius IX finally repudiated the whole tendency by his *Syllabus of errors* of 1864, which concluded with a condemnation of the belief that "the Roman Pontiff can and ought to reconcile himself to, and agree with, progress, liberalism and civilization as lately introduced." Northern modernists then openly opposed the Ultramontanist policy and, as some of the Germans put it, "refused to place the church before religion." The distinguished German historian von Döllinger kept up a vigorous opposition. In France, the Catholic Institute of Paris, founded in 1878, became a center for modern historical studies under the leadership of Louis Duchesne and Alfred Loisy. The writings of A. Sabatier (1839-1901), a liberal French Protestant influenced by Schleiermacher, aroused much sympathy for modernism in France and Italy. In England the Jesuit George Tyrell, Baron Friedrich von Hügel and others launched a vigorous modernist campaign following the

Oxford Movement. Pope Leo XIII tried to meet these tendencies by encouraging a revival of scholasticism, especially of St. Thomas Aquinas, and by promoting works of orthodox scholarship. The works of the modernists were put on the Index. In 1893 Loisy was excommunicated, and the type of biblical criticism which he represented was condemned by the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus*. Von Döllinger was also excommunicated, and his sympathizers organized the Old Catholic Church, which has found a slight foothold in eastern Europe and America. In 1906 Fogazzaro published his sensational novel, *Il Santo*, which was immediately put on the Index. Pope Pius X took a vigorous stand against the whole movement and in 1907 issued the encyclical *Pascendi Gregis*, repudiating modernism in general, and the *Lamentabilis*, condemning sixty-five propositions of modernist teaching explicitly. The modernists replied with a "Program" outlining their defense of historical criticism, their vindication of the Church on modern grounds, their desires for ecclesiastical and social reform and, above all, to use Loisy's words, "the possibility, the necessity and the legitimacy of evolution in understanding the dogmas of the Church."

7. THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCHES. Though the modernist movement was effectively crushed as an organized effort, modern scholarship continues to make quiet headway among Catholics regardless of the papal repudiation. Neo-scholasticism, in spite of its orthodox frame-work, is gradually finding room for the modern sciences, especially the physical sciences, and though the Catholic Church will undoubtedly retain its dogmas longer than the Protestants, it, too, is adapting itself to secular learning and modern ideas wherever it can without sacrificing its tradition conspicuously. Papal authority no less than biblical inspiration is really a continuous process of interpretation. Only the past is final, and though the Church must continue to believe what once it has believed, no one can speak with authority on how future popes will meet new issues and give new meanings to the ever-growing body of absolute truth.

In general, these philosophical and theological developments naturally have had their effect on the churches, though to a lesser extent than might be expected, for the groups of scholars who have pursued them have been small and had comparatively little influence on the centers of ecclesiastical authority or on the rank and file of

laymen. Their influence was felt most in academic circles and among the younger clergy, fresh from their seminaries. Theological liberalism has found more or less foothold in all the Christian churches, and its strength is greater than appears on the surface, for it insinuates itself gradually and unavowedly into beliefs and creeds. Its most general effect so far has been the negative one of minimizing the importance of theological beliefs and of directing the energies of religion into more practical channels of service. The average conscientious clergyman and the busy layman are satisfied to infer from modern theology that faith is expressed in practice rather than in creeds, and they breathe a sigh of relief when they are told that the hallowed doctrinal controversies must not be taken too seriously or literally. It is only quite recently that the positive significance of modern historical scholarship has dawned on the public opinion of the churches.

The disparagement of the traditional creeds and of biblical authority has led the conservatives of several of the American evangelical churches to band together in defense of what they regard as fundamentals. As a result the issue has become largely interdenominational, the liberals of various denominations being closely affiliated and the fundamentalists burying their minor differences in order to reassert the "full gospel." In addition to several interdenominational fundamentalist organizations there now exists an independent Fundamentalist Church. Such fundamentalism is confined chiefly to the more evangelical churches and usually takes the form of general emotional appeal rather than reasoned discussion of the critical issues. In Germany and England, where the initial shock was felt most keenly, the liberals were at first reviled and persecuted, then generally ignored by the authorities of church and state. Now the ranks of the clergy are permeated with all degrees and varieties of liberal opinion and even more by liberal indifference. For example, when in 1860 a group of Anglican liberals published their *Essays and reviews*, they were greeted with almost universal hostility, whereas the publication of *Lux Mundi* in 1890 by a similar group of Oxford modernists gained a respectful hearing, though it still created a sensation. The *Essays catholic and critical* of 1926, on the other hand, though they carried on the same tradition, were received quietly and coolly, without shock or enthusiasm.

C. HUMANITARIANISM AND UNITARIANISM.

1. HUMANITARIANISM. The "natural religion" of the eighteenth century had, in addition to its worship of reason, another aspect growing directly out of the need for tolerance: it emphasized the universal benevolence of God and the essential brotherhood of man. In fact, the chief aim of deism was to minimize all those special revelations and ecclesiastical dogmas which had proved fertile sources of conflict and division and to single out those central faiths of all religions which might serve as a universal basis for peace and mutual understanding. Since political rivalry and theological erudition engendered hatred and prejudice, it was inferred that man naturally, or, to use the language of the time, that man "in the state of nature," could be free from these artificial barriers and could worship the universal Providence by whom all things are ordered and sustained.

This romantic optimism and religious cosmopolitanism spread rapidly, for though there was general indifference to the cult of reason, many were unwilling to believe the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and election, which implied the tragic belief that the great majority of mankind must be doomed to eternal damnation. A benevolent deity could not deal with his children so cruelly. In place of the Calvinistic glorification of God's sovereignty, justice and fixed decrees, men now began to magnify God's mercy and the ultimate redemption of all men. The doctrine of the damnation of unbaptized infants and unenlightened heathen was especially obnoxious. Everywhere pious and generous persons were willing to believe that the churches had constructed theology for their own exclusivistic purposes and had ignored the basic principles of humanness and "moral government." The rise of democratic ideas and institutions contributed to the plausibility of these beliefs, as did also the growth of pietism, for the pietists nourished the most intimate and tender sentiments in the worship of God and cultivated the immediate, emotional experiences of grace and regeneration.

2. THE UNIVERSALISTS. Though such humanitarian religion rapidly became popular in all churches, it found a distinctive expression in the founding of the Universalist denomination. Ironically enough Universalism originated in the most extreme forms of Calvinism, for it was the emotional appeal of the great Calvinistic preacher,

George Whitefield, that induced his converts, James Rely and John Murray, to believe that salvation was possible for all men, because Christ had paid the penalty for the sins of all and not of the elect only. Preaching the gospel of Christ's unlimited atonement and the corollary that damnation could therefore not be eternal, these men soon made numerous converts in England and America. In Boston as early as 1782 Charles Chauncey, one of the most prominent ministers of New England, dared to publish his belief in the ultimate salvation of all men and to defend it on scriptural authority. By 1803 the Universalists were strong enough to organize as an independent church, and for several generations they flourished, especially in northern New York and New England. The subsequent decline of the Universalist Church is really a tribute to the success of its attack on Calvinism; for though its doctrines were never explicitly sponsored by other churches, its sentiments found such general favor that the whole gospel of damnation became odious. The Universalists therefore found themselves in the predicament of being forced to defend the belief in hell in order to prove that sinners do not remain in it forever, whereas the other churches were able quietly to ignore the whole subject.

3. THE UNITARIANS. While Universalism was spreading among the otherwise orthodox, Unitarianism was becoming more outspoken among the liberals. Unitarianism had existed as a theological doctrine long before the Unitarian Church was founded. Those who denied the Trinity were usually known as Socinians, though the heresy can be traced back to the ancient Arians. In 1553 Servetus had been burned at the stake in Calvinistic Geneva for preaching anti-Trinitarian views, but in 1578 Socinus had succeeded in gaining a foothold for these views in Poland. Eighteenth-century deism was generally Unitarian, and in a mild form it pervaded much of the Puritan and Anglican clergy and then made its way into the Congregational pulpits of New England. Boston early became a center of Unitarian preaching. After the American and French Revolutions, when the reaction spread throughout the churches, those small groups who still believed in the liberal and tolerant gospel of reason were forced to form an independent denomination. Under the leadership of Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley in England and of William Ellery Channing in America, the Unitarians organized

as a separate denomination. Many of the leading congregations of New England became Unitarian at that time.

For a while the Unitarians waged an aggressive campaign against Calvinism, defending the rationalistic "natural religion" of the Enlightenment, but their leaders soon became preoccupied with the slavery question, with social reform and with transcendentalism. Since the days of Emerson the Unitarians have lost much of their leadership and influence, partly because their ideas have been adopted by liberals of other denominations, partly because the social conservatism of the Unitarians has begun to outweigh their theological liberalism, and partly because no great preachers have arisen among them since Channing, Parker and Martineau. For the appeal of Unitarianism depends almost entirely on its reforming preachers; as a system of worship it has little to offer. At present the Unitarian Church as a church is losing ground. What was once a liberal theology is now trite and vague, scarcely distinguishable from the current teachings of other Protestant churches; and what was once a vigorous campaign for moral reform has degenerated into a conventional acquiescence. Though several vigorous preachers of liberalism have arisen recently in Unitarian ranks, most of them, like Emerson, have felt their church too conservative and have abandoned it.

4. THE HUMANITY OF JESUS. A more subtle and pervasive expression of humanism has made its way almost subconsciously into modern Christianity: the supernatural awe and glory which has surrounded Christ and the saints has gradually faded and made room for that more earthly glory which enshrines idolized human beings. As a result of the Renaissance, for example, the images of the Virgin became more and more human, and she was endeared to Catholics because of her tenderness, graciousness and pity. Other saints underwent a similar transformation. The figure of Christ, on the other hand, remained essentially the mystic sacrificial Lamb of God or the awesome judge of the quick and the dead. The Unitarians attempted to glorify the human Jesus, but their approach seemed essentially negative, a denial of divinity. But Ernest Renan in his *Life of Jesus* (1863) painted a portrait of the man which not only gave an esthetic and literary turn to higher criticism, but at the same time opened the minds of the devout to an appreciation of the positive appeal of a strictly humanistic gospel. Since Renan artists,

preachers and authors have "humanized" Christianity almost *ad nauseum*. They have succeeded, however, in giving the Christian tradition a renewed hold on the sentiments of intellectuals and of masses who have no theological convictions whatsoever, so that Christianity may now rely on its human appeal.

D. DIVINE HEALING AND THE CHRIST CONSCIOUSNESS. Since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a remarkable revival and development of divine healing. In the life of Christ, healing is a prominent theme, and it has always played an important rôle in Christian practice. The stories of the miraculous cures wrought by the saints and their relics fill many volumes and are among the most popular forms of Catholic literature. The Protestants, too, have recorded many instances of healing, most of them "in answer to prayer." Such practices were considerably undermined by the prevalence of rationalism and the successes of scientific medicine and were looked upon by educated persons as superstitions. Then came the wave of mesmerism, hypnotism, spiritualism and "suggestion," followed by the development of applied pathological psychology, psychiatry and psycho-analysis. The discoveries made by psychology and the cumulative experimental evidence of cures effected by mental means, which had hitherto been regarded as miraculous, have encouraged many new kinds of religious healing techniques and revived many of the old ones.

Recent developments go back more or less directly to the work of Phineas P. Quimby, a mental healer in Portland, Maine, who began as a mesmerist but discovered that the cure was actually produced by the patient's own mind and not by the mesmeric passes. This led him to believe that all disease is caused by mental error, and he began to heal and teach on this basis. One of his patients, Mary Baker Eddy, after his death developed his theories into Christian Science; another, Warren F. Evans, a Swedenborgian minister, laid the foundations of the New Thought movement. Quimby's work was practical rather than theoretical, but Evans had a more speculative mind and developed a philosophy for the movement, combining transcendental idealism with Swedenborgian psychology and mysticism. Whereas Quimby taught that the sole cause of disease is mental error, a position followed by Mrs. Eddy, Evans recognized also physical and spiritual causation, attributing the greater part of

human suffering to misdirected emotions and moral instability. After Quimby's death in 1866, the movement began to spread and took the form of a religious cult. A campaign of education began with the publication of Evans' *Mental cure* in 1869 and Mrs. Eddy's *Science and health* in 1875.

The possibilities of divine healing were given a dramatic demonstration in the rapid rise of Christian Science. Starting as a typical mental healer and teacher of spiritual philosophy, Mrs. Eddy spent several years of wandering and experimenting without any marked success as a healer. *Science and health, with key to the scriptures*, however, became within a few years a veritable bible in the hands of thousands of "practitioners" and gave a sensational impetus to divine healing. The power of the book lies in the fact that, together with the Bible, it can be used effectively for the purpose of administering doses, as it were, of spiritual medicine. It is not a systematic exposition but an exuberant and fervent affirmation of belief in the allness of Mind, which is Good, and the nothingness of Matter, which is Evil. Verses from this text, coupled with similar hallowed verses from the Bible and with a formal "affirmation," can be used readily and effectively by an otherwise unlearned "practitioner" to the comfort, relief and occasional cure of the diseased or distressed. The significance of Christian Science lies chiefly in this, that it has created a new religious profession, the practitioner, who combines the functions of priest and physician in a way which is businesslike and well suited to modern life. Though church services, similar to those of Protestant churches, are held, the testimonial meetings, which serve to advertise the successes of practitioners, are more important, and most important is the individual practice of the practitioner.

In the New Thought movement there have been two distinct trends: one toward a non-Christian eclecticism which recognizes the divine inspiration in all the great religions and adopts certain Hindu beliefs, such as *karma* and reincarnation; and another which has remained definitely Christian, finding its inspiration in the Bible, interpreted "metaphysically," and aiming to realize "the Christ consciousness." The former had its origins and centers in the east, Boston and New York mainly, while the latter reached its highest development in the west, with centers in San Francisco, Denver,

Kansas City and St. Louis. Though an International New Thought Alliance has been formed, the groups are completely autonomous and vary widely in beliefs and practices, more or less according to their individual leaders. In 1917 an attempt was made to formulate the beliefs in a set of six affirmations: the freedom of the soul, the Good, health, divine supply, the teachings of Christ as to the kingdom within, and the new thought of Good as universal love, life, truth and joy, "in whom we live and move and have our being."

New Thought and Christian Science are distinctly what James called religions of "healthy-mindedness," putting their emphasis on health, wealth and happiness as the divine right of every human being and finding little need for the spiritual experiences of repentance, forgiveness and regeneration. They substitute silence for communion and affirmation for petition. In the beginning, healing was the main emphasis, and the healer ministered to the individual rather than to the group as a whole. The result was an almost wholly individualistic form of religious life, aloof from social service and philanthropy. In later years the emphasis has shifted somewhat from healing to general well-being, especially material prosperity and success in the worldly sense, and much of the current literature is devoted to the demonstration of poise and prosperity.

In the west New Thought developed in a different direction, similar to that of Christian Science, the two largest groups being known as Divine Science and the Unity School. The Divine Science Church was founded in San Francisco in 1885 by Malinda E. Cramer, who was herself divinely healed and began at once to heal others. It has grown into a denomination of several thousand members, with numerous churches in various parts of the country, its main strength being in the middle west and on the Pacific coast. Divine Science began to hold conventions in the west in 1894 and has been from the start a more closely organized body than the eastern New Thought groups. It is definitely Christian and uses the Bible as its principal text-book of healing. The Colorado College of Divine Science, incorporated in 1889, confers diplomas on its trained healers. It uses as a text-book *Truth and health, the science of the perfect mind and the law of its demonstration*, by Fannie B. James, a healer apparently not wholly unfamiliar with the teachings of Mrs. Eddy.

The largest and most active offshoot of the New Thought movement is the Unity School of Practical Christianity at Kansas City, Missouri. It was founded in 1889 as a result of a remarkable demonstration of health and material success by Myrtle Fillmore, after a long period of illness and poverty. Her husband, Charles Fillmore, was her first convert, and together they began to teach and heal in their immediate circle of friends. This led to the organization of a society which calls itself not a church but a school. The work is supported entirely by the sale of publications and free-will offerings, no charges ever having been made for teaching or healing. The healing department is called Silent Unity, with thousands of members pledged to go apart at noon and at nine P.M. for a brief period of silent meditation on the class thought for the week. The center of this healing work is at the School in Kansas City, where life problems are dealt with both by correspondence and prayer, over a thousand requests for help being received daily. This phase of the work is carried on by a society called the Silent-70. Unity differs from some of the other phases of the New Thought movement in being definitely Christian rather than eclectic. The teachings, healing and bodily resurrection of Christ are the basis of Unity belief and practice, and the Bible, interpreted symbolically, is its only scripture.

This technique is now used by numerous other movements, all of which have their practitioners and their literature resembling more or less closely those of Christian Science but offering much more freedom to the individual. Among the Spiritualists, too, the profession of "spiritual advisor" is growing at the expense of the old-fashioned medium. Advice of this sort is also being given by mail and radio and varies from the most tawdry type of fortune-telling to a critical analysis of causes and remedies.

The growth of such extremely practical and personal religion has encouraged the conventional churches to revive healing. Several evangelists have added special prayers and services of healing to their programs. Occasionally ministers have organized "prayer circles," the purpose of which is the exercise of faith in overcoming personal difficulties. More generally, ministers have been forced to give psychiatric advice and to deal individually with the troubles of the members of their congregations. In the liberal churches this

kind of assistance has largely taken the place of the confessional and of prayers for salvation from sin.

The Catholic Church has found that in many cases its traditional forms of confession and penance can be justified by modern discoveries of pathology and has emphasized their practical value for mental health. Its chief instrument of healing is, however, still the cult of the saints. The miracles reported from the shrine at Lourdes have given the cult of the Virgin a new impetus. New shrines of healing and centers of pilgrimage are being built continually, especially in Canada and the United States, where such institutions are relatively scarce. Miraculous relics are being venerated more than ever, and thank-offerings for help received pour into these shrines continually. The crutches and other tokens of healing which crowd the shrines are impressive testimony that thousands have received, or at least believe they have received, divine healing.

The most explicit development of healing among the churches was sponsored by the Episcopal Church and was known as the Emmanuel Movement. The work began in a small way in 1905 with the formation of a Church Tuberculosis Clinic in connection with Emmanuel Church in Boston. The following year the rector, Elwood Worcester, and his assistant, Samuel McComb, with the support of several neurologists, began a class for nervous patients, which had a spectacular success, and many cures were reported. The methods used were especially efficacious in the improvement of the patient's general attitude and his personal relationships. The diseases which responded most readily were neurasthenia, hysteria, hypochondria, psychasthenia and alcoholism, the drug habit being considerably more difficult.

The success of the work in Boston led to its spread to other churches in various parts of the country. Bishop Samuel Fallows of Chicago, Lyman P. Powell of Northampton and Loring W. Batten of St. Mark's-in-the-Bouwerie, New York, were among the clergy of the Episcopal Church who took up the work, and a branch was also established at San Francisco by Thomas Parker Boyd, who later became a leader in the New Thought movement.

E. PHILANTHROPIC AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY.

I. CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY. Humanitarian religion not only served to undermine the rigors of Calvinistic theology but took more

positive and practical forms in promoting philanthropic enterprises. To be sure, the Christian churches have seldom sponsored general and radical movements for political and economic reform, but they have dealt in a practical way with many specific problems of modern society. The Catholic Reformation led immediately to organized humanitarian efforts. Loyola himself attempted to deal with the problems of prostitution and other evils of urban life. Numerous Catholic orders, notably the Society of St. Vincent de Paul (1633), were formed to administer relief to the sick, the poor and the homeless and in general to aid those whom modern economic upheavals had rendered destitute. The Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution gave an enormous additional impetus to such works of piety. Deistic societies of "theophilanthropists," St. Simonians preaching their "new Christianity," pietists devoted wholly to the service of God among the needy and many other types of utopian reformers added their humanitarianism to the works of charity already established in the churches.

In America the only domestic problem which received a prompt and generous response on the part of the churches was the slavery issue, which was, moreover, intimately related to African missions and full of romantic heathen horrors. The Quakers and other reformers took an early stand against slavery and brought about its speedy abolition in England. In the United States the issue split most of the churches into North and South, and in several of them reunion is not yet established. The anti-slavery agitation in the United States, particularly in New England, soon became the occasion for the transition from humanitarianism to a more general social gospel and a direct participation of the churches in political and economic issues. The Unitarian leader, William Ellery Channing, was a pioneer in this field; but the slavery issue overshadowed all others in his mind, and what discussion there was of the labor problem in New England was very conservative, except among the transcendentalist reformers, whose extravagances ruined their cause.

In Germany an Inner Mission was organized early in the nineteenth century on a national scale, embracing orphanages, hospitals, rescue homes and deaconess associations. In England City Missions did a similar work, and in all countries the churches organized Home Missionary Societies and other philanthropic agencies. The most

significant recent development is the attempt on the part of the churches to organize the youth for purposes of education and recreation. The Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Catholic Youth International, to say nothing of the denominational young people's societies and Sunday-schools, are devoting themselves increasingly to the general problems and interests of youth.

2. MISSIONS. Nothing has captured the imagination and resources of the churches quite so strongly as the missionary enterprise, and nothing has reacted more effectively on the home churches in arousing them to an appreciation of modern needs and problems. Mention has been made in an earlier section of the pioneer work of the Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These missionaries were notable not only for their brilliant feats of exploration, but even more for the highly ingenious and intelligent methods which they adopted in dealing with natives. The means by which St. Francis Xavier won his way into inner circles of Oriental courts, the communistic Indian-Jesuit republics in Paraguay, the chain of Indian mission colonies in Mexico and California and the Jesuit penetration of the St. Lawrence valley are classics of adventure and sagacity as well as of heroic devotion. These early missions were crippled less by the difficulties encountered among the heathen than by opposition from the church at home because of the compromises made with heathen cults and ideas. The establishment during the seventeenth century of the Sacred Congregation for Propaganda at Rome led to the coördination of all Catholic missionary enterprises and enabled the Church to carry out effective missionary work in the New World long before the Protestants were ready to enter the field. The Protestant missionaries who followed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries worked on a much smaller scale, relied almost wholly on the evangelical devices of preaching and praying and achieved little in the way of permanent institutions. During the eighteenth century the Moravians and German pietists were the most active Protestant missionaries, followed by the Quakers and Baptists. The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) was supposed to send missionaries among the "heathen," but on the whole it was preoccupied with work among the colonists.

The general enthusiasm for missions and the modern organized missionary movement dates from the end of the eighteenth century. In 1792 the English Baptists founded their missionary society. In 1795 the interdenominational London Missionary Society was started, and the following year a similar society in New York. In 1798 the Connecticut Congregationalists formed a missionary society; in 1799, the Anglicans; in 1802, the Presbyterians; in 1819, the Methodists; etc. In 1812 the interdenominational American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was created; in 1825, the Church of Scotland Mission Boards; at about the same time several missionary societies were founded on the continent of Europe. In 1822 the Catholic Society for the Propagation of the Faith was organized to collect funds, organize interest and say daily prayers for the missionaries sent out by the Congregation of Propaganda. In 1886 the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was founded, and in 1895 the World's Student Christian Federation. The American churches coöperated finally in the creation of the Foreign Missionary Conference, and this in turn led in 1921 to the organization of the International Missionary Council. These data record summarily the wave of missionary enthusiasm which accompanied the religious revival of that time.

There are three general stages in the development of Protestant missions. At first missionaries were sent out broadcast to "preach the Gospel to the heathen," and their aim was primarily to make converts. It happened frequently that missionaries of different denominations met in the mission-field, much to their own embarrassment and the natives' confusion. It also happened frequently that the missionaries became impressed with the need for more adequate methods and more careful study of heathen cultures. Then, after the interdenominational boards began to exercise effective control, different denominations were given monopolies in different regions, and the work was carried on more systematically and intelligently. Purely evangelistic methods gave way to educational. Lastly, the missionaries have succeeded in convincing the home boards that effective work needs a broader, secular basis, and now the churches are supporting medical, industrial, agricultural and educational missions as a basis for their strictly religious propaganda, and occasionally even without such propaganda.

An event of considerable importance not only for missions but for religion in general was the Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council in 1928. It was devoted largely to a discussion of the implications for the "Christian message" of the "spiritual values" in other religions and in modern secularism. Leaders from the various mission-fields made impressive pleas for a better understanding of native religious traditions and ideals and for a freer coöperation with them. There was little demand for syncretism, but there was a frank recognition of the need for mutual encouragement among all religions in view of the growing forces of secularism both at home and abroad. "At Edinburgh (1910) the first business was . . . carrying the Gospel to the world. . . . The matter of the message was relegated to the fourth place. At this conference it was now in the foreground. The topic at Edinburgh was the missionary message in relation to non-Christian religions. At Jerusalem . . . it was the Christian life and message that was being discussed in relation to the non-Christian systems. . . . At the Edinburgh Conference there was no reference to the home-base aspect of the message, whereas to-day they realized that the whole subject of the message was of profound importance not only for the mission task in other lands, but for the home base, also."²²

3. THE INSTITUTIONAL CHURCH. Liberalism and pietism, though opposed to each other in principle, have vied with each other in giving practical evidences of benevolence. The prosperous liberal, no longer worried about his own salvation, finds conscientious comfort in "doing good" to those who are beneath him; the earnest seeker for salvation, on the other hand, discovers that he must "give everything unto the Lord" in order to gain the assurance that he is holier than his unregenerate neighbor. In both cases the churches build up their corporate resources for combating evil throughout the world. In addition to these two fundamental motives for religious philanthropy there are many others, and it must not be supposed that modern humanitarianism is based exclusively on the growth of altruistic sentiments. Ecclesiastical economics is at least as complicated as secular, and it is difficult to do justice to the variety of satis-

²² Robert E. Speer, in *The Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems of thought and life*, vol. I of *The Jerusalem meeting of the International Missionary Council*, p. 278.

factions which religion offers today and which enable the churches to command their vast funds of devotion and money. In addition to the ancient institutions of monasteries, pilgrimages, penances, indulgences, prayers for the dead, cults of miraculous relics, tithings and votive offerings for benefits bestowed, all of which still thrive, there are numerous modern techniques of church maintenance taken over from secular business, such as mass-meeting appeals, advertising, systematic subscriptions, campaigns, etc. The motivations underlying these activities are many and as old as human nature. The significant change in modern religion is therefore to be sought less in personal religious sentiments than in the uses to which these corporate resources are put by the churches. The significant fact is that during the last century and a half the churches have devoted the major part of their resources not to building and maintaining houses of worship or monuments to God, but to promoting practical philanthropies. Even the modern church building itself is now "institutional"; in addition to a house of worship it contains a school, parlors, kitchen, reading-rooms, gymnasium, stage and screen. This is, however, but a symptom of the vast work of the churches: colleges and universities, parochial schools and missions, convents, hospitals and sanitariums, missions, settlement houses, orphanages, foundling asylums, homes for the aged and various forms of relief work. In all these fields the churches have done the pioneer work, and it is only recently that in some of them state institutions and agencies have taken the lead.

Added to this institutional development is the growing amount of reform agitation which the churches have sponsored, beginning with the dramatic anti-slavery movement and continuing to the current attempts to promote peace, temperance and "public morals." This enormous expansion of church activities amounts to little less than a religious revolution. Philanthropic "church work," which to the majority is the pragmatic meaning of religion and is by some regarded as its very essence, has assumed such various forms that every kind of secular talent can now be employed in religious "service." The churches are now big businesses, equipped with all the necessary modern machinery for "bringing in the Kingdom."

4. THE SOCIAL GOSPEL. The success and romance of foreign missions made it somewhat difficult to organize "home missions" and

to focus attention on the evils nearer at hand. Humanitarian imagination so eagerly embraced the whole world that nothing short of a series of economic and political crises could bring it down to earth and make it willing to face the sordid conditions of daily life. In general much of the early social gospel was limited to bourgeois humanitarianism and was naïvely blind to the growing forces of revolution. The most effective start among Protestants toward a general social gospel was made in England by Maurice and Kingsley, who, after the failure of Chartism, fomented a general, though somewhat sentimental, interest in conservative Christian socialism. In practice this led to little more than the formation of coöperative societies. With the growth of the labor movement, it became imperative to take a more definite stand, and in 1877 the Guild of St. Matthew was founded under "high-church" auspices and later the Christian Social Union and the Church Socialist League, whose program was practically adopted by the 1908 Lambeth Conference under the leadership of Bishop Gore. The vicissitudes of socialism in England caused many disagreements concerning the meaning of Christian Socialism, and finally in 1923 the Christian Socialist League dropped the term "socialist" and became the League of the Kingdom of God. A further step toward an independent Christian policy on economic problems was made in the 1924 Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, with its elaborate studies by standing committees and concrete recommendations for reform, avoiding the controversial general principles of socialism. Among the American leaders in preaching the social gospel were F. G. Peabody, Washington Gladden, Josiah Strong, Walter Rauschenbusch and, more recently, Harry F. Ward, Norman Thomas and Reinhold Niebuhr. The Divinity School of the University of Chicago became a prominent center of study and preaching of social Christianity. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ has also done considerable work in this direction and in 1912 adopted a "social creed." Though there are varying degrees of enthusiasm for the social interpretation of Christianity, and though comparatively few Christian leaders are willing to commit themselves definitely to socialism, such terms as "the Kingdom of God," "the spirit of Christ" and "the redemption of man" are now commonly given a social meaning. The temperance movement in England and the prohibition

movement in the United States are illustrations of the earlier humanitarian types of reform which have now become associated with economic and political issues. The problem of international peace, with which the churches are naturally preoccupied at present, also brings other issues with it. How far the Protestant churches will go in the direction of sponsoring more general and radical reforms still remains to be seen.

The problem of socialism has been most serious for the Catholic Church, for it was among the laborers on the continent that radical socialism made its greatest headway and was most bitterly hostile toward Christianity. After 1848 a number of Catholic leaders, notably Bishop von Ketteler in Germany and Count de Mun in France, formed Catholic workers' associations and labor unions and made a persistent effort to justify the practical policies of socialism by the principles of Christian scholasticism, thus divorcing them from Marxian materialism. This movement made rapid headway among the lower middle classes of France and Germany and among the peasants of southern Italy. After 1870, however, political developments forced the leaders of Christian Socialism to resort to political tactics by the formation of Center parties which served to mediate between the democrats and the socialists. The encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891 repudiated socialistic theory and discouraged the use of the term "Christian Socialism." At the same time it sketched the main lines of Catholic labor policy and made it possible for Catholic political leaders to formulate a liberal social program to compete with socialism. Political circumstances have often forced the Catholic parties to ally themselves with the socialists, so that in practice the Church has sponsored much of the socialistic legislation of recent years. The American Catholic Welfare Council has attempted to define the Church's social platform on specific issues and has emphasized the need for religious leadership in dealing with social problems. Since the War the threats of Communism and the success of Fascism have forced the Church into a more conservative position, clearly defined in the encyclical of 1931, which called upon Catholics to dissociate themselves definitely from socialism in theory and practice. The encyclical at the same time condemned the present economic disorder and emphasized the necessity of a Christian social order, claiming that Catholicism is the only adequate social philos-

ophy, and that political and economic institutions must be judged by "spiritual" standards. During the last few years several encyclicals have dealt with specific social and moral problems, disapproving of "mixed" marriages, birth-control and immodest dress, urging Catholic schools as the only hope for religious education and dealing with the economic question in general; but they are more noteworthy for their political effects and moral zeal than for their practical value in the face of modern conditions.

5. CHURCH AND STATE. It is evident that the preaching of the social gospel by both Protestants and Catholics has revived the political question of the relation between church and state and revived it in somewhat new terms. The cherished democratic formula of a free church in a free state seemed a reasonable ideal as long as religion did not preach a social gospel. Ever since the success of religious liberty in America and the growth of secular law and morals, it has been an observable fact that men of the most diverse religious beliefs can live peaceably in the same state. But this divorce between religion and politics had no traditional basis and proved to be precarious and of short duration. The secularization of the Christian gospel has steadily undermined this divorce, and in practically all countries the power of religion is again a basic factor in party politics. The practical problem has therefore shifted from guaranteeing religious liberty to guaranteeing secular liberty. The drastic attempts made in Germany and France to prevent religious bodies from exercising political power by enacting repressive legislation have not proved successful; for Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* ended in a truce, and French anti-clericalism shows signs of old age without having achieved all its objectives. In Italy church and state have achieved a working agreement in practice, but the theory of the problem is more actively debated than ever. A decline in the Church's policy of controlling political parties and national groups is indicated by its failure to support the Popular Party in Italy, by the papal condemnation of the *Action Française* and by the repeated assertions on the part of American Catholics of their unqualified loyalty to the American Constitution and to religious liberty.

In general the churches claim a moral authority or supremacy, and there seems to be a growing conviction among them that Christian ethics is a distinct and superior kind of ethics. Believing this

they naturally use whatever agencies they can to realize their moral ideals, for ethics is obviously inseparable from politics and economics. On the other side, the growth of secular morality and law has created a large class of persons whose ethics and ideals are independent of religion. Thus the tables are turned, and instead of the church claiming temporal authority, the state now claims a rival spiritual authority. In reality the temporal and the spiritual domains of life are so hopelessly intertwined that all theoretical solutions of the problem are quite academic. A more practical problem is that of the extent to which the churches can speak with authority on moral and political questions for their members; that is, the extent to which Christianity can exhibit moral solidarity on particular issues. As matters stand at present, and if the social gospel persists, the churches can present a fairly unified front on certain general issues, such as peace and temperance, but when the question of the particular political or economic measures to be taken arises, the churches tend to fall into much the same groups which characterize more secular citizenship. The problem will become acute only when some specific crisis, such as the slavery issue was, forces the churches to take a definite political stand or to abandon the social gospel until the storm blows over.

Recent discussion, however, has raised issues more fundamental than those of democratic politics, for it involves the question of the function of religion in civic life as a whole. Two contrasting attitudes have emerged, and between them all shades of opinion exist. There are those who regard religion as primarily a power making for righteousness. They emphasize the ethical content in religion and expect the churches to be effective agencies of social reform, taking a definite stand on concrete issues and fighting for their ideals with whatever weapons seem appropriate. On the other extreme are those who regard religion as a formal expression of social solidarity and who expect the churches to exhibit the essential traits of a particular community, state or culture. The one conception makes religion a particular group or force within society; the other makes it a cult of the social whole. The evangelical and Catholic churches represent the former point of view; the state churches, the latter. Though it was generally assumed that established churches or national cults were a thing of the past, in those countries where the issue is vital

and urgent there has proved to be more support for national churches than might be supposed. We have noted in an earlier section the movement toward national churches in the states of eastern Europe. In Germany the Republic has apparently decided to maintain a public *Volksreligion*. In England there are many who prefer a "dead" Church of England to a living Episcopal sect or Catholic schism. In America, though the evangelical churches are definitely operating on the other theory, there are many indications that in practice they are becoming American, losing their distinctive and historical traits in the melting pot and becoming typical expressions of a nascent American culture.

F. CHURCH FEDERATION AND MODERN CATHOLICITY.

I. PROTESTANT FEDERATION. It is clear that the divisive tendency which seemed to be inherent in Protestantism is being reversed today. Calvin's serious attempt at an early consolidation of the Protestant forces proved vain, and there has always been more enthusiasm among reformers for liberty than for unity. Nothing is now more evident, however, than the general desire among the leaders of the churches to achieve some permanent form of organized coöperation, if not an organic unity. Most Protestants are resentful of being treated as sectarians and are conscious of the fact that their particular denominations are no longer of much significance to them compared with their common ideals, aims and problems. This is especially true in the United States, where the various national traditions and historical motivations of the churches are being obliterated, and where these churches collectively are becoming an expression of American culture. Within the various denominations smaller groups, reflecting antiquated issues, have been merging continually during the last years, and in general there are many indications that the churches are consolidating their efforts and resources. The division between North and South still persists but will undoubtedly be overcome before long. In 1925 a definite and drastic step toward interdenominational unity was taken when the Canadian Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists formed the United Church of Canada. The Presbyterians and Methodists of the United States now have committees considering plans of union. In 1930 representatives of the Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of the United States met in Atlantic City to discuss ques-

tions of Christian morality, "looking toward organic unity"; but nothing tangible has yet come of this gesture.

Udenominational bodies, such as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. and the Salvation Army, have done considerable pioneer work in breaking down denominational barriers; but the most effective instrument as yet created is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. It was established in 1908 by twenty-eight denominations and meets quadrennially. Its activities are conducted by standing committees, which have by this time organized an effective machinery. A list of the organizations sponsored by this Council will give the reader an idea of the scope of its activities: Home Mission Councils, Commission on Evangelism, Department of Research and Education, Commission on Race Relations, Commission on Relations with Churches Abroad, Commission on International Justice and Good Will and the Committee on Mercy and Relief. The Department of Research and Education publishes a weekly *Information Service Bulletin* and from time to time issues extensive reports on current problems, as, for example, on the bituminous coal situation in 1928, on the textile mills in the south in 1929 and on the motion picture industry in 1931.

In Europe, as early as 1846, on Lutheran initiative, an Evangelical Alliance was formed in London, embracing fifty churches. In 1863 the Protestant liberals of Germany formed *Der Protestantenverein* in the hope of thereby defending the liberal minorities from oppression, and a similar function is performed by a German Protestant Church Council known as *Der Kirchentag*. Continual pressure from the mission-fields urging more coördination culminated in the great Edinburgh Missionary Conference of 1910, which raised enthusiasm and hopes for union high. The War interfered, but as soon as peace was reëstablished an interdenominational conference was held to discuss social problems. The 1925 Stockholm Conference on Christian Life and Work and the Jerusalem session of the International Missionary Council (1928) have continued to give expression to the desire and demand for greater unity, though apparently little of a concrete nature has been accomplished.

2. THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT. The Episcopal Church regards itself as in a pivotal position and as the natural focus for the reunion of Christendom, combining as it does both Catholic and Prot-

estant traditions. It has made various moves toward intercommunion. After repeated efforts to come to an understanding with Rome, the pope's encyclical of 1928 finally put an end to all hopes of securing Roman Catholic recognition or of promoting schemes of reunion on any basis except complete submission to Rome. In 1922 the patriarch of Constantinople recognized Anglican orders as on a par with those of Rome, and since then there have been numerous expressions of mutual recognition and coöperation between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches. In its turn, the Church of England has recognized the apostolic validity of orders in the Swedish and Moravian Churches, but it has found no practical basis for reunion with the non-conformist denominations in England, since it insists on episcopal ordination and adopts the same attitude toward non-conformists that Rome adopts toward it. The Lambeth Conference of 1920 showed some signs of willingness to compromise, partly because of pressure from the mission-field and British Dominions; and in 1927, under the initiative of the American Episcopalians, a World Conference on Faith and Order was held at Lausanne, which discussed further steps toward bringing about a union among the Protestant churches but failed to discover a feasible plan. The Lambeth Conferences have dealt with the problem persistently, but the so-called Lambeth Quadrilateral Program of the early conferences seems further from realization than ever. The Lambeth Conference of 1930 undertook an ambitious program of formulating definite resolutions on practical issues, but the longer discussion continued the clearer the differences among the three groups of Anglicans emerged, and the Conference finally ended with a resolution recommending: international arbitration and "the ideals of the League of Nations"; a very cautious resolution on the question of birth-control; and a resolution welcoming closer affiliation with other churches, especially in South India. At the same time a joint commission was appointed to publish the doctrinal differences between the Eastern and Anglican Churches. These efforts toward church unity have brought out clearly two radically different aims, typifying the historical differences between Protestantism and Catholicism. The evangelical Protestants have given up hope and even desire for confessional and ecclesiastical unity and are in favor of a loose form of federal coöperation on matters of common interest,

such as missions and social reforms. The Anglo-Catholics are in favor of an "ecumenical movement" to restore that catholicity of "faith and order" to which the Christian creeds profess allegiance but which has been undermined in practice.

3. CATHOLIC UNITY. Now that the Eastern Churches have re-organized on a national basis, the Roman Catholic Church more confidently than ever regards itself as the only practical hope for catholicity. There is a growing demand among those who are alarmed by the destructive forces of nationalism, war, moral anarchy and intellectual skepticism for a single, authoritative "spiritual" power of super-national scope, competent to cope with these forces. Cardinal Newman, Gilbert K. Chesterton, Ferdinand Brunetière, Paul Claudel are a few of the many names which might be mentioned to illustrate the various forms which this conviction has taken and some of its chief literary exponents. The papacy has vigorously reasserted the claims of ecclesiastical monarchy and has repudiated all suggestions of a "spiritual" catholicity short of submission to the authority of Rome. While this course is evidently the clearest and historically the most consistent position for the Church of Rome to adopt, it is not probable that it can win the heretical and schismatic churches to this point of view. Its only hope is to outlive them. In addition, Rome faces the difficult task of maintaining what unity it now possesses. To the extent that the papacy reasserts its Roman imperialism it invites criticism from nations which though Catholic are not Roman. The growing power of the German, French, Irish and American cardinals and bishops makes the authority of Roman popes increasingly precarious; and the dogmatic glorification of papal infallibility and supremacy is a symptom of sensitiveness on the part of the Roman curia to the threat of internal political pressure from abroad. There seems to be no inclination on the part of those prelates who disagree with papal policy to risk the unity of the Church in order to gain their points, but it remains to be seen how far and how long the papacy can control the cardinals. For there is no denying the fact that beneath the unity of government and catholicity of doctrine in the Roman Church the effects of national diversities and intellectual differences are making themselves felt. In short, the danger to the unity of the Church is less from external opposi-

tion, which really tends to unify it, than from internal diversification.

4. **SECULAR CATHOLICITY.** The problem of catholicity in its most general sense goes deeper than the problem of church federation or unity, for it concerns the kind of religion cultivated by all of the churches. Either by necessity or by charity, the churches have learned to treat each other with decent respect and, more recently, with Christian sympathy. What is chiefly responsible for bringing about this spirit is the fact that Christianity is now face to face with an external world. During the centuries between the Crusades and the Enlightenment, when the whole of Western society was at least nominally Christian, and when the major issues which arose were internal to the churches, Christians were almost inevitably compelled to differ among themselves and wage war upon each other. Today the situation is radically changed. With the growth of modern secular culture and its problems, a world has grown up around Christianity which makes such increasing demands upon it that the common tasks forced upon it from without make the differences within almost negligible. In adapting itself to this secular world and participating in its movement, Christianity has become an integral part of a civilization which transcends it and places it in broader perspective. It is neither a world in itself nor the chief concern of the world, but its concerns are with the world. By identifying its interests with those of secular thought and society, by lending its resources and ideas to the solution of the general problems of modern life, religion has gained a social pertinence independent of its traditional content.

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CHAPTER I. THE NATURE AND ORIGINS OF RELIGION

Review of General Literature

Of the many general surveys of religion and its history the most informative in English is the two-volume *History of religions*, by George Foote Moore (New York, 1920). It contains critical statements of the major historical problems, together with a judicious and balanced description of the chief religions. A selected and well-organized bibliography of standard works is to be found at the end of each volume. G. A. Barton, *The religions of the world* (Chicago, 1917) is much briefer but no less discriminating. More recent is *Religions of the world*, edited by Carl Clemen and translated from the German by A. K. Dallas (New York, 1931). This volume consists of critical treatments by various German scholars of the fields in which they are specialists. The references listed at the end of each chapter are chiefly to recent German works, though a few standard works in other languages are also given. One of the most useful features of the book is the large number of unusual illustrations. The chapters "Indian religion," by Otto Strauss, and "Buddhism," by Heinrich Hackmann, are good. Still one of the best critical works is Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Manual of the history of religions* (London, 1891), which is a translation of vol. I of the first edition of his *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, 2 vols. (last ed. Tübingen, 1924). There is a complete French translation of the second German edition (Paris, 1904). *Religions, ancient and modern* (Chicago) is the title of a series of twenty volumes, each dealing with a religion and written by an authority on the subject. A particular aspect of religion is treated in *The evolution of ethics as revealed in the great religions*, edited by E. H. Sneath (New Haven, 1927), and containing chapters by Barton, Hopkins, Jackson, Paton, Shorey and Scott.

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¹ In general the dates of publication are of the last edition; in some cases, however, where the date of original publication is important, this is given instead. In many cases only the English translations of works in other languages are mentioned.

vania, edited by James A. Montgomery (Philadelphia, 1918); R. E. Hume, *The world's living religions* (New York, 1925); J. A. Maynard, *The living religions of the world* (Milwaukee, 1925); A. Menzies, *History of religion* (New York, 1914). There is a series of small volumes, some more reliable than others, entitled *The living religions of the world*, edited by F. K. Saunders and H. P. Beach (New York).

Among the larger works of reference the most useful are: *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, edited by James Hastings, 12 vols. (1908-27); *The new Schaff-Herzog encyclopedia of religious knowledge*, 13 vols. (New York, 1908-14); and *Mythology of all races*, edited by G. F. Moore and L. H. Gray, 12 vols. (Boston, 1916-31). A new edition of a German encyclopedia is under way, *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft*, edited by Hermann Gunkel and Leopold Tscharnack (2nd ed. Tübingen, 1927-). Lesser reference works are M. A. Canney, *Encyclopædia of religions*, 1 vol. (London, 1921); S. Mathews and G. B. Smith, *A dictionary of religion and ethics*, 1 vol. (New York, 1921); and Solomon Reinach, *Cults, mythes et religions* (Paris, 1913). A good collection of illustrative materials is to be found in *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, edited by Hans Haas (Leipzig, 1924-). The chief scientific periodicals devoted to the study of religion are: *American Journal of Religion* (Chicago), *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris), and *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* (Freiburg). Valuable articles also appear in *The Hibbert Journal* (London), *L'Année Sociologique* (Paris), *Isis* (Bruges), and in the monograph series of the New Orient Society, Open Court (Chicago, 1932-).

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CHAPTER II. RELIGION IN PRIMITIVE CULTURES

Review of General Literature

Because of the great variety within primitive culture all general surveys are necessarily inadequate. The major works of the classic theorists, listed for chapter I, especially those of E. B. Tylor, James G. Frazer and Émile Durkheim, are rich in detailed information and have a lasting value independent of the merits of their respective theses. This literature still furnishes one of the most stimulating introductions to the whole subject of primitive religion. The same can be said on a more modest scale for the works of R. R. Marett and Andrew Lang, which have also been mentioned above.

Brief introductions have more recently been attempted by R. H. Lowie in *Primitive religion* (New York, 1924), which includes a very useful list of special references, and by W. H. R. Rivers in *Medicine, magic, and religion* (London, 1924). These are distinctly preferable to the older and now antiquated work of D. G. Brinton, *Religions of primitive peoples* (London, 1899). Again for introductory purposes the chapter by B. Malinowski, "Magic, science, and religion," in *Science, religion, and reality*, edited by J. Needham (New York, 1925), several chapters in A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early civilization* (New York, 1922), and in A. L. Kroeber and T. T. Waterman, *A source book in anthropology* (Berkeley, 1920) are of value.

Several authors treat the subject on the hypothesis that primitive culture involves a distinctive mentality, notably L. Lévy-Bruhl in *Primitive mentality* (New York, 1923) and *How natives think* (London, 1926). With these should be compared R. Allier, *The mind of the savage* (New York,

1927), and W. Wundt, *Elements of folk psychology* (London, 1916).

Special topics or aspects of primitive religions are discussed in such works as: J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality*, 3 vols. (London, 1913-22); *The worship of nature* (New York, 1926); and *Totemism and exogamy* (London, 1910). The subject of totemism has also been critically and comprehensively reviewed by A. A. Goldenweiser, "Totemism, an analytical study," in the *Journal of American Folk-lore*, vol. XXIII (Lancaster, 1910). The subject of dancing is treated by W. D. Hambly in *Tribal dancing and social development* (London, 1926); and by W. O. E. Oesterley in *The sacred dance; a study in comparative folklore* (Cambridge, 1923). Other topics are discussed in a similar general fashion in the following works: A. C. Haddon, *Magic and fetishism* (London, 1910); E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and belief* (London, 1914); J. Leuba, *A psychological study of religion* (New York, 1912); J. L. Maddox, *The medicine man* (New York, 1923); P. Radin, *Primitive man as philosopher* (New York, 1927); and H. Webster, *Primitive secret societies* (New York, 1908).

In addition there are a number of photographic records of primitive culture, notably those by G. Buschan, *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1922); E. von Sydow, *Die Kunst der Naturvölker und der Vorzeit* (Berlin, 1923); and Ernst Vatter, *Religiöse Plastik der Naturvölker* (Frankfort, 1926).

Literature of Primitive Cultures

The great number and variety of primitive cultures makes it desirable to select for the student from the extensive scientific literature those works which give a picture of primitive religion in relation to some particular culture. Further reading in other cultures is required to give the student an adequate idea of the range and refinements of primitive religious folk-ways. It is especially recommended that cultures be selected for further study which reflect different occupations and different phases of social development from those described above.

A. OCEANIA. There are several general studies of this area: Rosalind Moss, *The life after death in Oceania and the Malay archipelago* (Oxford, 1925); R. B. Dixon, *Oceania*, vol. IX of *Mythology of all races*; and J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality*, vol. I, Australia and Melanesia, vol. II, Polynesia, and vol. III, Micronesia (London, 1913). The Melanesian area is described in the works of Codrington mentioned in chapter I and in W. H. R. Rivers, *The history of Melanesian society*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1914). As in the case of the Dobu islanders discussed above magic and sorcery are prevalent in the whole region. Particular Melanesian peoples are described in the *Reports of the Cambridge anthropological expedition to Torres Straits*, 6 vols., edited by A. C. Haddon (Cambridge, 1908); in C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910); and in *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, 3 vols., edited by R. Neuhass (Berlin, 1911). Recently a number of good studies of particular tribes and islands have appeared, such as R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (London, 1932), cited above; C. E. Fox, *The threshold of the Pacific* (New York, 1925), a study of San Cristoval in the Solomon Islands; and F. E. Williams, *Orokéwa magic* (Oxford, 1928), and *Orokéwa society* (Oxford, 1930). The journals *Oceania* and *The Journal of the Royal Polynesian Society* also publish valuable scientific articles on the region.

For the adjoining regions of Polynesia and Micronesia there is less material. Good introductory surveys are those of R. Linton, *Ethnology of Polynesia and Micronesia*, Field Museum of Natural History guide, pt. 6 (Chicago, 1920), and E. S. C. Handy, *Polynesian religion*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum bulletin 34 (Honolulu, 1927). In these islands sorcery and magic are not so prevalent, but there are several cultures in which the development of tabu and ceremony is extraordinarily elaborate and interesting. An outstanding instance is that of the Maori in New Zealand, described by E. Best in *The Maori*, 2 vols. (Wellington, 1924) and in *Maori religion and mythology*, Dominion Museum bulletin 10 (Wellington, 1924); and by E. Tregear in *The Maori race* (Wanganui, N. Z., 1904).

For the Malay peninsula and the adjacent islands the following works are recommended: W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan races of the Malay peninsula* (London, 1906); W. W. Skeat, *Malay magic* (London, 1910); C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The pagan tribes of Borneo* (London, 1912). The culture and religion of a number of tribes in the Philippines have been carefully described by L. W. Benedict, *A study of Bagobo ceremonial, magic, and myth*, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, vol. XXV (New York, 1916); F. C. Cole, *The Tinguian*, Field Museum of Natural History anthropological series, vol. 14 (Chicago, 1915-22); A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (Manila, 1905). The region of Malaysia has a special interest because it contains some exceedingly primitive cultures as yet but little affected by outside civilizations.

Survey accounts of the primitive tribes in various parts of Australia have been written by A. W. Howitt, *The native tribes of south-east Australia* (London, 1904); B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The native tribes of central Australia* (London, 1899), and *The northern tribes of central Australia* (London, 1904). The same two authors have also published a detailed study of a particular group, *The Arunta, a study of a stone age people*, 2 vols. (London, 1927). Another specific study is that of K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi tribe* (London, 1905). Durkheim's totemistic theory of "the elementary forms of the religious life" draws largely on these accounts of Australian primitives and their system of totemism.

B. ASIA. In addition to the study of the Todas by W. H. R. Rivers cited above, there are several valuable accounts of other primitive peoples in India and adjacent regions. The work by C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), deals with an exceedingly primitive people in Ceylon. The hill peoples of Bengal and Assam have been described in the following series of specific studies: T. C. Hodson, *The Naga tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911); J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (London, 1921), and *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921); J. C. Mills, *The Lhota Nagas* (London, 1922), and *The Ao Nagas* (London, 1926). For the islands off the east coast of India, the following may be consulted: A. R. Brown, *The Andaman Islanders* (Cambridge, 1922); and G. Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands* (London, 1924).

Of northern Asia there are several good surveys: W. Jochelson, *The peoples of Asiatic Russia* (New York, 1928); M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia* (Oxford, 1914), which is particularly good on the hysteria which so much affects the shamanism of the region; and G. Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den Sibirischen Völkern* (Stuttgart, 1925), which is especially well illustrated. Besides the work of W. Bogoras on the Chukchees cited above, there are the following studies of other particular tribes: W. Jochelson, *The Koryak*, American Museum of Natural History memoir X (Leiden, 1905), and *The Yukaghir and the Yukaghirised Tungus*, American Museum of Natural History memoir XIII (Leiden, 1910). J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan* (1st ed. London, 1892), and *Ainu life and lore* (Tokyo, undated) describe a primitive people of northern Japan whose culture has many resemblances to that of the Siberian tribes.

C. AFRICA. A survey charting of the complex races and cultures of Africa may be found in W. D. Hambly, *Ethnology of Africa*, Field Museum of Natural History guide, pt. 3 (Chicago, 1930). There are numerous useful studies of particular groups. For South Africa, on the Bushmen see: S. S. Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari* (London, 1925); W. H. I. Bleek and I. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman folklore*

(London, 1911); and M. H. Tongue, *Bushman paintings* (Oxford, 1909) for illustrations of Bushman art.

For the Bantu peoples of southern and central Africa, there are several general works, among them: W. C. Willoughby, *The soul of the Bantu* (New York, 1928), and *Race problems in the new Africa* (Oxford, 1923); C. W. Hobley, *Bantu beliefs and magic* (London, 1922); and J. Torrend, *Specimens of Bantu folklore from northern Rhodesia* (London, 1921). Recommended studies of particular Bantu tribes are: H. A. Junod, *The life of a South African tribe*, 2 vols. (Neuchatel, 1913); D. Kidd, *The essential Kafir* (London, 1904); D. R. MacKenzie, *The spirit-ridden Konde* (London, 1925); F. H. Melland, *In witch-bound Africa* (Philadelphia, 1923); J. Roscoe, *The Banganda* (London, 1911), and *The northern Bantu* (Cambridge, 1915); J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo cannibals* (Philadelphia, 1913), and *Among the primitive Bakongo* (Philadelphia, 1914); E. Pechuel-Loesche, *Volkskunde von Loango* (Stuttgart, 1907); C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other East Africa tribes* (Cambridge, 1910); W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a prehistoric people, the Aikuyu of British East Africa* (London, 1910). Non-Bantu peoples in central and eastern Africa are discussed by E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking peoples of northern Rhodesia*, 2 vols. (London, 1920); A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi* (Oxford, 1909); M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk* (Oxford, 1911); M. Merker, *Die Masai* (Berlin, 1910). For the Sudan, there is C. W. Domville-Fife, *Savage life in the black Sudan* (Philadelphia, 1927).

On religion among the Negro peoples located chiefly along the west coast, there are several general works: R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa* (New York, 1904); R. E. Dennett, *At the back of the black man's mind* (London, 1906); and more recently R. S. Rattray and others, *Religion and art in Ashanti* (Oxford, 1927); F. A. Talbot, *Some Nigerian fertility cults* (Oxford, 1927); A. J. N. Tremearne, *The ban of the Bori* (London, 1914). Among the general surveys of specific groups in this region are three books by A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887); *The Ewe-speaking peoples of the slave coast of West Africa* (London, 1890); and *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of the slave coast of West Africa* (London, 1894). Other such studies are: N. W. Thomas, *Anthropological report on the Ibo-speaking peoples of Nigeria* (London, 1913); C. Partridge, *Cross River natives* (London, 1905); P. A. Talbot, *In the shadow of the bush* (London, 1912). H. L. Roth, *Great Benin, its customs, art, and horrors* (Halifax, 1903) is a study of a great African kingdom of the past, showing the religion of this region operating on an unusual scale of social power.

D. NORTH AMERICA. There is an especially full anthropological literature on the North American Indians. As introductory surveys the following are recommended: C. Wissler, *The American Indian* (New York, 1917); *Hand-book of American Indians north of Mexico*, Bureau of American Ethnology bulletin 30 (Washington, 1910); F. Boas and others, *Anthropology in North America* (New York, 1915). There is a series of volumes with excellent photographic illustrations by E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indians*, 20 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1903-13); and the older illustrated work by G. Catlin, *Illustration of the manners, customs and conditions of the North American Indians*, 2 vols. (London, 1848), is especially valuable as the first-hand record of a good observer who saw the Indians when their culture was relatively unmolesied. For the religious aspect see the work by R. F. Benedict, *The concept of the Guardian Spirit in North America*, American Anthropological Association memoir 29 (Menasha, 1923), which contains a good bibliography. The books by H. B. Alexander, *The religious spirit of the American Indian* (Chicago, 1910), and *North America*, vol. X of *Mythology of all races* (Boston, 1916), contain interesting materials.

The continent divides into several main culture areas. For the northeastern Indians whose culture is now virtually extinct, the following works on the Iroquois in New York and the Menomini in Wisconsin preserve a fairly comprehensive record: L. H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-De-No-San-Nas or Iroquois* (Rochester, 1854); E. A. Smith, *Myths of the Iroquois*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 2 (Washington,

1883); and A. C. Parker, *Fundamental factors of Seneca folklore*, New York State Museum bulletin 253; also the article by A. C. Parker, "Secret medicine societies of the Seneca," in *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. XI (Lancaster, 1909); and W. Jones, "The Algonkin Manitou," in *Journal of American Folk-lore*, vol. 18, pp. 183-90 (Lancaster, 1905). On the Menomini see W. J. Hoffman, *The Menomini Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 14 (Washington, 1886), and "Myths of the Menomini Indians," in *American Anthropologist*, vol. 3, p. 243; also the various studies by A. Skinner, *Social life and ceremonial bundles of the Menomini Indians, Associations and ceremonies of the Menomini Indians*, and *Folk-lore of the Menomini Indians*, American Museum of Natural History anthropological papers, vol. XIII (New York, 1915). See also P. Radin, *The Winnebago tribe*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 37 (Washington, 1923).

The Bureau of American Ethnology annual reports 5, 7 and 19, and 42 contain studies of the Seminole, Cherokee and Creek Indians of the southeastern United States by C. MacCaulay, J. Mooney and J. R. Swanton respectively.

Much more abundant is the material available on the Indians of the west, whose culture still survives in some measure. For the Plains area several introductory surveys and general studies are useful, among them: C. Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains*, American Museum of Natural History handbook no. 1 (New York, 1927); R. F. Benedict, "The vision in Plains culture," in *American Anthropologist*, new series, vol. 24, 1922; C. Wissler, *General discussion of shamanistic dancing societies*, and L. Spier, *The sun dance of the Plains Indians*, American Museum of Natural History anthropological papers, vols. 11 and 16 (New York, 1916 and 1921), two studies of other characteristic traits. Among the many specific studies of representative tribes are the following: J. O. Dorsey, *A study of Siouan cults*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 11 (Washington, 1894); A. C. Fletcher and F. LaFlesche, *The Omaha tribe*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 27 (Washington, 1911); G. B. Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1923); A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, American Museum of Natural History bulletin XVIII (New York, 1902-7); F. LaFlesche, *The Osage tribe*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 36 (Washington, 1921); R. H. Lowie's various papers on the Crow Indians in vols. XVI, XXI, and XXV of the American Museum of Natural History anthropological papers; also the various papers by C. Wissler on the Blackfoot Indians in vols. II, VII, XI, and XVI of the same series. J. Mooney, *The ghost dance religion*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 14 (Washington, 1896) is an illuminating account of an interesting religious movement which swept through these Indians in recent times during their last struggles with the white man. Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the interior of North America*, translated by H. E. Lloyd (London, 1843) contains a folio of rare illustrations.

Of the Indians along the northwest coast there is an introductory survey by P. E. Goddard, *Indians of the northwest coast*, American Museum of Natural History handbook no. 10 (New York, 1924). In this region, where totemistic organization prevails, several studies of particular tribes have been made by F. Boas, among them: *The social organization and secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, annual report of the United States National Museum (Washington, 1897); or his more technical discussion, *The religion of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, pts. I and II (New York, 1930), and other papers on the same group published by the American Museum of Natural History as memoirs of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. In these memoirs, vols. V, VIII and X, there are also papers by J. R. Swanton on *The Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands*; and the same author has published studies of the *Tlingit Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 26 and bulletin 39 (Washington, 1908 and 1909).

Of the Eskimo, several popular accounts have been very expertly done: D. Jenness, *The people of the twilight* (New York, 1928); K. Rasmussen, *The people of the Polar North* (Philadelphia, 1908); and K. Rasmussen and W. Worster, *Eskimo folk tales*

(Leipzig, 1922). More detailed accounts of particular tribes are those by F. Boas, *The Central Eskimo*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 26 (Washington, 1888), and *The Eskimo of Baffin Land and Hudson Bay*, American Museum of Natural History bulletin XV (New York, 1907); K. Birket-Smith, *The Central Eskimos* (Copenhagen, 1929); D. Jenness, *The life of the Copper Eskimo* (Ottawa, 1922); W. Thalbitzer, *The Ammassalik Eskimo* (Copenhagen, 1914).

A good introductory survey of Indian culture in the southwest is that of P. E. Goddard, *Indians of the southwest*, American Museum of Natural History handbook no. 2 (New York, 1931). Elaborate ceremonialism characterizes the religion of this region, and a recent book by E. Fergusson, *Dancing gods* (New York, 1931), gives excellent descriptions of representative ceremonial dances. Among the many available studies of specific tribes the following are particularly full. For the pueblo-dwelling tribes, E. S. Curtis, *The Hopi*, vol. 12 of *The North American Indians* (Norwood, 1922); the cults, ceremonies and legends of the same people have also been described in numerous articles by J. W. Fewkes, annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, 1922 and 1924), and Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 21 (Washington, 1903); and by H. R. Voth and G. A. Dorsey in publications of the Field Columbian Museum, anthropological series, vols. 3, 6, 8 and 11 (Chicago, 1901-12). The Zuni Indians have been described by M. C. Stevenson, *The Zuni Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 23 (Washington, 1909); and some of their mythology has been related by F. H. Cushing in *Zuni folk tales* (New York, 1901). These two authors have published further studies of the same people in the Bureau of American Ethnology annual reports 2, 5 and 13. On the semi-nomadic camp dwellers of the area, see W. Matthews, *The night chant*, American Museum of Natural History memoir VI (New York, 1902), and *Navaho myths, prayers, and songs* (Berkeley, 1907) for rituals of the Navaho.

The Indians of California are discussed in general by A. L. Kroeber in *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Bureau of American Ethnology bulletin 78 (Washington, 1925); and the same author describes their religion in University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 4 (Berkeley, 1906-7). Studies of specific groups among them also appear in the latter publications.

E. CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA. The former civilizations of Mexico and Peru are surveyed in the following introductions: T. A. Joyce, *South American archaeology* (New York, 1912), and *Mexican archaeology* (New York, 1914); H. J. Spinden, *Ancient civilizations of Mexico and Central America*, American Museum of Natural History handbook no. 3 (New York, 1917); C. W. Mead, *Old civilizations of Inca land*, American Museum of Natural History handbook no. 11 (New York, 1924); P. A. Means, *Ancient civilizations of the Andes* (New York, 1931). A. P. Maudslayi, *Biologia Centrali-Americana*, text and separate series of plates (London, 1889-92); H. J. Spinden, *A study of Maya art* (Cambridge, 1913); and E. P. Dieseldorff, *Kunst und Religion der Mayavölker* (Berlin, 1926) contain good photographic illustrations of Central American ruins and art. C. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh* (Paris, 1861) is a translation into French of the heroic myths and traditions recorded in the Quiche language soon after the Spanish invasion. The same writer has also translated Diego de Landa, *Relation des choses de Yucatan* (Paris, 1864), a primary source of great value by the first bishop of Yucatan (1524-73). Another unique record by an eye-witness is that of B. De Sahagun, *Histoire generale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, translated from the Spanish by Jourdanet and Simeon (Paris, 1880). A comparable first-hand account of the Inca civilization exists by Garcilaso de la Vega (c. 1535-1616), *Comentarios reales que tratan del origen de los Yncas* (Lisbon, 1609), and *Historia general del Peru* (Lisbon, 1617); together translated by Sir Paul Rycart as *The royal commentaries of Peru* (London, 1688). The well-known histories of the Spanish conquests by W. H. Prescott are also of value.

On the present-day Indians of Central and South America there are few specific studies, among them the following: C. Lumholtz, *The Huichol Indians of Mexico*,

American Museum of Natural History bulletin X (New York, 1898), and *Symbolism of the Huichol Indians*, American Museum of Natural History memoir III (New York, 1900); the same author's *Unknown Mexico*, 2 vols. (New York, 1902) is also of interest. K. T. Preuss, *Die Nayarit Expedition*, vol. I, *Die Religion der Cora Indianer* (Leipzig, 1912), is an especially good study of a particular Mexican group with fine illustrations. R. Redfield, *Tepoutlan, a Mexican village* (Chicago, 1930); and A. M. Tozzer, *A comparative study of the Mayas and the Lacandonnes* (New York, 1907) throw light on cultural assimilation and change in Mexico.

On the South American Indians there is a general work of some value for the study of their religions, R. Karsten, *The civilization of the South American Indians with special reference to magic and religion* (New York, 1926). Among the more specific studies are: K. T. Preuss, *Religion und Mythologie der Uitoto* (Göttingen, 1921-3), describing a tribe in Colombia; W. Roth, *An inquiry into the animism and folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology annual report 30 (Washington, 1915); T. Whiffen, *The northwestern Amazons* (New York, 1915); G. Tessman, *Die Indianer Nordost Perus* (Hamburg, 1930); and M. Gusinde, *Die Feuerland Indianer* (Mödling bei Wien, 1932).

CHAPTER III. SHINTO

Review of General Literature

The best surveys of Shinto are those of W. G. Aston, *Shinto, the way of the gods* (London, 1905); Genchi Kato, *A Study of Shinto, the religion of the Japanese nation* (Tokyo, 1926), which does more justice to the developed thought of modern Shintoists and is most complete in its references; and M. Revon, *Le Shintoïsme* (Paris, 1907). The articles on "Shinto" by Aston and by Kato in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* and in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (13th ed.) respectively are also notable. Aston has also contributed a booklet entitled *Shinto, the ancient religion of Japan* (London, 1910) to the series *Religions: ancient and modern*.

For the place of Shinto within the whole religious life of Japan the following accounts are of value: G. W. Knox, *The development of religion in Japan* (New York, 1907); M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese religion* (London, 1930); and also Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan, an interpretation* (New York, 1917), although the historical and sociological interpretations of Hearn are less valuable than his vivid depictions.

The *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* (Tokyo and London) contain important translations of Shinto scriptures and rituals, as well as numerous critical articles on various aspects of the religion. Vol. X supplement contains the "*Ko-ji-ki*," *Records of Ancient Matters*, a translation by B. H. Chamberlain, which was reprinted by the Asiatic Society of Japan, Tokyo, 1906. Vols. VII, IX and XXVII contain translations of rituals by E. Satow and K. Florenz. Other important numbers are mentioned in specific connections below. The *Nihongi* translated by W. G. Aston is published in

the *Transactions of the Japan Society, London*, 1896. G. Kato and H. Hoshino have published a translation of the *Kogoshui, gleanings from ancient stories* (Tokyo, 1925).

The Bureau of Religions in the Department of Education publishes a useful *Handbook of the old shrines and temples and their treasures in Japan* (Tokyo, 1920), while among large works of great value for their illustrations of iconography and religious art (along with other phases of Japanese culture) are P. F. von Seebold, *Nippon*, 2 vols. (new ed. Berlin, 1930); and *A history of Japanese arts*, 3 vols., published by the Imperial Museum and translated by Y. Takenobu and K. Kawakami (Tokyo, 1899). Still more complete and fine are the photographic records being published by the Department of Education, *A complete collection of the national treasures of Japan* (*Nihon Kokuho Zenshu*) (Tokyo, 1922-) and by the Imperial Household Museum, *A photographic study of the historical arts of Japan* (*Teishitsu Hakubutsu-kwan Zuroku*). V. F. Weber, *Ko-Ji Ho-Ten*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1923), is a very valuable dictionary in French for all matters of Japanese and Chinese art including iconography.

A useful historical outline of Japanese culture is that of R. H. Akagi, *Japanese civilization: a syllabus* (New York, 1927), while a comprehensive and interesting description is given in F. Brinkley, *Japan, its history, arts and literature*, 8 vols. (Boston, 1901-2). A standard history of the nation is J. Murdoch, *A history of Japan*, 3 vols. (London, 1903-26). The guides published by the Imperial Government Railways, *An official guide to eastern Asia* (Tokyo, 1913-7) offer much more cultural information in convenient form than the usual traveler's handbook.

These references should be supplemented by those given below in the discussion of Japanese Buddhism in chapter V.

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY. Besides the surveys already mentioned, which treat of early Japanese culture and its origins, there are valuable articles in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* on such subjects as: Ainu culture (vols. XVI, XVIII, XX), ancestor-worship (vol. XXXVIII), primitive culture (vol. XXXIV). See also K. Florenz, *Die historischen Quellen der Shinto-Religion* (Göttingen, 1919). On the introduction of Chinese culture and of Buddhism and their influence compare the section on Japanese Buddhism below and in addition see Kanichi Asakawa, *Early institutional life of Japan* (Tokyo, 1903); W. G. Aston, *Nihongi—Chronicles of Japan from the earliest times to A.D. 697* (London, 1924); Masaharu Anesaki, *History of Japanese religion* (London, 1930), book II; Arthur Lloyd, *The creed of half Japan* (London, 1911), chapters 17-20; and G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a short cultural history* (New York, 1931), parts I-III.

The *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* contain articles by E. Satow on *The revival of pure Shinto* (vol. III), by D. C. Holton on *The political philosophy of modern Shinto* (vol. XLIX), and by D. C. Greene on *Temri-kyo, or the teaching of heavenly reason* (vol. XXIII, 1895).

II. SHINTO MYTHOLOGY. On Japanese mythology, besides the translations and accounts mentioned above, see: *Mythology of all races*, vol. VIII, by M. Anesaki; Karl Florenz,

Nihongi, Japanische Mythologie (Tokyo, 1901), and the French translation of a work by N. Matsumoto, *Recherches sur quelques themes de la mythologie japonaise* (Paris, 1928); also F. H. Davids, *Myths and legends of Japan* (London, 1912); A. Miyamori, *Representative tales of Japan*, 2 vols. (Tokyo, 1914); and the chapter on Shinto by K. Kumé in vol. 2 of *Fifty years of New Japan*, compiled by Count Shigénobu Ōkuma (London, 1909).

III. THE NATIONAL RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS. An English translation of the *Oharai-no-Norito* or *Ritual of the Great Purification* by K. A. Florenz is published in vol. XXVII of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. And other rituals translated by E. Satow and Florenz appear in vols. VII and IX of the same. In addition to descriptions of the recent coronation in periodicals see D. C. Holton, *The Japanese enthronement ceremonies* (Tokyo, 1928).

IV. THE TEMPLES. On the temples see the *Handbook* and larger illustrative volumes mentioned above; also the valuable monographs on Ise by E. Satow in vol. II and on Izumo by J. C. Schwartz in vol. XLI of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. A volume entitled *Shin-to* by G. Schurhammer (Leipzig, 1923) contains many illustrations and colored prints relating to Shinto shrines and rites, but the text accompanying them is not an accurate treatment of Shinto.

V. POPULAR AND DOMESTIC ASPECTS OF SHINTO. The *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* contain articles by W. Aston on the *Seven Gods of Happiness* (vol. XVI); by G. Kato on *Japanese Phallicism* (vol. II); and others related to Shinto.

The charming autobiography by E. Sugimoto, *A daughter of the Samurai* (Garden City, 1925), gives much insight into the family life and domestic religion in recent times. See also G. W. Knox, *Japanese life in town and country* (New York, 1904).

CHAPTER IV. HINDUISM

Review of General Literature

A very brief introduction to the subject is furnished in the booklet by L. D. Barnett, *Hinduism* (London, 1906), while the most inclusive handbook for beginning students with well-chosen translations from sacred literature, illustrations and references is that of J. N. Farquhar, *A primer of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1912). The latter's larger work, *An outline of the religious literature of India* (Oxford, 1920), is indispensable for advanced study; it contains the most complete information about texts and translations of Indian religious literature. Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, 3 vols. (London, 1927), is outstanding as a comprehensive discussion of the historical development of these religions. A recent German book by H. von Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus. Religion und Gesellschaft im heutigen Indien* (Munich, 1922), offers a very fine synoptic description with unusual illustrations. The handbook by Sir M. Monier Williams, *Hinduism* (London, 1877), though old, is still good. One of the best books on the subject is E. W. Hopkins, *The religions of India* (Boston, 1895). Other available surveys in English are those of A. Barth, *The religions of India* (Eng. trans., London, 1882); and J. B. Pratt, *India and its faiths* (Boston, 1915).

A more intensive survey can be gained through two excellent series of small books. In the one called *The religious life of India* (edited by Farquhar, Macnicol and Dewick) each volume is devoted to the description of some particular contemporary group or aspect of modern Hinduism; the other, called *The heritage of India* (edited by Azariah and Farquhar), embraces studies of historical movements and literatures with considerable translation of primary sources.

Of the sacred literature it is advisable to read, above all, the *Bhagavadgita* of which there are numerous translations. Among the recent translations in English those of Arthur Ryder, *The Bhagavad-Gita* (Chicago, 1929) and of D. G. Mukerji, *The Song of God* (New York, 1931) are outstanding. The former seeks to reproduce the verse form as well as the spirit of the original; the latter illustrates Hindu modernist interpretations. Among the earlier translations that of Sir Edwin Arnold, *The Song celestial* (new ed., London, 1930) is a very free poetic rendering of great beauty, while that of L. D. Barnett, *The Lord's Song* (London, 1928) is highly accurate but very prosaic. Comparison may be made with still other renderings by Annie Besant, D. P. Hill and K. T. Telang. The last named's version is published in vol. VIII of the *Sacred books of the East* (edited by Max Müller). This unique series embraces fifty volumes, of which twenty-two are devoted to translations of various Hindu scriptures with critical introductions. Many of these volumes will be mentioned below in special connections together with alternative translations. The bibliographies in the above-mentioned *Outline of religious literature* by Farquhar furnish the most complete guide to texts and translations.

Vol. I of *The Cambridge history of India*, 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1922), presents an excellent series of chapters by various authorities on the culture of ancient India. A. A. Macdonell, *India's past* (Oxford, 1927) and L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India* (London, 1913) deal with the same subject with special emphasis on the literature, arts and sciences. Sir Herbert Risley, *The people of India* (2nd ed., London, 1915) is an outstanding ethnographical survey and discussion of caste. W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore in northern India* (Oxford, 1926) and E. Thurston, *Omens and superstitions of southern India* (London, 1912) are important accounts of the more primitive aspects of Indian culture and religion. Vol. II of Max Weber's *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1921) considers the economic implications of Indian religions in an unusually comprehensive way. Of great value as general reference works in the study of Indian culture and affairs are also: J. Dowson, *Classical dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion, geography, history and literature* (4th ed. London, 1903); *The imperial gazetteer of India*, especially vols. 1-4 (Ox-

ford, 1907); *The journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1834-19—); the *Grundriss der Indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* or *Encyclopædia of Indo-aryan research*, published in parts, some in English and some in German (Strassburg, 1896-); and many numbers of the *Annales du Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1880-). Of special importance is J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit texts on the origin and history of the people of India, their religion and institutions*, 5 vols. (London, 1868-74).

The *Archæological survey of India* (Calcutta, 1870-19—) provides the most comprehensive photographic record of Indian monuments with critical accounts of them. Among the more accessible introductions to Indian plastic arts in their relation to Indian culture at large are: A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian art* (New York, 1927), his *Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1923-30), which is much more than a catalogue, and other works by the same author; James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern architecture*, 2 vols. (London, 1910); and V. A. Smith, *History of fine arts in India and Ceylon* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1930). For detailed iconography there is a comprehensive work by T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography*, 4 vols. (Madras, 1914). An excellent one-volume collection of pictures illustrating many aspects of Indian art (as well as Chinese and Japanese) is that of Otto Fischer, *Die Kunst Indiens, Chinas und Japans* (Berlin, 1928); and the volume by Martin Hürlimann, *India* (Berlin, 1928), gives a remarkable photographic survey of landscape, architecture and daily life.

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY.

A. PRE-VEDIC CULTURES. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization*, 3 vols. (London, 1931), is the first-hand account of the most recent discoveries. Apart from these excavations the culture of pre-Vedic India has been inferred from that of later times. Interesting data for such inferences are furnished by: W. T. Elmore, *Dravidian gods in modern Hinduism* (Lincoln, 1915); G. Slater, *The Dravidian element in Indian culture* (London, 1924); J. P. Vogel, *Indian serpent-lore* (London, 1926). The works mentioned in the general list by W. Crooke and E. Thurston on primitive aspects of Indian religion are also important in this connection.

B. VEDIC CULTURE AND RELIGION. Besides the general works mentioned above on ancient Indian culture, each of which discusses the Vedic age, the following deal particularly with the literature of this period: M. Bloomfield, *The religion of the Veda* (New York, 1908); H. D. Griswold, *The religion of the Rigveda* (London, 1923); H. Oldenberg, *Religion der Vedas* (Berlin, 1884); A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, 3 vols. (2nd ed. Breslau, 1891-1902); A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897); and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, 2 vols. (London, 1912).

A complete translation of the Vedas into English is that of R. T. H. Griffith, *Rigveda, Samaveda, White Yajurveda, Atharvaveda* (Benares, 1895-1907). A small selection of hymns from the *Rig Veda* is offered by A. A. Macdonell, *Hymns from the Rigveda* (London, 1922); and a larger number translated by M. Müller and H. Oldenberg in vols. 32 and 46 of *Sacred books of the East*. M. Bloomfield translated *The Atharvaveda* (Strassburg, 1899). W. D. Whitney and C. R. Lanman have also brought out a critical

translation of the *Artharva Veda* in the Harvard Oriental Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1905).

C. CLASSIC BRAHMANISM. Paul Deussen, *The philosophy of the Upanishads* (Edinburgh, 1906), though old and colored by Schopenhauer, is still one of the best introductions to the ideas of classic Brahmanism. See also A. E. Gough, *Philosophy of the Upanishads and ancient Indian metaphysics* (London, 1882); and A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur* (Strassburg, 1897). R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (2nd ed. Oxford, 1931) is the most available and full critical translation in English. It is worth while to compare this with the text and Śankara's commentary as translated by S. S. Sastri and G. Jha, *Upanishads with Śankara's commentary*, 5 vols. (Madras, 1898-1901). Vols. 12, 26, 41, 43 and 44 of the *Sacred books of the East* present a translation by J. Eggeling of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Oxford, 1882-1900); vols. 1 and 15, *Twelve Upanishads* by Max Müller (Oxford, 1884); and vols. 2, 14, 25, 29 and 30, various ceremonial and religious law books (Sutras), including the *Laws of Manu* by G. Buhler and H. Oldenberg (Oxford, 1886). A recent critical work of importance is A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925).

D. THE ORTHODOX SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY. A brief and serviceable outline of the classic philosophies is furnished by Jwala Prasad, *Introduction to Indian philosophy* (Allahabad, 1928); and more extensive accounts by S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-32); and S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian philosophy*, 2 vols. (London, 1923-7).

The classic exposition of the Sankhya philosophy is found in the *Sankhya-karika* and in the *Sankhya-pravachana* Sutras. The former has been translated by H. T. Colebrooke (Bombay, 1887), and by Suryanarayana Sastri (Madras, 1930); and the latter is translated by Nandalai Sinha, vol. 11 of *Sacred books of the Hindus* (Allahabad, 1912-4). For works on Sankhya philosophy see: E. A. Weldon, *The Samkhya Karikas of Īśvara Krishna, with the commentary of Gaṇḍapada* (Philadelphia, 1931); J. Ghose, *Samkhya and modern thought* (Calcutta, 1930); A. K. Mazumdar, *The Sankhya conception of personality* (Calcutta, 1930); A. B. Keith, *The Samkhya system* (New York, 1918); and R. Garbe, *Die Samkhya Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1894), and *Samkhya und Yoga* (Strassburg, 1896).

The Vedānta Sutras are translated by George Thibaut with Śankara's commentary in vols. 34 and 38, *Sacred books of the East*, and with Ramanuja's commentary in vol. 48. See also R. Guénon, *Man and his becoming, according to the Vedānta*, trans. by C. Whitby (London, 1928). The Yoga Sutras attributed to Patañjali have been translated by James H. Woods and published in the Harvard Oriental Series, no. 17 (Cambridge, Mass., 1913). Translations of other Indian philosophical works can be located most conveniently by consulting the bibliography in Farquhar's *Outline*.

F. JAINISM. The most satisfactory surveys of Jainism are those by Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The heart of Jainism* (Oxford, 1915); and by A. Guérinot, *La Religion jaina* (Paris, 1926). Vols. 22 and 45 of *Sacred books of the East* contain translations of canonical Jainist scriptures by H. Jacobi; and M. Bloomfield, *The life and stories of the Jaina savior Parśvanatha* (Baltimore, 1919) furnishes an illustration of Jain legend. Further translations by Barnett, Tawney and others can be located best through the bibliography in Farquhar's *Outline*. J. Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism* (Cambridge, 1916), and Jinaprabhasivri, *Tīrthakalpa or treatise on the sacred places of the Jains* (Calcutta, 1923) are likewise of interest. See also C. R. Jain, *Jainism, Christianity and science* (Allahabad, 1930).

H. THE RISE OF POPULAR HINDUISM. Various translations of the *Bhagavadgīta* have been mentioned above in the review of general literature. The *Mahābhārata* as a whole has been translated into English prose by P. C. Roy, 12 vols. (Calcutta, 1884-96); also by M. N. Dutt (Calcutta, 1895-1905), who has likewise translated the *Ramayana*, 7 vols. (Calcutta, 1891-3). Abridged verse translations of both epics by R. C. Dutt are

available in the Everyman Library. The popular *Ramayana of Tulsi Das* has been translated by F. S. Growse, 2 vols. (Allahabad, 1887).

Among the translations of the Puranas, H. H. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, 6 vols. (London, 1864-77) and M. N. Dutt, *The Bhagavata Purana* (Calcutta, 1895) are of chief importance. Dutt has also translated several other Puranas for the Wealth of India Series. J. E. Abbott, *Bhikshugita* (Poona, 1928) is a part of the *Bhagavata Purana*. The *Mahānirvāna Tantra* has been translated by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) (London, 1913), and also a work by S. Mahodaya, *The principles of Tantra* (London, 1914-6). Parts of the Sāṃhitās and Āgamas have likewise been translated and published in various journals, which are cited by Farquhar in his *Outline*.

For a critical discussion of the rise of popular Hinduism the chapters in Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. II, are especially useful. Likewise important is R. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and minor religious systems*, in *Grundriss*, pt. 3 (Strassburg, 1913). The *Essays of H. T. Colebrooke*, especially vol. 2 (London, 1873), and those of A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic studies*, 2 vols. (London, 1899), though old, contain first-hand observations of importance on the different strata of Hindu religion and their interrelations. And finally, the more recent contributions of A. K. Coomaraswamy and others in discussing the plastic monuments are of the greatest value. See also H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the religious sects of the Hindus* (Calcutta, 1846).

II. HINDU SOCIETY. J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu castes and sects* (Calcutta, 1896) gives a good idea of the nature and complexity of the Hindu caste system, classifying and briefly characterizing the principal groups and their subdivisions as they exist in recent times. The *Census of India, 1921* (Calcutta, 1922-4) should also be consulted for its social statistics.

J. A. Dubois and H. K. Beauchamp, *Hindu manners, customs, and ceremonies* (3rd ed. Oxford, 1924), though old and uncritical in a systematic, scientific sense, is nevertheless full of first-hand information still pertinent. W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1887), though also old, contains useful sections on the household and other institutions of Hinduism. B. K. Sarkar, *The folk-element in Hindu culture* (London, 1917), and other writings by the same author on Indian sociology are of value. C. V. and W. H. Wiser, *Behind mud walls* (New York, 1930), portrays life in the smaller village community, and E. B. Havell, *Benares, the sacred city* (London, 1905) will suggest the religious significance of certain of the larger cities.

For the study of ascetic life the best comprehensive work in English is J. C. Oman, *The mystics, ascetics, and saints of India* (London, 1903), and the German work by R. Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien* (Berlin, 1908) is also of first-rate importance.

III. MYTHOLOGY AND COSMOLOGY OF POPULAR HINDUISM. The group of stories from the epics and Puranas, well selected and simply told, by J. M. Macfie, *Myths and legends of India* (Edinburgh, 1924), provides a good introduction to Hindu mythology. A more critical account for historical purposes is that of A. B. Keith, in vol. VI of *Mythology of all races* (Boston, 1917). V. Fausbøll, *Indian mythology according to the Mahābhārata* (London, 1903) gives a concise epitome of the principal figures and groups in the classical mythology, a convenient handbook for some of the more general features of iconography. See also E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology* (Strassburg, 1915); and W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Bonn, 1920). A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The dance of Siva* (New York, 1924), and his rare collection of *Rajput paintings*, 2 vols. (London, 1916), should be consulted, especially for the later developments of mythology and religious art in medieval and modern times. The above-mentioned works by Rao on iconography and by Bhandarkar on Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism are likewise of importance here. H. Whitehead, *The village gods of south India* (London, 1916) is of value for an understanding of the relation of popular local mythology to the historic tradition. See also *Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris, 1928).

IV. HINDU RITES. The most available, careful and comprehensive account of Hindu rites in English is that of Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The rites of the twice-born* (Oxford,

1920), while further information of value, though less critically gathered, is to be found in the above-mentioned work by Dubois and Beauchamp. For Tantric worship, however, the works by A. Avalon above cited must be consulted.

For ascetic practices see the above-mentioned works by J. C. Oman and R. Schmidt on the Sadhus in general; for Yoga in particular see S. Dasgupta, *Yoga as philosophy and religion* (London, 1924), *Hindu mysticism* (Chicago and London, 1927), and *Yoga philosophy in relation to other systems of Indian thought* (Calcutta, 1930). An ingenious attempt at a modern physiological explanation of *Hatha* Yoga is made by V. G. Rele, *The mysterious Kundalini* (Bombay, 1927), while a more critical work on this recondite subject will appear shortly by G. W. Briggs. Other works on Yoga are: Charles Johnston, *The Yoga Sutras of Patanjali: "the book of the spiritual man,"—an interpretation* (New York, 1912); F. H. Woods, *The Yoga system of Patanjali* (Cambridge, Mass., 1914); J. F. C. Fuller, *Yoga, a study of the mystical philosophy of the Brahmins and Buddhists* (London, 1925); and Richard Roesel, *Die psychologischen Grundlagen der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1928).

On the religious calendar there is a special work of much interest by M. M. Underhill, *The Hindu religious year* (Calcutta, 1921). And again the work of W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore in northern India*, should be consulted for the more primitive shrines and other aspects. For posture and gesture in Hindu ritual see A. K. Coomaraswamy's translation of *Nandikesvara, The mirror of gesture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1917).

V. SECTS. For general accounts of the sects, besides the above-mentioned works by Bhandarkar, Eliot and Bhattacharya, the older work by H. H. Wilson published in his *Essays and lectures*, 2 vols. (London, 1862), is still useful. But more intimate are the studies of individual groups in *The Religious Life of India* and *The Heritage of India* series, especially in the former, wherein besides the six or seven already published many new studies are announced, covering most of the important sects and movements.

For examples of Śaivite literature see F. Kingsbury and G. Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Śaiva saints* (Calcutta, 1921); G. U. Pope, *The Tiruvaiṣṇavam of Manikka Vasaṅgar* (Oxford, 1900); and *Sayana, Sarva-dāriṇa-saṃgraha, or review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy*, trans. by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough (London, 1908). See also the studies of J. M. N. Pillai, *Studies in Śaiva-siddhānta* (Madras, n.d.); J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivism* (Srinagar, 1914); and E. P. Rice, *A history of Kanarese literature* (Calcutta, 1918).

For Śakta literature besides the translations already mentioned by Arthur Avalon, see also his *Tantrik texts* (London, 1913-), and A. and E. Avalon, *Hymns to the Goddess* (London, 1913).

For Vaiṣṇavism see: A. Govindacharya, *Life of Ramanuja* (Madras, 1906); N. Macnicol, *Psalm of Maratha saints* (Calcutta, 1919); J. N. Fraser and K. B. Marathe, *The poems of Tukaram* (Madras, 1909); G. H. Westcott, *Kabir and the Kabirpanth* (Cawnpore, 1907); C. C. Sen, *Chaitanya and his companions* (Calcutta, 1917); and J. Sarkar, *Chaitanya's pilgrimages and teachings* (Calcutta, 1913); and M. M. Bose, *The post-Chaitanya Sahajia cult of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1930).

The bibliographies in Farquhar's *Outline* contain many further references for all of these groups.

G. W. Briggs, *The Chamars* (Calcutta, 1920) is an excellent study of the leather-workers, a depressed group, which will further illustrate what is said in the text about such groups.

VI. MOVEMENTS OF MODERN HINDUISM. For surveys of recent tendencies in Hinduism see: Farquhar, *Modern religious movements in India* (New York, 1919); A. C. Underwood, *Contemporary thought of India* (London, 1930); and H. D. Griswold, *Aspects of contemporary Hinduism* (New York, prob. 1933).

For the nineteenth-century movements see Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj* (London, 1915); Devijadas Datta, *Behold the man, or Keṭhub and the Sadharan Brahma Samaj* (Calcutta, 1930); R. Guénon, *Le Theosophisme* (Paris, 1921); A. B. Kuhn, *Theosophy* (New York, 1930); and G. West, *The life of Annie Besant* (London, 1929);

The life of Sri Ramakrishna (Himalayan series, no. 47, of the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, 1925); Max Müller, *Ramakrishna, his life and sayings* (New York, 1899); and *The complete works of the Swami Vivekananda*, 6 vols. (Mayavati, 1919); Romain Rolland, *Prophets of the new India* (New York, 1930). Some account of the reverberations of these movements in America may be found in W. T. Thomas, *Hinduism invades America* (New York, 1930). See also A. J. Appasamy, *Christianity as Bhakti Marga* (London, 1927).

For Hindu nationalism see B. G. Tilak, *His writings and speeches* (edited by B. A. Ghose, Madras, 1910?), especially the sections on the *Gita* and the way of works or *karma* in relation to militant nationalism; then compare M. K. Gandhi, *The story of my experiments with truth* (Ahmedabad, 1927-9), and *Young India 1919-1922* (New York, 1923), and *Young India 1924-1926* (New York, 1927). Selections from Gandhi's autobiography and synoptic interpretations of his views have been presented by C. F. Andrews in three small volumes entitled *Gandhi, his own story* (New York, 1930); *Mahatma Gandhi's ideas* (New York, 1930); and *Gandhi at work* (New York, 1931). The appreciation by Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi* (New York, 1924) is likewise of interest.

CHAPTER V. BUDDHISM

Review of General Literature

An outline of Buddhist history in various countries with detailed bibliographies is offered by C. H. Hamilton, *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan; a guide to reading* (Chicago, 1931). Among introductory surveys of Buddhism and its history the most recent in English are J. B. Pratt, *The pilgrimage of Buddhism* (New York, 1928), and K. J. Saunders, *Epochs of Buddhist history* (Chicago, 1922). The latter's earlier work, *The story of Buddhism* (Oxford, 1916), is a more elementary synopsis. One of the most useful surveys because of its concrete description of modern practices is still H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a religion* (London, 1910); while for critical discussion of historical problems the three volumes by Sir Charles E. Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism* (London, 1927) are indispensable. Among other works, less comprehensive in scope, but still useful as general introductions may be mentioned: L. de la Vallée Poussin, *The way to Nirvana* (Cambridge, 1917); T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism, its history and literature* (New York, 1926); and the earlier work by Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism in its connexion with Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London, 1889).

Many volumes of the *Sacred books of the East* and several of the *Wisdom of the East* series are devoted to English translations of various Buddhist scriptures, but since none is representative of Buddhism as a whole, they are cited below. The early collection of devotional verses known as the *Dhammapada*, trans. by Wagiswara and Saunders under the title *The Buddha's way of virtue* (London, 1912) expresses the sentiments basic to

all Buddhism; and H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in translations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922) is a good anthology of early Buddhist literature; but these should be supplemented by such later works as *The Diamond Sutra*, trans. by W. Gemmel (London, 1912); and *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law*, trans. by W. Soothill (London, 1930). Sir Edwin Arnold, *The light of Asia* (London, 1890) is a famous poetic rendering of the story of Buddha by a Westerner.

Most works dealing with Buddhist art and iconography treat the subject within the limits of a particular nation or region, and hence will be included in the sectional bibliographies. The following are useful as introductions: M. Anesaki, *Buddhist art in its relation to Buddhist ideals* (Boston, 1915); A. Foucher, *The beginnings of Buddhist art* (Paris, 1917); A. Grünwedel, *Buddhist art in India* (London, 1901); H. Focillon, *L'art Bouddhique* (Paris, 1921); *Mythologie asiatique illustrée* (Paris, 1928); and R. Grousset, *The civilizations of the East*, vols. 2, 3 and 4 (Paris and New York, 1931). Very useful for Buddhist iconography in the northern countries is A. Getty, *The gods of northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1914). The Japanese art magazine *Kokka* (Tokyo) publishes many fine reproductions of Buddhist sculpture and painting in all countries.

Reference should also be made to the journals and books on Indian art and archeology which are listed above in the bibliography of Hinduism. Most of these contain valuable material for the study of Buddhism also. In addition other important articles will be found in the following periodicals and journals: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New Haven, 1843-); *Journal Asiatique* (Paris, 1822-); *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, 1901-).

I. ORIGINS AND FOUNDATIONS. The most satisfactory introduction to the environment in which Buddhism arose is T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist India* (New York, 1903). The articles by A. K. Coomaraswamy on *Yakshas* (Washington, 1928-31, publications 2926 and 3059 in the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection) are very valuable for the preëxisting native cults. Chapters 3 and 4 in Sir Charles Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. 1 (London, 1927), offer the most recent critical discussion of original Buddhism in general.

E. J. Thomas, *The life of Buddha as legend and history* (New York, 1927) is the latest and best critical study of the life of Buddha, using both Pali and Sanskrit sources. E. H. Brewster, *The life of Gotama the Buddha* (New York, 1926) is a convenient translation of the biographical passages of the Pali texts, the oldest sources. Other statements of the Buddha story based on the Pali sources are: K. J. Saunders, *Gotama Buddha* (New York, 1920); and A. F. Herold, *The life of Buddha according to the legends of ancient India* (New York, 1927). W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha and the early history of his Order* (London, 1907) translates somewhat later but important accounts from Tibetan works. E. B. Cowell and others have translated *The Jātaka* in 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1895-1907), and a small volume of selections from these tales exists by Mrs. T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist birth stories* (London, 1928).

For the early doctrine, besides the small work by Nyanatiloka quoted above, there

is a larger and more accessible compendium from the sources by H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in translations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922). Vols. 10 and 11 of *Sacred books of the East* present translations of early doctrinal works by Max Müller, V. Fausbøll and Rhys-Davids; while volumes 13, 17 and 20 of the same series contain translations of the *Vinaya* texts, the monastic rules, by T. W. Rhys-Davids and H. Oldenberg (Oxford, 1823-1900). The latter are the chief primary sources on the early Order. A small pocket translation of the *Dhammapada* is offered by W. O. C. Wagiwara and K. J. Saunders under the title *The Buddha's way of virtue* in the *Wisdom of the East* series (London, 1912).

Among the general accounts of Buddha, his teaching and his Order, T. W. Rhys-Davids, *Buddhism, a sketch of the life and teachings of Gautama* (London, 1912) is a very readable one. The following older surveys are also still useful: H. Oldenberg, *Buddha: his life, doctrine, and his Order* (London, 1882); Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism* (London, 1889); R. S. Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism* (1880); J. H. C. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Strassburg, 1896).

II. THE SPREAD AND DEVELOPMENT OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA.

A. MONKS AND LAYMEN. The fullest account of Aśoka in English is V. A. Smith, *Aśoka, the Buddhist emperor of India* (Oxford, 1909), which includes a description of the monuments and translations of their inscriptions. But for this period of Buddhist history it is also indispensable to consider the *stūpa* reliefs, for which purpose the following may be recommended: E. B. Havell, *Handbook of Indian art* (London, 1920), especially chs. 3 and 4; J. Fergusson, *Tree and serpent worship* (London, 1873); Sir John Marshall, *A guide to Sanchi* (Calcutta, 1918); and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Early Indian architecture*, in *Eastern art*, vol. II, and his articles on *Yakshas* referred to above. A general discussion of value may be found in chs. 12-14 of Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism*, vol. I.

B. HINAYANA AND MAHAYANA BUDDHISM. The origins of the various Mahayana cults remain obscure and all accounts are very general. G. K. Nariman, *Literary history of Sanskrit Buddhism* (Bombay, 1920) reviews the literary sources. All surveys of Buddhism treat at least briefly of the rise of Mahayana and its divergence from Hinayana. Eliot, vol. II, chs. 16-22, discusses the evidence critically if somewhat unsystematically. The article, "Mahayana," by L. de la Vallée Poussin in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* is worth consulting. K. J. Saunders, *The gospel for Asia* (New York, 1928) compares the Lotus scripture of Buddhism, the *Bhagavadgīta* and the Fourth Gospel in an interesting way.

The classic Mahayana scriptures are themselves the most important references. Among the chief ones which have been translated into English are: *The Lotus of the Good Law* or *Saddharma-pundarika* (vol. 21, *Sacred books of the East*, and a new translation by Soothill), revealing the eternal Buddha in the lives of innumerable beings and establishing the law of salvation in various forms; *The Diamond Cutter (Vairochhedika)* and the *Prajnaparamitasūtras*, both of which stress the doctrine of *śūnyatā* or voidness of things, and the *Land of Bliss Sūtras (Sukhavativyūha and Amitayurdhya)*, which describe the paradise of the Buddha Amitabha and the regions attained by different classes of beings and grades of merit. All these works are translated in vol. 49 of *Sacred books of the East*, as is also Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*. This last work and the *Lalitavistara* are important Mahayana lives of Buddha; the latter was apparently the basis for bas-reliefs at Borobodur, and hence is translated in N. J. Krom, *The life of Buddha on the stūpa of Borobodur* (The Hague, 1926), which also contains excellent photographs of the reliefs. Important also is the *Mahāvastu*, Sanskrit text, E. Senart, ed. (Paris, 1882-97), an encyclopedic collection of Avadanas or pious legends. A relatively late Mahayana work, which gained particular influence in China and Japan, is the *Great Sun Sūtra (Mahāvairocana)*, glorifying the Buddha Vairocana. Two Mahayana commentaries by Santideva (seventh century) have been translated into English: *Sikṣha-Sammucaya, a compendium of Buddhist doctrine*, trans. by Bendall and Rouse (London, 1922); and *The path of light*, trans. by L. D. Barnett (London, 1909).

For the work of the great Hinayana commentator, Buddhaghosa, see R. C. Law, *The*

life and works of Buddhaghosa (Calcutta, 1923); *The path of purity* (Pali Text Society series, 11), being a translation of Part I on morals of the *Visuddhimagga*, Buddhaghosa's monumental summary of Buddhist doctrine; and *The expositor* (Pali Text Society series, 8 and 9), a translation of the *Atthasalini*, his commentary on one of the Abhidhamma works on mental elements or processes. The book by Rhys-Davids, *Buddhist psychology* (London, 1914) is based chiefly on Buddhaghosa's expositions.

For the rise of Buddhist art see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian art* (New York, 1927); A. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara* (Paris, 1905); and J. Griffiths, *The paintings in the Buddhist cave-temples of Ajanta* (London, 1896).

C. BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHIES. The Buddhist philosophies have not yet been thoroughly treated by European scholars. W. M. McGovern, *A manual of Buddhist philosophy* (London, 1923) compares the Theravadin, Sarvastivadin and Vijnanavadin or Yogacharya treatments of cosmology in illuminating detail. Other studies are those of A. B. Keith, *Buddhist philosophy in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1923); and Y. Sögen, *Systems of Buddhist thought* (Calcutta, 1912). The articles in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia* on Āśvaghosha, Asanga, Docetism and Vasubandhu are valuable. *The awakening of faith*, trans. into English by T. Suzuki (Chicago, 1900), is a popular philosophical treatise, attributed to Āśvaghosha traditionally but now thought by scholars to date from the fourth century or after, since it presupposes the Yogacharya philosophy. D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* (Chicago, 1908) is also useful, and his *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra* (London, 1930), and L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Vijnaptimatrasiddhi, la Siddhi de Hsuan-Tsang* (Paris, 1929) are important recent studies in the sources of Yogacharya philosophy, the latter including an annotated French translation of one of Vasubandhu's most influential treatises.

D. DISPERSION AND DISSOLUTION OF INDIAN BUDDHISM. The records of the Chinese pilgrims have been translated into English by S. Beal and others under the titles: *Hsuen-Tsang: Buddhist records of the western world*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1885); *Hwui-Li, The life of Hsuen-Tsang* (London, 1911); and I-Tsing, *A record of the Buddhist religion as practiced in India and the Malay archipelago* (Oxford, 1896). See also H. A. Giles, *The travels of Fa-hsien* (Cambridge, 1923). An Indian sixteenth-century history of Buddhism has been translated by A. Schiefner into German, *Taranatha, Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* (St. Petersburg, 1869). Besides these sources the discussions of late Indian Buddhism by Eliot (vol. II, chs. 23 and 24); L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme* (Paris, 1909); and L. A. Waddell, "The Indian Buddhist cult of Avalokita and his consort Tara," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1894, are of value.

For the Buddhism of Nepal see B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the languages, literature and religion of Nepal and Tibet* (London, 1874); and S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1905-8).

For Cambodia, Champa and Java see as a survey the account in Eliot (vol. III, chs. 38, 39 and 40), where further bibliography is given. The book by T. de Kleen, *Mādras* (London, 1924) contains an unusual set of photographs of the ritual hand-poses of the Buddhist and Śaivite priests on the island of Bali.

On the monuments of Cambodia see: P. Jeannerat de Beerski, *Angkor-ruins in Cambodia* (London, 1923); George Groslier, *Angkor* (Paris, 1924); L. Fournereau, *Les ruines d'Angkor and Les ruines Khmères* (Paris, 1890); P. Dieulefils, ed., *Indo-Chine pittoresque et monumentale, Ruines d'Angkor, Cambodge* (Hanoi, n.d.); and *Angkor*, Edition "Tel" (Paris, 1931).

For the monuments of Java, in addition to the above-mentioned work by Krom, see: J. F. Schelteema, *Memorial Java* (London, 1912); Karl With, *Java* (Hagen i. W., 1920); C. M. Pleyte, *Die Buddha Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Borobudur* (Amsterdam, 1901-2); and N. J. Krom and T. van Erp, *Beschrijving van Borobudur*, 3 vols. (Gravenhage, 1920-31).

III. THE WORLD OF BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY AND SPECULATION. Main features of the

Buddhist world-view are simply presented in W. McGovern, *An introduction to Mahayana Buddhism* (London, 1922). A single work on mythology and iconography in southern Buddhism is unavailable; for the northern countries A. Getty, *The gods of northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1914) is the most useful compendium in English, although it is only a catalogue description, with illustrations, of the principal ways in which major figures are represented. The most complete catalogue of the pantheon, with an illustration of each figure mentioned, is that of E. Pander, "Das lamaische Pantheon," in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (Berlin, 1889). For legends and iconography of the *arhats* reference should be made to M. W. DeVisser, *The Arhats in China and Japan* (Berlin, 1923); T. Watters, *The eighteen lohans of Chinese Buddhist temples* (Shanghai, 1925); and the French articles by S. Levi and Edouard Chavannes in the *Journal Asiatique* (1916).

The principal Buddhas and Bodhisattvas mentioned above are all briefly discussed in the survey literature already cited.

VI. THE HINAYANA DOMAINS OF CEYLON, BURMA AND SIAM. A very brief introduction to the Buddhism of these countries is furnished by K. J. Saunders, *Buddhism and Buddhists in southern Asia* (New York, 1923), while the same author's work, *The heart of Buddhism* (New York, 1916) is an anthology of the religious literature. The surveys in H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a religion* (London, 1910) and in Eliot, vol. III, are especially good. M. Hürlimann, *Burma, Ceylon, Indo-China* (Berlin, 1930) is a fine one-volume collection of excellent photographs of the life and monuments of these countries.

For Ceylonese Buddhism in particular the article by Rhys-Davids in the Hastings' *Encyclopædia* should be consulted, and also R. S. Copleston, *Buddhism, primitive and present, in Magadha and in Ceylon* (London, 1908); D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism* (London, 1908); and R. S. Hardy, *A manual of Buddhism in its modern development* (London, 1860). The most important primary source for the history is the *Mahavamsa or Great chronicle of Ceylon*, trans. by Wm. Geiger (London, 1908). The Buddhaghosa literature has been mentioned above. Many illustrations and much useful information will be found in the guide-book by H. W. Cave, *The book of Ceylon* (London, 1908). *The Ceylon Antiquary* (Colombo, 1915-24) and for current developments the *Buddhist annual of Ceylon* (Colombo, 1920-31) are periodicals of importance.

Valuable accounts of Burma are those by J. C. Scott (Shway Yoe), *The Burman, his life and notions* (London, 1909); and *Burma: a handbook of practical information* (London, 1906); also the esthetic appreciation by H. Fielding-Hall, *The soul of a people* (London, 1899). P. Bigandet, *The life and legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* (London, 1914) presents the Burmese views of Gautama and further description of the monastic life. For other special phases the following are useful: M. H. Bode, *The Pali literature of Burma* (London, 1909); R. C. Temple, *The thirty-seven nats* (London, 1906); and W. C. B. Purser, *Present day Buddhism in Burma* (London, 1917). The *Reports of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Burma*, 4 vols. (Rangoon, 1921-5) give a record of the monuments. The *Indian Antiquary* (Bombay, 1872-1930) and the *Gazetteer of Burma* contain important articles.

For Siam the most important source of information is the *Journal of the Siam Society* (Bangkok, 1904-). Among the available and useful books are the following: W. A. Graham, *Siam* (London, 1924); P. A. Thompson, *Lotus land* (London, 1906); H. Alabaster, *The wheel of the law* (London, 1871); L. Fournereau, *Le Siam ancien* (in *Annales du Musée Guimet* for 1895 and 1908); G. E. Gerini *Chulakantamangala or Tonsure ceremony* (Bangkok, 1893), and other works by the same author. For illustrations see K. Doring, *Buddhistische Tempelanlagen in Siam* (Berlin, 1916).

V. THE LAMAISM OF TIBET AND MONGOLIA. The fullest general description of Tibetan Buddhism is still that of L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (London, 1895). It is replete with information about Lamaism, but for the historical and sociological understanding of the subject it must be supplemented by the more recent books of Sir Charles Bell, *Tibet, past and present* (Oxford, 1924); *The people of Tibet* (Oxford, 1928);

and *The religion of Tibet* (Oxford, 1931). The surveys in Eliot, vol. III, chs. 49-53 and in Hackmann, pp. 154-99, are useful introductions.

There is an excellent first-hand description of life in Tibet and Mongolia by the two French missionaries Gabet and Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Tibet, and China*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1898); and the interesting data furnished by earlier missionaries have been summarized in English by C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia 1603-1721* (The Hague, 1924).

Bardothödol, the Tibetan book of the dead, edited by W. Y. Evans-Wentz (London, 1927), translates a text dealing with the after-death experiences and explaining the elaborate rites for the dead. The same editor's book *Jeisun Kahbun, Tibet's great Yögin Milarepa* (Oxford, 1928) presents the life and poems of Milarepa.

In addition to the general works on Buddhist mythology mentioned above, that of A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei* (Leipzig, 1900) is especially full on this subject. For illustrations of the religious art one should consult the works of J. Hackin, *La Sculpture indienne et tibétaine au Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1931); *Guide-catalogue du Musée Guimet* (Paris, 1923); and *Les Scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d'après des peintures tibétaines* (Paris, 1916).

VI. CHINESE BUDDHISM. Of outstanding value as introductory surveys of Chinese Buddhism are R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China* (London, 1913); and K. L. Reichelt, *Truth and tradition in Chinese Buddhism*, trans. by K. Bugge (Shanghai, 1927). Johnston is particularly informative on pilgrimages; Reichelt on the monastic community and on rites for the dead. Eliot (vol. III, chs. 41-46) gives a critical discussion of the historical development including relations with Central Asia. Older surveys are those of J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism* (London, 1893); and E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism* (Hongkong, 1888).

For excerpts from Chinese Buddhist literature S. Beal, *A catena of Buddhist scriptures from the Chinese* (London, 1871) is still the most convenient English source. L. Wiegner, *Bouddhisme Chinois*, 2 vols (Ho-kien-fu, 1910-3) offers many selections in French. The same author has published two other works of exceptional value for the study of Chinese religions: *A history of the religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China*, trans. by E. C. Werner (Hsien-hsien, 1927); and *Moral tenets and customs in China*, trans. by L. Davrout (Ho-kien-fu, 1913). Both contain important translations; the last includes the Sacred Edict of Kang Hsi and a popular Buddhist tract on "The ten courts of hell." The first Buddhist work in Chinese (the *Sutra of Forty-two Sayings*) is translated in S. Shaku, *Sermons of a Buddhist abbot* (Chicago, 1906). Inventories of the Chinese Buddhist canon are by B. Nanjio, *A catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka* (Oxford, 1883); and the more recent work by P. C. Bagchi, *Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, vol. I (Paris, 1926).

On the introduction of Buddhism into China see R. Bose, *The Indian teachers in China* (Madras, 1923). On subsequent conflicts and rivalry with the other religions see J. J. M. De Groot, *Sectarianism and religious persecution in China*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1903-4), and *Le Code du Mahayana en Chine* (Amsterdam, 1893).

For photographs and discussion of Chinese Buddhist architecture, sculpture and painting see: E. F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese art*, 2 vols. (London, 1921); D. Tokiwa, *Buddhist monuments in China*, 5 vols. (Tokyo, 1926); P. Pelliot, *Les grottes de Touen-Houang*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1920); F. Perzynski, *Von Chinas Göttern* (Munich, 1920); B. Melchior, *China: der Tempelbau* (Hagen, 1921). Sir M. A. Stein, *The thousand Buddhas*, 2 vols. (London, 1921), *Serindia*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1921), and other works by the same author give detailed accounts of finds in Central Asian exploration. Valuable also for the same purpose is A. von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1922), and *Chotscho* (Berlin, 1913).

On contemporary Chinese Buddhism a very general statement will be found in L. Hodous, *Buddhism and Buddhists in China* (New York, 1924). More specific and more recent is F. J. Rawlinson, *Revolution and religion in modern China* (Shanghai, 1929). The reformer T'ai Hsü has published a brief statement in English, *Lectures in Buddhism* (Paris, 1928); and there are articles on his efforts in the *Chinese Recorder* (1923, pp.

326-32; and 1926, pp. 91-4). On popular observances and holidays there is much of interest in J. Bredon and I. Mitrophanow, *The Moon Year* (Shanghai, 1927). A recent book by G. A. Clark, *Religions of old Korea* (New York, 1932), besides giving an historical sketch of Buddhism in that country, offers much of interest on present religious conditions.

VII. JAPANESE BUDDHISM. The bibliography on Shinto above is useful for Buddhism also. Attention has already been drawn to M. Anesaki, *History of Japanese religion* (London, 1930) in the text. The section on Japanese Buddhism is the fullest part of J. B. Pratt, *The pilgrimage of Buddhism* (New York, 1928). These two works and in addition the earlier work by A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism* (New York, 1917) are the most useful in English for survey purposes.

Among studies of particular phases the following are especially important: H. H. Coates and R. Ishizuka, *Hōnen the Buddhist saint* (Kyōto, 1925), which offers a rich store of information on Japanese Buddhism in general; A. Lloyd, *Shinran and his work* (Tokyo, 1910), and *The creed of half Japan* (London, 1911); A. K. Reischauer, *A catechism of the Shin sect* (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. 38, 1912); M. Anesaki, *Nichiren the Buddhist prophet* (Cambridge, 1916); D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (London, 1927); K. Nukariya, *The religion of the Samurai* (London, 1913). An extensive study of the cult of Jizo has been made by M. W. DeVisser, *The Bodhisatva Ti-tsang in China and Japan* (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vols. 2 and 3, Berlin, 1913-5).

The *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* contain many valuable articles on historical phases of Japanese Buddhism. More attention to contemporary aspects is given in a journal called *The Eastern Buddhist* (Kyōto, 1921-). Discussion of contemporary problems will be found in M. Anesaki, *The religious and social problems of the Orient* (New York, 1923); and more briefly in R. C. Armstrong, *Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan* (New York, 1927). K. Tsuchida, *Contemporary thought of Japan and China* (London, 1927) outlines recent philosophical tendencies, while some account of current religious movements will be found from time to time in the year book published by the Federation of Christian Missions, *Christian Movement in Japan, Korea and Formosa* (Tokyo, 1903-).

CHAPTER VI. GREEK RELIGION

Review of General Literature

Among the standard works on the history of Greek religion the most recent and available is M. P. Nilsson, *A history of Greek religion* (Oxford, 1925). The subject is treated in more detail in L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek states*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1896-1909) and *Evolution of religion* (New York, 1905); and A. B. Cook, *Zeus* (Cambridge, 1914). The first volume of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931) has appeared; it embodies the fruits of recent scholarship and the penetrating analysis of a distinguished authority. For a very elementary outline see Arthur Fairbanks, *A handbook of Greek religion* (New York, 1910). Excellent chapters on Greek religion are contained in vols. II and VII of the *Cambridge ancient history* (Cambridge, 1926); M. Rostovtzeff, *A history of the ancient world*, vol. I (Oxford, 1928); and Leonard Whibley, *A companion to Greek studies* (Cambridge, 1905).

The following attempts to interpret Greek religion for modern minds are valuable for their appreciation of Greek culture but must not be regarded as accurate histories: Gilbert Murray, *Five stages of Greek religion* (New York, 1925); F. R. E.arp, *The way of the Greeks* (Oxford, 1929); F. F. Zielinski, *The religion of ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1926); Friedrich Nietzsche, *The birth of tragedy* (New York, 1923); and Fustel de Coulanges, *The ancient city* (Boston, 1896).

General handbooks of Greek mythology are W. S. Fox, *Greek and Roman mythology*, vol. I of *Mythology of all races* (Boston, 1916); H. J. Rose, *A handbook of Greek mythology* (New York, 1928); and Arthur Fairbanks, *The mythology of Greece and Rome* (New York, 1907). Of the classic treatises Hesiod's *Theogony* and Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* are especially valuable. Pausanias' *Description of Greece* (translated and edited by J. G. Frazer, 6 vols., London, 1898) is still one of the most interesting and informative books on the whole subject of Greek religion, though it is concerned chiefly with conditions in the Hellenistic period. Authoritative articles on special topics can be found in Daremberg-Saglio's *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines*; Roscher's *Mythologisches Lexicon*; and Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-encyclopædie*.

The following works on Greek art should be consulted for the purpose of becoming familiar with the extant vase-paintings, sculptures, temples and other products of Greek religious art: Joseph Pijoan, *An outline history of art*, vol. I (New York, 1927); G. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike* (Berlin, 1927); W. J. Anderson, *The architecture of Greece and Rome* (London, 1927); D. S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman architecture* (Cambridge, 1929); Adolf Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek sculpture* (London, 1895); Gisela Richter, *The sculpture and sculptors of the Greeks* (New Haven, 1930); Ernst Buschor, *Greek vase painting* (London, 1921); Ludwig Curtius, *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* (Leipzig, 1929); J. E. Harrison and D. S. MacColl, *Greek vase paintings* (London, 1894); and Ernst Pfuhl, *Masterpieces of Greek drawing and painting* (New York, 1926).

I. ORIGINS AND SOURCES OF GREEK RELIGION. On the Ægean civilization see *Cambridge ancient history*, vol. II, ch. 16; A. J. Evans, *The Mycenaean tree and pillar cult* (London, 1901) and *The palace of Minos at Knossos*, 3 vols. (London, 1921-30); M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean origin of Greek mythology* (Berkeley, 1932) and *The Minoan-Mycenaean religion and its survival in Greek religion* (Lund, 1927); H. R. Hall, *The civilisation of Greece in the bronze age* (London, 1928) and *Ægean archaeology* (London, 1914); James Baikie, *The sea kings of Crete* (London, 1926); von Helmuth Th. Bosert, *Alt Kreta* (Berlin, 1921); and E. Cavaignac, *Le monde méditerranéen jusqu'au IV^e siècle avant J.C.*, book I (Paris, 1929).

For discussions of the primitive background of Greek religion in general and of the anthropological theories concerning its origins see H. J. Rose, *Primitive culture in*

Greece (London, 1925); A. Le Marchant, *Greek religion to the time of Hesiod* (Manchester, 1923); J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion* (Cambridge, 1922); and Sir James G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris: Studies in the history of Oriental religion* (London, 1922).

II. AGRICULTURAL RELIGION. Of the Greek classics the following are especially illuminating on agricultural religion: Hesiod's *Works and days*; Theocritus' *Idylls*; and Euripides' *Bacchæ*. In J. E. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1927) and *Ancient art and ritual* (New York, 1913) the cults of Demeter and Dionysos are described in detail, but the reader is cautioned against many of the author's doubtful and speculative interpretations.

III. THE CULT OF THE DEAD. Though it has been superseded in some of its interpretations, Erwin Rohde, *Psyche* (New York, 1925) is still the classic treatment of the cult of the dead. Percy Gardner, *Sculptured tombs of Hellas* (London, 1896) and E. F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Alterthum* (Giessen, 1910) describe the rites centering around the tombs and contain many good illustrations. These books should be supplemented by the relevant chapters in C. H. Moore, *Ancient beliefs in the immortality of the soul* (New York, 1931).

IV. THE MYSTERIES. No satisfactory treatment of the mysteries exists in English. V. D. Macchioro, *From Orpheus to Paul* (New York, 1930) is a suggestive treatment, but the relation between Orphism and the other mysteries is confused and the author's speculative interpretations are not always well founded. Of the relevant chapters in the general works on Greek religion attention is called especially to F. M. Cornford, "Mystery religions and pre-Socratic philosophy," in *Cambridge ancient history*, vol. IV, ch. XV; and to J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion* (Cambridge, 1922), chs. 8-12 and Appendix. The Eleusinian "Hymn to Demeter" is contained in *Homeric Hymns* (translated by Andrew Lang, London, 1899). The most important works on the Eleusinian Mysteries are: Paul Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1914) and *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904); Otto Kern, *Die griechischen Mythen der klassischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1927) and *Eleusinische Beiträge* (Halle, 1909); Waldemar Uxkull, *Die eleusinischen Mysterien: eine Rekonstruktion* (Berlin, 1927); Goblet d'Alviella, *Eleusinia* (Paris, 1903); and Maurice Brillant, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris, 1920). See also K. H. de Jong, *Das antike Mysterienwesen* (2nd ed., Leiden, 1919); and A. Dieterich, *Nekyia* (Leipzig, 1913). Aristophanes' *Frogs* contains a satire of the mysteries.

V. THE CIVIC RELIGION. For descriptions of the city-state see G. Glotz, *The Greek city* (New York, 1929); and W. Warde Fowler, *The city-state of the Greeks and Romans* (London, 1921). For the relation between classic art and the civic cult the following works should be consulted in addition to those mentioned in the review of general literature: A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, tragedy and comedy* (Oxford, 1927); and Friedrich Schwenn, *Gebet und Opfer: Studien zum griechischen Kultus* (Heidelberg, 1927).

The following tragedies are especially recommended for the study of Greek religion: Æschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and *Oresteia*; Sophocles' *Œdipus Rex* and *Antigone*; Euripides' *Hippolytus*, *Trojan Women*, and *Medea*.

For Greek religious thought see C. H. Moore, *Religious thought of the Greeks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925); F. M. Cornford, *From religion to philosophy* (London, 1912) and *Greek religious thought* (London, 1923); R. K. Hack, *God in Greek philosophy* (Princeton, 1931); L. R. Farnell, *Higher aspects of Greek religion* (London, 1912), and *The attributes of God* (Oxford, 1925); James Adam, *The religious teachers of Greece* (Edinburgh, 1909); and Paul De Charme, *La critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs des origines au temps de Plutarque* (Paris, 1904).

The following Dialogues of Plato are particularly relevant to religion: *Apology*, *Phædo*, *Timæus*.

VI. HELLENISTIC RELIGION. Excellent chapters on Hellenistic religion are contained in W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic civilisation* (London, 1930); J. B. Bury, *The Hellenistic*

age (Cambridge, 1923); and *Cambridge ancient history*, vol. VII, chs. I-VII. See also Edwyn Bevan, *Sybils and seers. A survey of some ancient theories of revelation and inspiration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929); Paul Elmer More, *Hellenistic philosophies* (Princeton, 1923); and Franz Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* (Giessen, 1930). Walter Pater, *Marius the Epicurean* (London, 1913) is a vivid description of the religious situation during the late Hellenistic period, though it is highly imaginative and historically not strictly accurate.

On the mystery religions see Franz Cumont, *The Oriental religions in Roman paganism* (Chicago, 1911), *After life in Rome paganism* (New Haven, 1922), and *The mysteries of Mithra* (Chicago, 1910); Richard Reizenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen nach ihren Grundgedanken und Wirkungen* (Leipzig, 1927); Richard Reizenstein and H. H. Schaefer, *Studien zum antiken Syncretismus aus Iran und Griechenland* (Leipzig, 1926); M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Mystic Italy* (New York, 1927); and Samuel Angus, *The mystery religions and Christianity* (London, 1928). The classic work on the Hermetic Literature is Hermes Trismegistus, *Hermetica*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1924-32). The relation between astrology and religion is discussed in Samuel Angus, *The religious quests of the Græco-Roman world* (London, 1929), chs. 15-19. For the theory of mysticism see the last-mentioned work by Samuel Angus; H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan regeneration* (Chicago, 1929); and Alfred Loisy, *Les mystères païens et le mystère chrétien* (Paris, 1914).

CHAPTER VII. THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL AND JUDAISM

Review of General Literature

The history of the religion of Israel is surveyed in Henry Preserved Smith, *The religion of Israel* (New York, 1914); Claude G. Montefiore, *Lectures on the origin and growth of religion as illustrated by the religion of the ancient Hebrews* (London, 1893); R. Kittel, *The religion of the people of Israel* (New York, 1925); and Alfred Loisy, *The religion of Israel* (New York, 1910). There are two famous articles on the subject: one by E. Kautzsch in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* (extra vol., pp. 612-734), the other by J. Wellhausen, "Israel," in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1881 (vol. 13, pp. 396-431).

A. Lods, *Israël des origines au milieu du VIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1930), in *L'évolution de l'humanité* series, is a comprehensive work with many illustrations. A unique and distinguished characterization of Israelite culture and of the chief religious themes within it is given by Johs. Pedersen, *Israel, its life and culture* (London, 1926). A small book by A. W. F. Blunt, *Israel before Christ, an account of social and religious development in the Old Testament* (London, 1924), emphasizes the social environment and also contains useful aids in its bibliography, pictures and chronological table. E. Pace, *Ideas of God in Israel* (London, 1928) attempts to present both the "higher and lower ideas of God" in their historical setting. An outstanding discussion of the economic implications of Jewish culture and religion in

its successive stages is given in the essays by Max Weber in volume three of his *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie* (Tübingen, 1922). For an excellent survey of Jewish culture from its beginnings to the present and a discussion of the interrelations of Jewish society and religion throughout their historical development see the forthcoming book by Salo Baron, *Jewish society and religion* (New York, probably 1933). Two collective works also have special merit as surveys. The one, edited by Arthur S. Peake, *The people and the book* (Oxford, 1925), deals with the Old Testament period; the other, edited by E. Bevan and Charles Singer, *The legacy of Israel* (Oxford, 1927), continues with major attention to the post-biblical history up to the present. The latter, however, is devoted less to Jewish religion than to the influence of Jewish culture in general. The survey by W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The religion and worship of the synagogue* (London, 1911), is, on the other hand, a well-illustrated and useful analytical account of the sources, doctrines and practices of Judaism. References to translations of the Bible, prayer-books and other religious literature will be found in appropriate sections below.

G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era: the age of the Tannaim* (Cambridge, 1927) is the outstanding account of the controlling ideas of Judaism as found in the authoritative sources of this formative period. Much briefer general expositions, more or less doctrinal and didactic in character, are: Israel Abrahams, *Judaism* (London, 1910); Leo Baeck, *Das Wesen des Judenthums* (Berlin, 1905); M. Friedlander, *The Jewish religion* (London, 1921); M. Joseph, *Judaism as creed and life* (New York, 1920); K. Kohler, *Jewish theology* (New York, 1928); and M. Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1900).

As comprehensive reference works the following are indispensable: *The Jewish encyclopædia*, 12 vols. (New York, 1901); *Encyclopædia Judaica*, in German (Berlin, 1927—not yet completed); and the *Jüdisches Lexikon*, 5 vols., also in German (Berlin, 1927-30).

The fullest history of the Jewish people is still that of H. Graetz, *History of the Jews from the earliest period to 1870*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1891-8). A second by S. M. Dubnow, *An outline of Jewish history*, 3 vols. (New York, 1925), which is an abridgment of his German work, *Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes von seinen Ursprüngen bis zur Gegenwart*, 10 vols. (Berlin, 1926), does more justice to the east European viewpoint. M. L. Margolis and A. Marx, *A history of the Jewish people* (Philadelphia, 1927) is the most complete one-volume history; others are W. O. E. Oesterley and T. H. Robinson, *A history of Israel* (Oxford, 1932); A. L. Sachar, *A history of the Jews* (New York, 1930); and I. Elbogen, *History of the Jews after the fall of the Jewish state* (Cincinnati, 1926). M. Raisin, *His-*

tory of the Jews in modern times (New York, 1919) is an attempt to bring Graetz down to date.

Besides these general histories the following outstanding descriptions of Jewish life in particular places and periods are valuable: A. Bertholet, *A history of Hebrew civilization* (London, 1926), for the ancient times; I. Abrahams, *Jewish life in the middle ages* (Philadelphia, 1931), an admirable general account of medieval Jewish life; C. Roth, *Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930) and A. Friemann and F. Kracauer, *Frankfort* (Philadelphia, 1929), as excellent intimate studies of particular communities; S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1916-20); A. M. Hyamson, *A history of the Jews in England* (London, 1928); P. Wiernik, *History of the Jews in America* (New York, 1931); M. Waxman, *A history of Jewish literature from the close of the Bible to our own days*, of which vol. I, covering the period down to the end of the twelfth century, has appeared (New York, 1930); and Israel Cohen, *Jewish life in modern times* (New York, 1929).

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

A. THE SOURCES. References on the Bible and biblical commentaries will be found on pp. 528-9.

For the archeological discoveries see W. E. Albright, *The archaeology of Palestine and the Bible* (New York, 1932); H. V. Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible lands during the nineteenth century* (Philadelphia, 1903); G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1927); and J. Baikie, *The Amarna age, a study of the crisis of the ancient world* (London, 1926); which give a comprehensive survey of explorations with abundant illustrations and translations of ancient sources. J. G. Duncan, *Digging up biblical history* (London, 1931); and R. A. S. Macalister, *A century of excavation in Palestine* (Chicago, 1925) are also good reading on the Palestine excavations. C. L. Wooley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1929) describes recent finds in Babylonia.

T. E. Peet, *A comparative study of the literature of Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia* (London, 1922); J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (London, 1929); and R. C. Thompson and R. W. Hutchinson, *A century of exploration at Nineveh* (London, 1929) disclose something of the interplay of cultures.

B. THE EARLY NOMADIC TRIBES. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (New York, 1889) and J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1897) are classic pioneer works in this field, though the former's emphasis on totemism and animal cults seems extreme to present scholars, and the latter's biblical criticism has been much modified. A. J. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* (Paris, 1908) is also valuable, and some first-hand glimpses can be gained from the briefer sketch by S. I. Curtis, *Primitive Semitic religion today* (New York, 1902). C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia deserta*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1888), is a good account. More recent are A. Musil, *Arabia deserta, a topographical itinerary* (New York, 1927) and other works by the same author. J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (London, 1918) makes comparisons with other primitive peoples. A very interesting special study of the Edomites and the development of their civilization is G. L. Robinson, *A sarcophagus of an ancient civilization* (New York, 1930).

A good recent discussion of the problem of origins is C. Toussaint, *Les origines de la religion d'Israel* (Paris, 1931).

C. THE MOSAIC PERIOD. H. Gressmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (Göttingen, 1913) is one of the more important treatments of the Mosaic period. C. H. W. Johns, *The relations*

between the laws of Babylonia and the laws of the Hebrew peoples (London, 1912) compares the codes of Moses and of Hammurabi. T. E. Peet, *Egypt and the Old Testament* (Boston, 1923), and J. W. Jack, *The date of the Exodus in the light of external evidence* (Edinburgh, 1925) have particular reference to the supposed time of the Exodus.

D. ISRAEL IN AGRICULTURAL CANAAN. C. F. Burney, *Israel's settlement in Canaan* (London, 1917) is one of the most careful discussions, as is also the same author's work, *The Book of Judges* (London, 1918). S. R. Driver, *Modern research as illustrating the Bible* (London, 1908), and S. A. Cook, *The religion of ancient Palestine in the light of archaeology* (London, 1930) are two thorough accounts of the evidences regarding Canaanite religion. Much less specific historically, but interesting as a picture, is Max Radin, *The life of the people in biblical times* (Philadelphia, 1929). See also G. A. F. Knight, *Nile and Jordan, being the archaeological and historical interrelations between Egypt and Canaan from the earliest times to the fall of Jerusalem* (London, 1931), and J. Garstang, *The foundations of Bible history* (New York, 1931), which deals with the period of Joshua and the Judges.

E. MONARCHY AND THE EARLIER PROPHETS. H. P. Smith, *Old Testament history* (New York, 1921) and the same author's notes on I and II Samuel in the *International critical commentary* are of value for this period; likewise A. S. Macalister, *The Philistines* (London, 1911). For the literary productions see the relevant chapters in J. Bewer, *The literature of the Old Testament in its historical development* (New York, 1928). A study of special interest for the history of the north is E. G. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel* (New York, 1918). A. C. Welch, *The religion of Israel under the kingdom* (Edinburgh, 1912) discusses the prophetic tradition behind JE and Deuteronomy. See also J. W. Jack, *Samaria in Ahab's time* (Edinburgh, 1909); and J. Baikie, *Ancient Jerusalem* (London, 1930), from the *Peeps at ancient civilizations* series, with many illustrations.

F. THE PROPHETS. C. H. Cornill, *The prophets of Israel* (Chicago, 1895), and W. Robertson Smith, *The prophets of Israel and their place in history* (London, 1919) are notable among the older accounts of the prophets, while among more recent works are: E. C. Baldwin, *The prophets* (New York, 1927); A. W. F. Blunt, *The prophets of Israel* (Oxford, 1929); A. R. Gordon, *The prophets of the Old Testament* (London, 1916); and T. H. Robinson, *Prophecy and the prophets in ancient Israel* (New York, 1923).

For individual prophetic books the following are of particular value: G. B. Smith, *The Book of Isaiah* (New York, 1927); A. S. Peake, *The servant of Yahweh* (Manchester, 1931); A. C. Welch, *Jeremiah, his time and his work* (Oxford, 1928); and the same author's work, *The code of Deuteronomy* (London, 1924). Another excellent study of Jeremiah is by J. Skinner, *Prophecy and religion* (Cambridge, 1922).

G. THE EXILE. Exilic prophecy is discussed in I. Smith, *The book of the prophet Ezekiel* (London, 1931); in C. C. Torrey, *The second Isaiah* (New York, 1928); in the same author's *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the original prophecy* (New Haven, 1930); in S. Speigel, "Ezekiel or pseudo-Ezekiel," *Harvard Theological Review*, vol. XXIV, Oct. 1931, which criticizes Torrey's views; and in A. B. Davidson, *The book of the prophet Ezekiel* (Cambridge, 1916).

For the relations between Israel and Babylon see H. Gressmann, *The tower of Babel* (New York, 1928); M. Jastrow, Jr., *Hebrew and Babylonian traditions* (New York, 1914); and W. L. Wardle, *Israel and Babylon* (New York, 1926).

H. THE PRIESTLY STATE OR SECOND COMMONWEALTH. W. F. Adeney, *Exra, Nehemiah, and Esther* (New York, 1893) is serviceable for this period, and in addition the biblical commentaries on the "P" document should be consulted. C. C. Torrey, *Exra studies* (Chicago, 1910) is partial but still authoritative. E. Schaefer, *Exra der Schreiber* (Tübingen, 1930) is an interesting recent interpretation by an expert on Persia.

On the Samaritans see M. Gaster, *The Samaritans* (Oxford, 1925); and J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the earliest Jewish sect* (Philadelphia, 1907).

I. THE INVASION OF GENTILE RELIGIONS. For the Persian influence see R. H. Charles, *A critical history of the doctrine of a future life in Israel, Judaism, and in Christianity* (Edinburgh, 1913). For the history of the period from 175 B.C. to 135 A.D. see Emil Schürer, *A history of the Jewish people in the time of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1885-91), which is a standard work covering the time.

J. WISDOM LITERATURE AND APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY. Morris Jastrow, Jr., *The Book of Job* (Philadelphia, 1920) and his work on Ecclesiastes, *A gentle cynic* (Philadelphia, 1919) are both sensitive renderings of Wisdom literature. A. S. Peake, *The problem of suffering in the Old Testament* (London, 1904) is also valuable.

R. H. Charles and others, *Apocrypha and pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913), contains the documents. A more convenient edition is *The Apocrypha* (Oxford, 1929). S. J. Case, *The revelation of John, an historical interpretation* (Chicago, 1919) treats the apocalyptic tradition in general.

K. RELIGIOUS PARTIES AND MESSIANIC HOPES. For the Jewish parties see I. W. Lightly, *Jewish sects and parties in the time of Christ* (London, 1925); J. Z. Lauterbach, *The Pharisees and their teachings* (New York, 1930); and the books by R. T. Herford, *Pharisaism* (London, 1912), *The Pharisees* (New York, 1924), *Judaism in the New Testament period* (London, 1928). See also H. Gressmann, *Der Messias* (Göttingen, 1929).

J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York, 1929) and C. G. Montefiore, *The synoptic Gospels* (London, 1927) are critical works of exceptional value on Jesus and the Gospels from within the Jewish setting and point of view. Essential aspects of the period are discussed by various authorities in the series of lectures brought out by the Union of Jewish Literary Societies, *Judaism and the beginnings of Christianity* (London, 1924).

L. DISPERSION. For the history of the period and a description of the Palestinian crises see the above-mentioned work by Schürer. G. F. Moore, *Judaism in the first centuries of the Christian era* (Cambridge, 1927-30) is the fullest and best account of the ruling ideas of orthodox Judaism which arose in this period.

For Josephus see F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Josephus and the Jews* (New York, 1930); H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the man and the historian* (New York, 1929) and the translation of his *Works*, 2 vols., by Whiston (Philadelphia, 1845). On Philo see the English translation of his *Works* by Jonge (London, 1854-5); and H. A. Kennedy, *Philo's contribution to religion* (London, 1919); and J. S. Boughton, *The idea of progress in Philo Judæus* (New York, 1932).

II. ORTHODOX JUDAISM.

A. THE SYNAGOGUE. W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The religion and worship of the synagogue* (London, 1911) is the best comprehensive introduction. For the history of the synagogue and its services see Kaufmann Kohler, *The origins of the synagogue and the church* (New York, 1929); and Ismar Elbogen, *Der Jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Frankfurt, 1924). The article, "Synagogue," in the *Jewish encyclopædia* and the relevant chapters in G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, are also valuable. S. Singer's authorized daily prayer-book (with the notes of Israel Abraham) is the most satisfactory edition of the prayer-book for English readers. In connection with it the work by L. N. Dembitz, *Jewish services in synagogue and home* (Philadelphia, 1898), is of interest. For holy day and festival services the Ashkenazic prayer-book prepared by H. M. Adler and A. Davis (New York, 1926) is recommended. For the Sephardic order of services see M. Gaster, *Book of prayer and order of service according to the customs of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, translated by D. A. de Sola, 5 vols. (London, 1901). *The form of prayers according to the customs of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, 2 vols., based on the version of D. A. de Sola and Isaac Lea by Abraham de Sola (Philadelphia, 1925), is also in use.

B. THE BIBLE. The most informative of recent commentaries is *The Clarendon Bible*, under the general editorship of the Bishop of Oxford, Bishop Wild and Canon G. H. Box, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1922-32). "The main idea is to set the books in their historic

environment and to give a general constructive view of the development of the religion, with aid afforded by critical and archæological research." Vol. I contains a discussion of the influence of the external environment on the religion, and vol. VI gives an account of the archeological materials, the myths and legends and the conceptions of history in the documents. The other four volumes deal with the successive periods from the Exodus to the post-exilic Jewish church. Other commentaries are: T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, *Encyclopedia biblica* (New York, 1899-1903); C. F. Kent, *The student's Old Testament* (New York, 1904); A. F. Kirkpatrick, ed., *The Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges* (Cambridge, 1911); and *International critical commentary*, 38 vols. (New York, 1896-1929). See also J. Moffatt, *The Bible, a new translation* (New York, 1926).

W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish church* (New York, 1892) is still a valuable work. The text of the Bible published by the Jewish Publication Society (Philadelphia, 1917) should be compared with that of Christian editors. Among the critical introductions to the Old Testament are the following: J. Bewer, *The literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1928); S. R. Driver, *Introduction to the literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1914); R. C. Knox, *Knowing the Bible* (New York, 1927); H. W. Robinson, *Religious ideas of the Old Testament* (New York, 1927); and G. F. Moore, *The literature of the Old Testament* (New York, 1913). N. H. Baynes, *Israel among the nations* (London, 1928) is an outline of Old Testament history designed to give the general reader a background for an understanding of the Bible. E. Sellin, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (London, 1923) is a critical interpretation and contains a good introduction and English bibliography by A. S. Peake. See also A. C. Welch, *The Psalter in life, worship and history* (Oxford, 1926). H. Gunkel, *Ester* (Tübingen, 1916) is the critical view; J. Hoschander, *The Book of Ester in the light of history* (Philadelphia, 1923) is the conservative view. See also W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Book of Proverbs* (New York, 1929).

C. THE TALMUD, RABBINIC LEARNING AND ITS RIVALS.

1. THE TALMUD. Among the introductions to Talmudic literature the work of H. L. Strack, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (Philadelphia, 1931) is of outstanding merit; also available are M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud* (New York, 1925); and a very brief work by A. Darmesteter, *The Talmud* (Philadelphia, 1898).

There is a good translation of the Talmud in German by L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, 4 vols. (1929-31). M. L. Rodkinson, *The Talmud*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1918), is not a very satisfactory translation. R. T. Herford, *Pirke Aboth* (New York, 1925) is an excellent rendering of the famous collection of ethical aphorisms from the *Mishna*; this together with H. Malter, *The treatise Ta'anit of the Babylonian Talmud* (Philadelphia, 1928), a likewise excellent translation of one Talmudic treatise on "fasts," will give some idea of the character and diversity of the Talmudic literature.

2. THE MIDRASH. L. Ginsberg, *The legends of the Jews*, 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1909-27), is a useful collection of *Haggadah* legends about biblical persons and events, which will give an idea of this aspect of *Midrash*.

3. THE KARAITE REVOLT. The best available work on the subject remains J. Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1862-9). A fairly competent one-volume digest of this in English is W. H. Rule, *History of the Karaite Jews* (London, 1870). A more accurate, though very brief treatment is L. Simon, "The Karaites," in *The Jewish Review*, vol. III, pp. 64-81 (London, 1912). The articles of S. A. Pozanski in Hastings' *Encyclopædia*, vol. VII, "Karaites," and of A. E. Harkavy in the *Jewish encyclopædia*, vol. VII, "Karaites," and vol. I, "Anan b. David," are also brief but valuable statements of the leaders of modern research in the subject.

4. JEWISH SCHOLASTICISM. Isaac Husik, *A history of medieval Jewish philosophy* (Philadelphia, 1930) gives a survey account of the principal Jewish scholastics. Among the important medieval writings available in English translation, are: Bachya's, *Duties of the heart* (trans. by Hyamson, New York, 1925); Halevi's *Kitab al Khuzari* (trans.

by Hirschfeld, London, 1931); Gabirol's *Improvement of the moral qualities* (trans. by Wise, New York, 1902) and religious poems by the same author (trans. by Zangwill and published in *The Schiff library of Jewish classics*, Philadelphia, 1923); Maimonides' *Guide for the perplexed* (trans. by Friedlander, London, 1919) and his *Mishnah Torah* (trans. by Glazer, New York, 1927); Albo's *Book of principles* (trans. by Husik, Philadelphia, 1929); and H. A. Wolfson's translation and commentary on Crescas' *critique of Aristotle* (Cambridge, 1929). The notes of the last are a mine of information.

J. L. Kadushin, *Jewish code of jurisprudence*, 4 vols. (New York, 1915-27), is an English compendium deriving from the *Shulchan Aruch*.

5. THE KABBALA. *Kabbala denudata, the Kabbala unveiled*, contains several books of the *Zohar* translated into English by MacGregor (London, 1926). The French translation of Moses de Leon's *Zohar* by Jean de Pauly, *Le Zohar, Doctrine esotérique des Hebreux* (Lyon, 1904), is a full translation. Another work, *Sepher Yetzirah*, has been translated with notes by J. Kalisch as *The book of formation* (New York, 1877). C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah* (London, 1920) is the standard guide in English. See also Bernard Pick, *The Cabala, its influence on Judaism and Christianity* (Chicago, 1913).

On Messianism and the pseudo-Messiahs see: J. Kaestlin, *The Messiah of Ismir, Sabbatai Zevi* (New York, 1931); and also J. Sarachek, *The doctrine of the Messiah in medieval Jewish literature* (New York, 1931).

6. CHASSIDISM. The article, "Chassidism," by S. Schechter in his *Studies in Judaism*, first series (Philadelphia, 1896), is good. See also S. A. Horodezky, *Leaders of Chassidism* (London, 1928); I. Wassilevsky, *Chassidism* (Blackburne, England, 1916), a résumé of modern Hebrew mysticism with an introduction by C. H. Herford; M. Buber, *Die Chassidischen Bücher* (Berlin, 1927), part of which has been translated into English by L. Cohen as *Jewish mysticism and the legends of Baalshem* (London, 1931).

D. THE RELIGIOUS CALENDAR AND FESTIVALS. W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The religion and worship of the synagogue* (London, 1911) contains a useful account of the festivals. The prayer-books should also be consulted for the holy-day services. W. A. Heidel, *The day of Yahweh* (New York, 1929) investigates the origins of the holidays with unusual fullness and originality. Brief accounts of value can also be found in W. Rosenau, *Jewish ceremonial institutions in home and synagogue* (Baltimore, 1903); I. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish music in its historical development* (New York, 1929), *The ceremonies of Judaism* (Cincinnati, 1930), and *Jewish liturgy* (New York, 1932); and Oliver Shaw Rankin, *The origins of the festival of Hanukkah, the Jewish new-age festival* (Edinburgh, 1930).

III. JUDAISM IN THE MODERN WORLD.

A. EMANCIPATION. Mendelssohn's writings have been collected, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1929-31), see especially Bd. 7. A recent book on Mendelssohn is H. Walter, *Moses Mendelssohn, critic and philosopher* (New York, 1930). For the Enlightenment in Russia see J. S. Raisin, *The Haskalah movement* (Philadelphia, 1913). For a general work on the Jews in this period A. Ruppen, *Soziologie der Juden*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1930-1) is definitive; his earlier work, translated into English as *The Jews of to-day* (New York, 1913) is also useful. The chapter, "Faith and observance" in I. Cohen, *Jewish life in modern times* (New York, 1929) is a sensitive and intimate account. For a recent reconsideration of the impact of the Emancipation, S. Baron, "Ghetto and Emancipation," in *Memorah Journal*, vol. XIV, no. 6, June 1928, is excellent.

B. REFORM JUDAISM. A. Geiger, *Judaism and its history* (New York, 1911), trans. by C. Newburgh, is one of the important documents of German Reform. C. G. Montefiore, *Outlines of liberal Judaism* (London, 1923) is an urbane English statement of the Reform viewpoint. For the American movement the following are of value: D. Philipson, *The Reform movement in Judaism* (New York, 1931); M. B. May, *Isaac M. Wise, founder of American Judaism* (New York, 1924); E. G. Hirsch, *My religion* (New York, 1925), and his article, "Reform Judaism from the viewpoint of

a Reform Jew," in the *Jewish encyclopædia*; H. G. Enelow, *A Jewish view of Jesus* (New York, 1920); the *Rabbi's manual* (edited and published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Cincinnati, 1928); and the *Union prayer-book* (Cincinnati, 1930), which should be compared with the orthodox one. K. Kohler, *Jewish theology* (New York, 1918) attempts a comprehensive account of this subject in its historical and systematic aspects but is animated by the Reform attitude.

C. NEO-ORTHODOXY AND CONSERVATIVE JUDAISM. S. R. Hirsch, *Nineteen letters of Ben Uzziel* (New York, 1899) is an outstanding imaginative presentation of the neo-Orthodox viewpoint. For the Conservative movement see: J. H. Greenstone, *The Jewish religion* (Philadelphia, 1925); M. H. Farbridge, *Judaism and the modern mind* (New York, 1927); and M. Kaplan, *A new approach to the problems of Judaism* (New York, 1924).

D. ZIONISM. T. Herzl, *Der Judenstaat* (Leipzig, 1895) is the inaugural of modern political Zionism. Achad Ha'am, *Ten essays on Zionism and Judaism* (London, 1922) advocates a cultural emphasis. An historical survey is given by N. Sokolow, *History of Zionism* (London, 1929); and accounts of two leaders by J. De Haas, *Theodore Herzl* (Chicago, 1927) and *Louis D. Brandeis* (New York, 1929). Of further value are L. Lewisohn, *Israel* (New York, 1925), a sensitive interpretation; R. J. H. Gottheil, *Zionism* (Philadelphia, 1904), a history of the early period; and J. W. Wise, *The future of Israel* (New York, 1926).

CHAPTER VIII. CHRISTIANITY

Review of General Literature

A bibliographical guide to the history of Christianity, edited by S. J. Case (Chicago, 1931) contains a comprehensive list of references. In addition to the encyclopedias mentioned on p. 498, the following works also serve as general books of reference: G. B. Smith, *A guide to the study of the Christian religion* (Chicago, 1916); C. H. Moehlman, *The story of Christianity in outline* (Rochester, 1930); W. Smith and H. Wace, *Dictionary of Christian biography, literature, sects and doctrines* (London, 1877-87); W. Smith and S. Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian antiquities* (London, 1875-80); and F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris, 1903- , incomplete).

Among the recent attempts to write brief surveys of the history of Christianity are: a collective work, *History of Christianity in the light of modern knowledge* (New York, 1929); C. Guignebert, *Christianity, past and present* (New York, 1927); Henry K. Rowe, *History of the Christian people* (New York, 1931); and G. G. Atkins, *The making of the Christian mind* (Garden City, 1928). Of this group the first two are scholarly interpretations but restricted to the discussion of a few topics, the others are rather superficial general histories.

The conventional church histories are more satisfactory, though more limited. Of these the most useful are: W. Walker, *History of the Christian church* (New York, 1918); C. P. S. Clarke, *A short history of the Chris-*

tian church (London, 1929); F. X. Funk, *A manual of church history*, 2 vols. (New York, 1914); P. Schaff, *History of the Christian church*, 7 vols. (New York, 1882-1900); and J. K. Kurtz, *Text-book of church history*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1881).

The social aspects of Christianity are treated in E. Troeltsch, *The social teaching of the Christian churches* (New York, 1931); and T. C. Hall, *History of ethics within organized Christianity* (New York, 1910).

On the creeds, the most complete and best annotated work is P. Schaff, *The creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols. (New York, 1890). W. A. Curtis, *A history of creeds and confessions of faith in Christendom and beyond* (Edinburgh, 1911) is also useful.

The standard references for the history of Christian thought and doctrine are: A. C. McGiffert, *A history of Christian thought*, vol. I (New York, 1932); Adolf von Harnack, *History of dogma*, 7 vols. (Boston, 1896-1900); Reinhold Seeberg, *Text-book of the history of doctrines*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1905); G. P. Fisher, *History of Christian doctrine* (New York, 1896); and J. Tixeront, *History of dogmas*, 3 vols. (St. Louis, 1923). To these might be added C. A. Briggs, *History of the study of theology*, 2 vols. (New York, 1916), which will give the student an introduction to the motivations of various theologies.

E. H. Short, *The house of God, a history of religious architecture and symbolism* (London, 1925) gives a general survey of church architecture. Among the general histories of church music are: L. F. Benson, *The hymnody of the Christian church* (New York, 1928); E. Dickinson, *Music in the history of the Western church* (New York, 1902); K. Weinmann, *History of church music* (New York, 1910); F. C. Burkitt, *The growth of Christian hymns*, in *Proceedings of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology* (1907-8); and J. Mearns, *Canticles of the Christian church* (Cambridge, 1914).

Among the leading scholarly periodicals are the following: Catholic: *Catholic Historical Review*, Catholic University of America (Washington, 1915-); *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Catholic University of Louvain (Louvain, 1900-); *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg, 1903-); Anglican: *Church Quarterly Review* (London, 1876-); *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford, 1900-); *Modern Churchman* (Oxford, 1911-); *Theology: A Monthly Journal of Historic Christianity* (London, 1920-); Protestant: *Harvard Theological Review* (Cambridge, Mass., 1908-); *Journal of Religion* (Chicago, 1921-); *Church History* (Chicago, 1932); *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (Leipzig, 1876-); *Theologische Rundschau* (Tübingen, 1897-1916, 1929-); *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

(Gotha, 1877-); and *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* (Strasbourg, 1921-).

I. EARLY CHRISTIANITY. An introduction to the early history of Christianity can be obtained from the following: B. J. Kidd, *A history of the church to 461*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1922); L. Duchesne, *Early history of the Christian church from its foundation to the end of the fifth century*, 3 vols. (London, 1909-24); A. Harnack, *The mission and expansion of Christianity in the first three centuries*, trans. from the German by J. Moffatt (New York, 1908); C. Bigg, *The origins of Christianity* (Oxford, 1909); E. T. Merrill, *Essays in early Christian history* (London, 1924); S. J. Case, *The social origins of Christianity* (Chicago, 1923); R. M. Pope, *An introduction to early church history* (London, 1918); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *The history of the Christian church from earliest times to the death of St. Leo the Great, A.D. 461* (Cambridge, 1905), and *The rise of Gentile Christianity* (New York, 1927); and F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity* (London, 1904).

For the development of Christian ideas and theology see A. C. McGiffert, *A history of Christian thought*, vol. I, *Early and Eastern* (New York, 1932); E. F. Scott, *The Gospel and its tributaries* (New York, 1930); J. F. Bethune-Baker, *An introduction to the early history of Christian doctrine* (London, 1929); J. K. Mozley, *The beginnings of Christian Theology* (Cambridge, 1931); and H. B. Workman, *Christian thought to the Reformation* (New York, 1911).

Other general works on the early church are: H. M. Gwatkin, *Early church history to A.D. 313* (London, 1909); W. D. Schermerhorn, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church* (New York, 1929); N. J. Boggs, *The Christian saga* (New York, 1931); E. Amann, *L'Eglise des premiers siècles* (Paris, 1928); and K. Kautsky, *Foundations of Christianity; a study in Christian origins* (New York, 1925). A useful survey of the various modern approaches to the study of primitive Christianity is made by L. Salvatorelli, "From Locke to Reitzenstein; the historical investigation of the origins of Christianity," in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII (1929), pp. 263-369.

An excellent source book is J. C. Ayer, *A source book for ancient church history* (New York, 1913). One of the chief primary sources for the early period is available in English translations, *The church history of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea*, trans. by A. C. McGiffert (New York, 1890), by K. Lake (London, 1926), and by Lawlor and Oulton (London, 1927). There is a monumental library of church Fathers edited by J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), and *Patrologia Græca*, 166 vols. (Paris, 1857-66); but the standard collection in English of the writings of the early Fathers is *Ante-Nicene Fathers, translations of the writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, edited by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (New York, 1885-7). There are several good anthologies of early Christian literature: *Translations of Christian literature*, series I, Greek texts, series II, Latin texts, series III, liturgical texts (London, 1918-); F. A. Wright, *Fathers of the church* (New York, 1929); B. J. Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the history of the church*, 2 vols. (New York, 1920-3); E. Leigh-Bennett, *Handbook of the early Christian Fathers* (London, 1920); and J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the apostolic church* (New York, 1915-8).

For the Jewish background of Christianity see the references above and in addition I. Abrahams, *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels* (Cambridge, 1917 and 1924); and F. M. Derwacter, *Preparing the way for Paul: the proselyte movement in later Judaism* (New York, 1930).

The influence of the Hellenistic and Roman environment on Christianity is discussed in S. J. Case, *The evolution of early Christianity* (Chicago, 1914); G. H. Box, *Early Christianity and its rivals* (New York, 1929); T. R. Glover, *The conflict of religions in the early Roman Empire* (London, 1909); E. R. Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity* (London, 1921); A. Aall, *The Hellenistic elements in Christianity* (London, 1931); S. Angus, *The environment of early Christianity* (New York, 1928), and *The religious*

quests of the Græco-Roman world (New York, 1929), and *The mystery-religions and Christianity* (New York, 1925); W. R. Halliday, *The pagan background of early Christianity* (Liverpool, 1925); E. G. Sihler, *From Augustus to Augustine: essays and studies dealing with the contact and conflict of classic paganism and Christianity* (Cambridge, 1923); R. Reitzenstein, *Die Vorgeschichte der Christlichen Taufe* (Leipzig, 1929); and G. J. Laing, *Survivals of Roman religion* (New York, 1931). A general picture of Roman society during the rise of Christianity can be obtained from J. B. Carter, *The religious life of ancient Rome* (New York, 1911); S. Dill, *Roman society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London, 1904); and T. G. Tucker, *Life in the Roman world of Nero and St. Paul* (New York, 1910).

On the Manichæans, whose influence was especially important during the fourth century, see A. V. Williams Jackson, *Researches in Manichæism* (New York, 1932); and F. C. Burkitt, *The religion of the Manichees* (Cambridge, 1925).

A. THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS. Brief surveys of the critical study of the Gospels are given in F. C. Burkitt, *Gospel history and its transmission* (Edinburgh, 1907); B. S. Easton, *Christ in the Gospels* (London, 1930); S. J. Case, *Jesus through the centuries* (Chicago, 1932); and A. Schweitzer, *The quest of the historical Jesus* (London, 1910).

Of the recent works on the life and teaching of Jesus the following are representative of various points of view: W. Bousset, *Jesus* (London, 1906); B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God* (New York, 1930); T. W. Manson, *The teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge, 1931); Canon Raven, *Jesus and the gospel of love* (New York, 1931); R. H. Strachan, *The historic Jesus in the New Testament* (London, 1931); S. J. Case, *Jesus: a new biography* (Chicago, 1927); E. F. Scott, *Ethical teaching of Jesus* (New York, 1924), and *The Kingdom of God* (New York, 1931); N. Schmidt, *The prophet of Nazareth* (New York, 1905); A. C. Headlam, *The life and teaching of Jesus the Christ* (London, 1923); J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth* (New York, 1925); R. Eisler, *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist, according to Flavius Josephus' recently rediscovered "Capture of Jerusalem" and other Jewish and Christian sources* (London, 1931); F. C. Grant, *The economic background of the Gospels* (Oxford, 1926); A. Drews, *The Christ myth*, trans. by C. D. Burns (London, 1910); and P. L. Couchoud, *Le mystère de Jesus* (Paris, 1930).

On the New Testament in general see E. F. Scott, *The literature of the New Testament*, vol. XV of *Records of civilisation* (New York, 1932); James Moffatt, *An introduction to the literature of the New Testament* (New York, 1925); G. A. Deissmann, *New Testament* (London, 1929); and E. J. Goodspeed, *The story of the New Testament* (Chicago, 1916).

The Fourth Gospel is critically discussed in W. F. Howard, *The Fourth Gospel in recent criticism and interpretation* (London, 1931); B. W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in research and debate* (New York, 1910); H. Odeberg, *The Fourth Gospel interpreted in its relation to contemporaneous religious currents in Palestine and the Hellenistic Oriental world* (Stockholm, 1929); and E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel, its purpose and theology* (Edinburgh, 1926).

B. DISCIPLES AND APOSTLES. On the disciples and apostles see J. R. Harris, *The twelve apostles* (Cambridge, 1927); B. W. Bacon, *The apostolic message, a historical inquiry* (New York and London, 1925); H. J. Andrews, *The Christ of apostolic faith* (London, 1929); and J. D. Mygatt, *The glorious company: lives and legends of the twelve and of St. Paul* (New York, 1928).

Of the recent interpretations of Paul, the following are selected: F. C. Porter, *The mind of Christ in Paul* (New York, 1930); Albert Schweitzer, *The mysticism of Paul the apostle* (New York, 1931); G. A. Deissmann, *Religion of Jesus and faith of Paul* (London, 1923), and *Paul: a study in social and religious history* (London, 1926); H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the mystery religions* (London, 1913); Irwin Edman, *The mind of Paul* (New York, prob. 1933); K. Lake, *The earlier epistles of St. Paul:*

their motive and origin (London, 1911); and M. S. Enslin, *The ethics of Paul* (New York, 1930).

C. THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES. For outlines of the history and organization of the early Christian churches see G. A. Barton, *Studies in New Testament Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1928); E. F. Scott, *The first age of Christianity* (New York, 1926); J. H. Ropes, *The apostolic age in the light of modern criticism* (New York, 1906); A. C. McGiffert, *A history of Christianity in the apostolic age* (New York, 1916); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Studies in the life of the early church* (New York, 1924); A. Harnack, *Constitution and law of the church in the first two centuries* (London, 1910); G. W. McDaniel, *The churches of the New Testament* (New York, c. 1921); W. B. Hill, *The apostolic age: a study of the early church and its achievements* (New York, c. 1922); and D. I. Lanslots, *The primitive church or the church in the days of the apostles* (St. Louis, 1926).

The literature of the New Testament, not included in the previous sections, is discussed in J. E. Carpenter, *The Johannine writings* (Boston and New York, 1927); P. Carrington, *The meaning of the Revelation* (London, 1931); S. J. Case, *The Revelation of John: a historical interpretation* (Chicago, 1919); R. H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse* (London, 1913), and *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish and Christian* (London, 1913); and E. C. Dewick, *Primitive Christian eschatology* (Cambridge, 1912).

For the New Testament Apocrypha and for the Apostolic Fathers see M. R. James, *The apocryphal New Testament, being the apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses with other narratives and fragments newly translated* (Oxford, 1924); E. J. Goodspeed, *Strange new gospels* (Chicago, 1931); C. A. Hawley, *The teaching of Apocrypha and Apocalypse* (New York, 1925); K. Lake, trans., *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1924-5); J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers* (London, 1885-90); and C. Bigg, trans., *The doctrine of the twelve apostles* (London, 1922).

The moral and social conditions in the primitive Christian communities are described in C. N. Moody, *The mind of the early converts* (London, 1920); G. Edmundson, *The church in Rome in the first century* (London, 1913); H. D. M. Spence-Jones, *The early Christians in Rome* (London, 1910); L. H. Canfield, *The early persecutions of the Christians* (New York, 1913); H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the early church* (London, 1906); S. J. Case, *Experience with the supernatural in early Christian times* (New York, 1929); L. P. Edwards, *The transformation of early Christianity from an eschatological to a social movement* (Menasha, 1919); E. V. Dobschütz, *Christian life in the primitive church* (New York, 1904); C. J. Cadoux, *The early church and the world* (Edinburgh, 1925); and H. H. Scullard, *Early Christian ethics in the West* (London, 1907). N. H. Baynes, *The early church and social life* (London, 1927) is a selected bibliography of recent works on the social aspects of primitive Christianity.

The worship and rites of the early church are described in F. Gavin, *The Jewish antecedents of the Christian sacraments* (London, 1928); R. Lee Cole, *Love-feasts; a history of the Christian agape* (London, 1916); W. B. Frankland, *The early eucharist, A.D. 30-180* (Cambridge, 1902); J. F. Keating, *Agape and eucharist* (London, 1901); A. Duhm, *Der Gottesdienst im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen, 1928); W. Bauer, *Der Wortgottesdienst der ältesten Christen* (Tübingen, 1930); and K. Völker, *Mysterium und Agape, die gemeinsamen Mahlzeiten in der alten Kirche* (Gotha, 1927).

The following works contain illustrations of early Christian art and iconography: A. S. Barnes, *The early church in the light of the monuments* (London and New York, 1913); W. Lowrie, *Monuments of the early church* (New York, 1901); J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1903); and Oskar Beyer, *Die Katakombenwelt* (Tübingen, 1927).

D. EARLY TYPES OF CHRISTIANITY. General surveys of the doctrinal controversies can be found in W. D. Niven, *The conflicts of the early church* (New York, 1931); K. Lake, *Landmarks in the history of early Christianity* (London, 1920); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *Christian difficulties in the second and twentieth centuries* (Cambridge, 1903); J. A. Faulkner, *Crisis in the early church* (New York, 1912).

An excellent treatment of Justin Martyr is E. R. Goodenough, *The theology of Justin Martyr* (Jena, 1923).

There is a flood of recent literature on Gnosticism, especially in Germany. The article on Gnosticism by E. F. Scott in Hastings' *Encyclopædia* and the relevant chapters in the same author's *The Gospel and its tributaries* (New York, 1930) are recommended as an introduction to the subject. Other works are: C. H. Kraeling, *Anthropos and son of man, a study in the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic Orient* (New York, 1927); E. Buonaiuti, *Gnostic fragments* (London, 1924); *Pistis Sophia*, trans. from Coptic by George Horner (London, 1924); E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme* (Paris, 1925); Johannes Behm, *Die mandäische Religion und das Christentum* (Leipzig, 1927); Hans Leisegang, *Die Gnosis* (Leipzig, 1924); W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* (Göttingen, 1907); and Leonhard Fendt, *Gnostische Mysterien* (Munich, 1922).

On the Alexandrian Fathers see J. M. Campbell, *The Greek Fathers* (New York, 1929); R. B. Jollintou, *Clement of Alexandria, a study in Christian liberalism*, 2 vols. (London, 1914); J. Patrick, *Clement of Alexandria* (London, 1914); E. de Faye, *Clément d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1898), and *Origen and his work*, trans. by F. Rothwell (New York, 1929); and C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (Oxford, 1913).

Montanism is treated by S. A. Donaldson, *Church life and thought in North Africa, A.D. 200* (Cambridge, 1909); P. de Labriolle, *La crise montaniste* (Paris, 1913), and *Les sources de l'histoire du montanisme* (Fribourg, 1913); and W. Scheepelern, *Der Montanismus und die phrygischen Kulte* (Tübingen, 1929).

On the early Christological controversies in general see C. E. Raven, *Apollinarianism, an essay on the Christology of the early church* (Cambridge, 1923); on the school of Antioch and Arianism particularly see E. S. Bouchier, *A short history of Antioch* (Oxford, 1921); G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (Paris, 1923); F. Loofs, *Paulus von Samosata* (Leipzig, 1924); H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge, 1882), and *The Arian controversy* (London, 1889); and A. Robertson, *Selected works of Athanasius translated into English* (Oxford and New York, 1892).

E. THE GROWTH OF CATHOLICISM. The beginnings of catholicism are told in Robert Rainy, *The ancient Catholic Church from the accession of Trajan to the fourth general council 98-451* (New York, 1902); G. Hodges, *The early church from Ignatius to Augustine* (Boston and New York, 1915); J. M. Lindsay, *The church and the ministry in the early centuries* (London, 1902); B. H. Streeter, *The primitive church: studied with special reference to the origins of the Christian ministry* (New York, 1929); W. E. Beet, *The early Roman episcopate to A.D. 384* (London, 1913), and *The rise of the papacy, 385-461* (London, 1910); and J. S. Holmes, *The origin and development of the Christian church in Gaul during the first six centuries* (New York, 1911).

Standard works on the early Latin Fathers are C. J. Bunson, *Hippolytus and his age*, 4 vols. (London, 1852); F. R. M. Hitchcock, *Irenæus of Lugdunum* (Cambridge, 1914); and J. Morgan, *The importance of Tertullian in the development of Christian dogma* (London, 1928).

For a discussion of the origins of the Apostles' Creed see A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed: its origin, purpose and historical interpretation* (New York, 1902); Donald McFayden, *Understanding the Apostles' Creed* (New York, 1927); and A. E. Burn, *The Apostles' Creed* (London, 1907).

On the cult of martyrs see P. J. Healy, *The Valerian persecution* (New York, 1905); E. C. E. Owen, *Some authentic acts of the early martyrs* (Oxford, 1927); A. J. Mason, *The historic martyrs of the primitive church* (New York, 1905); and D. W. Riddle, *The martyrs: a study in social control* (Chicago, 1931).

Aspects of the growth of Catholic rites and theology are described in G. Rauschen, *Eucharist and penance in the first six centuries of the church* (St. Louis, 1913); E. L. Woodward, *Christianity and nationalism in the later Roman Empire* (London, 1916); Leonard Hughes, *The Christian church in the epistles of St. Jerome* (London, 1923); Laura B. Getty, *Life of North Africans as revealed in the sermons*

of *St. Augustine* (Washington, 1931); O. R. Vassall-Phillips, *The work of St. Apatius against the Donatists* (London, 1917); and F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great* (London and New York, 1905).

In addition to the writings of St. Augustine, especially his *Confessions* and *The city of God*, see M. C. d'Arcy and others, *A monument to St. Augustine* (London, 1930); P. Batiffol, *Le catholicisme de St. Augustin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1920); B. B. Warfield, *Studies in Tertullian and Augustine* (London, 1930); and W. P. Tolley, *The idea of God in the philosophy of St. Augustine* (New York, 1930).

F. ASCETICISM AND THE RISE OF MONASTICISM IN THE EAST. There are two good general accounts of the rise of monasticism: H. B. Workman, *The evolution of the monastic ideal from the earliest times down to the coming of the friars* (London, 1913); and J. O. Hannah, *The spirit and origin of Christian monasticism* (London, 1903); to which might be added W. H. Mackeau, *Christian monasticism in Egypt to the close of the fourth century* (London, 1920); and W. K. L. Clark, *St. Basil the Great: a study in monasticism* (Cambridge, 1913). A very interesting picture of hermit life is given in E. A. W. Budge, *The Paradise, or the garden of the Holy Fathers, being histories of the Anchorites, recluses, monks, cenobites and ascetic Fathers of the deserts of Egypt between 250 A.D. and 400*, 2 vols. (London, 1907).

G. IMPERIAL CHRISTENDOM AND THE BYZANTINE CHURCH. On Constantine and his times see G. P. Baker, *Constantine the Great and the Christian revolution* (New York, 1930); N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian church* (London, 1930); J. B. Firth, *Constantine the Great, the reorganization of the Empire and the triumph of the Church* (New York, 1914); E. Schwartz, *Kaiser Constantin und die christliche Kirche* (Leipzig, 1913); Maude A. Huttman, *The establishment of Christianity and the proscription of paganism* (New York, 1914); and G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme* (Paris, 1923). On Julian the Apostate see E. J. Martin, *The Emperor Julian: essay on his relations with the Christian church* (London, 1919); and J. Bidez, *La vie de l'Empereur Julien* (Paris, 1930). On Justinian see W. G. Holmes, *The age of Justinian and Theodora* (London, 1905-7). The general history of the relations between the Church and the Empire is given in C. Bigg, *The Church's task under the Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1905); and J. Zeiller, *L'empire romain et l'église* (Paris, 1928).

For descriptions of Byzantine art and iconography see O. M. Dalton, *East Christian art* (Oxford, 1925); L. Bréhier, *L'art byzantin* (Paris, 1924); and R. Lanciani, *Wanderings through ancient Roman churches* (Boston, 1924).

The standard work on the Councils is C. J. Hefele, *A history of the Christian Councils, from the original documents*, trans. from the German by W. R. Clark (Edinburgh, 1894). The course of Christological controversy is sketched in part II of H. M. Relton, *A study in Christology: the problem of the relation of the two natures in the person of Christ* (London, 1917); and various phases of it in W. H. Hutton, *The Church of the sixth century* (London, 1897); L. Duchesne, *L'église au VI siècle* (Paris, 1925); and C. Bauer, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1929-30).

For the Iconoclastic controversy and the final schism between East and West see E. J. Martin, *A history of the Iconoclastic controversy* (London, 1930); W. Norden, *Das Papiatum und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1903); L. Bréhier, *Le schisme oriental du XI siècle* (Paris, 1899); J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel* (Regensburg, 1867-9); and C. D. Cobham, *The patriarchs of Constantinople* (Cambridge, 1911).

Little is said in this book about the Eastern schismatic and heretical churches which have survived to the present. For this reason the student's attention is directed especially to the following interesting literature on the history and religion of these churches.

For the Monophysite schism and the Egyptian church see W. A. Wigram, *The separation of the Monophysites* (London, 1923); A. A. Luce, *Monophysitism, past and present* (London, 1920); A. J. Butler, *The ancient Coptic churches in Egypt*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1884); E. L. Butcher, *The story of the church of Egypt*, 2 vols. (London, 1897); H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924); and Rudolf Strothmann, *Die koptische Kirche in der Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1932).

For the Nestorians see G. R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *Nestorius; the bazaar of Heracleides* (Oxford, 1925); F. Loofs, *Nestorius and his place in the history of Christian doctrine* (Cambridge, 1914); J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his teaching* (Cambridge, 1908); G. P. Badger, *Nestorians and their rituals* (London, 1852); and J. E. Werda, *Flickering light of Asia* (1924).

For the Assyrian and Syriac churches see W. A. Wigram, *An introduction to the history of the Assyrian church, 100-640 A.D.* (London, 1910), and *The Assyrians and their neighbors* (London, 1929); C. B. Benni, *The tradition of the Syriac church of Antioch* (London, 1871); de L. O'Leary, *The Syriac church and fathers* (London, 1909); and O. H. Parry, *Six months in a Syrian monastery* (London, 1895).

For the Armenian church see E. F. K. Fortescue, *The Armenian church founded by St. Gregory the Illuminator* (London, 1872); Malachia Ormanian, *The church of Armenia* (London, 1912); J. E. Dowling, *The Armenian church* (London, 1910); L. Arpee, *The Armenian awakening* (Chicago, 1909); and A. Abrahamian, *The church and faith of Armenia* (London, 1920).

For the church of Abyssinia see H. M. Hyatt, *The church of Abyssinia* (London, 1928); S. A. B. Mercer, *The Ethiopic liturgy* (Milwaukee, 1915); and E. A. W. Budge, trans., *Book of the saints of the Ethiopian church*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1928).

And for the Christian survivals in Malabar see J. N. Farquhar, *The Apostile Thomas in South India* (Manchester, 1927); A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in India* (Manchester, 1926); and J. C. Panjikaran, *Christianity in Malabar, with special reference to the St. Thomas Christians of the Syro-Malabar Rite*, *Orientalia Christiana* VI, no. 23 (Rome, 1923-).

II. THE EASTERN CHURCHES. The best historical surveys are B. J. Kidd, *The churches of Eastern Christendom, from A.D. 451 to the present* (London, 1927); W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (New York, 1908); and Adrian Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (London, 1911), but the reader is cautioned against occasional interpretations reflecting the religious biases of the authors. An early work on the subject which, though not comprehensive or reliable, contains many useful materials, is A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the history of the Eastern Church* (London, 1st ed. 1861). One of the first works to appear in English was J. M. Neale, *A history of the Holy Eastern Church*, 2 vols. (London, 1847), but it has special reference to the patriarchate of Alexandria. Good accounts of the Greek Church are Michael Constantinides, *The Orthodox Church* (London, 1931); and Euphrosyne Kephala, *The Church of the Greek people past and present* (London, 1930). The works of Constantine N. Callinicos, *The Greek Orthodox Church* (London, 1918), and *The Greek Orthodox Catechism* (Bayswater, 1926), are informative for a general study and are of special value for the study of the Greek Church. The most recent comprehensive description of the present organization and traditional faith of all the Eastern Churches is Stefan Zankov, *The Eastern Orthodox Church*, trans. from the German by D. A. Lowrie (London, 1929). See also the somewhat antiquated pamphlet by Margaret G. Dampier outlining *The organization of the Orthodox Eastern Churches* (London, 1910). Accounts of current developments will be found in *The Christian East*, a quarterly published in London. An excellent work on the Eastern schismatic and heretical churches is Adrian Fortescue, *The lesser Eastern churches* (London, 1913).

General descriptions of Eastern worship are contained in J. A. Douglas, *Pictures of Russian worship* (London, 1913); D. A. Lowrie, *The light of Russia* (Prague, 1923), pp. 1-5, 154-98; and Sebastian Dabovich, *Holy Orthodox Church* (Wilkesbarre, 1898). The last-named work was written for the American churches. Especially useful is the translation of the liturgies by Isabel F. Hapgood, *Service book of the Holy Orthodox Catholic Apostolic (Greco-Russian) Church* (Cambridge, Mass., 1922). A useful reference work is R. D. Langford-James, *A dictionary of the Eastern Orthodox Church* (London, 1923). For some typical Eastern saints see W. Yanich and C. P. Hankey, *Lives of the Serbian saints* (London, 1921).

The doctrines are contained in the works of John of Damascus (see above); in Peter Mogila, *The orthodox confession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church* (London, 1898); and R. W. Blackmore, *The doctrine of the Russian Church* (Aberdeen, 1845). An excellent summary will be found on pages 147-63 of the above-mentioned work by Constantinides. A critical discussion of recent Greek theology is Frank Gavin, *Some aspects of contemporary Greek Orthodox thought* (Milwaukee, 1923).

The monastic system is treated in N. F. Robinson, *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches* (London, 1916). For this and special reference to Mount Athos see Athelstan Riley, *Athos, or the mountain of the monks* (London, 1887); and F. W. Hasluck, *Athos and its monasteries* (New York, 1924). The lay priest during the clerical reform of the nineteenth century is described in the novel by J. N. Potapenko, *A Russian priest*, trans. by W. Gausson (New York, 1916).

St. John of Damascus' classic defense of the veneration of ikons has been translated by M. H. Allies (London, 1898). Many of the best illustrations of ikons are contained in Russian texts, but there are good descriptions in English and illustrations in O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine art and archeology* (Oxford, 1911); N. P. Kondakov, *The Russian icon* (Oxford, 1927); and *Masterpieces of Russian painting*, M. Farbman, editor (London, 1930).

For the most concise history of the Church of Russia see R. F. Bigg-Wither, *A short history of the Church of Russia* (New York, 1920), which can be amplified by A. N. Mouravieff, *A history of the Church of Russia*, trans. by R. W. Blackmore (London, 1842); W. H. Frere, *Some links in the chain of Russian Church history* (London, 1918); and Hugh Y. Reyburn, *The story of the Russian Church* (London, 1924). An abstract of Nestor's chronicle can be found in C. H. Robinson, *Conversion of Europe* (London, 1917).

An account of Russian sects is contained in A. F. L. von Haxthausen, *The Russian Empire* (London, 1856). For a popular account of the sects see the first part of Jean Finot, *Modern saints and sinners*, trans. by Evan Marrett (London, 1920), which can be supplemented by Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, *The empire of the tsars and the Russians*, trans. by Z. A. Ragozin (New York, 1893), vol. III, pp. 280-491; and F. C. Conybeare, *Russian dissenters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1921). The situation of the church in Russia since the Revolution of 1917 is stated fairly objectively by the émigré G. P. Fedotoff, *The Russian Church since the Revolution* (London, 1928). The relations with the Soviet régime are described by Matthew Spinka, *The Church and the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1927), and J. F. Hecker, *Religion under the Soviets* (New York, 1927), emphasizing the Soviet's point of view; and by W. C. Emhardt, *Religion in Soviet Russia: anarchy* (Milwaukee, 1929), giving a Churchman's point of view and containing documents on the Living Church. Of the many books discussing the new and the old faiths of Russia, we might mention Maurice Hindus, *Humanity uprooted* (New York, 1929), pp. 3-48; and Arthur Feiler, *The experiment of Bolshevism*, trans. by H. J. Stenning (London, 1930), pp. 202-12.

III. ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

A. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. Historical surveys of the Western medieval church are given in M. Deansley, *A history of the medieval church, 590-1500* (London, 1925); F. J. Foakes-Jackson, *An introduction to the history of Christianity, A.D. 590-1314* (New York, 1921); L. Pullan, *From Justinian to Luther, 528-1517* (Oxford, 1930); and H. H. Milman, *History of Latin Christianity, including that of the popes to the pontificate of Nicolas V* (London, 1854-5).

The history of the popes is treated extensively by F. Gregorovius, *History of the city of Rome in the Middle Ages*, 13 vols., trans. by A. Hamilton (London, 1894-1902); and H. K. Mann, *The lives of the popes of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols. (London, 1902-25). Other works on the same subject are: G. Krüger, *The papacy: the idea and its exponents* (New York, 1909); H. Grisar, *History of Rome and the popes in the Middle Ages* (London, 1911); L. Duchesne, *The beginnings of the temporal sov-*

ereignty of the popes, 754-1073, trans. by A. H. Matthew (London, 1908); J. McCabe, *Crises in the history of the papacy* (New York, 1916); Mary Bell, *A short history of the papacy* (London, 1921); W. Barry, *The papal monarchy from St. Gregory the Great to Boniface VIII, 590-1303* (New York, 1902), and *The papacy and modern times, a political sketch, 1303-1870* (New York, 1911).

Especially valuable for the historical relations of church and state are: André Lagarde, *The Latin church in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1915); T. F. Tout, *The Empire and the papacy, 918-1273* (London, 1921); and James Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1864). Among studies of individual popes the following have general significance: F. H. Dudden, *Gregory the Great: his place in history and thought*, 2 vols. (London, 1905); H. H. Howorth, *Gregory the Great*, (London, 1912). A. H. Mathew, *Life and times of Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII* (London, 1910); W. R. W. Stephens, *Hildebrand and his times* (London, 1898); and G. Mollat, *Les papes d'Avignon, 1305-1378* (Paris, 1920).

The structure and externals of the Church are described in elementary fashion by John F. Sullivan, *The visible Church* (New York, 1920). The organization of the Church is outlined by H. A. Ayrinhac, *Constitution of the Church in the new code of canon law* (New York, 1925); and M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Paderborn, 1907-8). The most important decrees of the popes and councils are published in H. J. D. Denzinger, *Enchiridion, symbolorum et definitionum* (Freiburg, 1854). A general reference work in addition to the *Catholic encyclopaedia* is W. E. Addis and T. Arnold, *Catholic dictionary* (London, 1903).

B. THE RITES AND SACRAMENTS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM. For descriptions and explanations of the Roman rites see: G. Lefebure, *Catholic liturgy: its fundamental principles* (New York, 1929); Adrian Fortescue, *The ceremonies of the Roman Rite described* (London, 1930), and *The mass: a study of the Roman liturgy* (London, 1914); C. C. Clarke, *Handbook of the divine liturgy: a brief study of the historical development of the mass* (London, 1910); J. Walsh, *The mass and vestments of the Catholic Church* (New York, 1916); and J. Puniet, *The mass, its origin and history* (London, 1931).

Of the numerous editions of the *Missal*, the St. Andrews edition has especially good notes. There are also several editions of the *Breviary*.

Among the historical works on the rites and sacraments of the Church are: Jules Baudot, *The Roman Breviary, its sources and history* (London, 1909); Suitbert Bäumer, *Geschichte des Römischen Breviars* (Freiburg i.B., 1895); Peter Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian melodies: a handbook of plainsong* (London, 1904); H. P. Smith, *A short history of Christian theophagy* (Chicago, 1922); A. J. MacDonald, *Berengar and the reform of sacramental doctrine* (London, 1930); B. J. Kidd, *The later medieval doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice* (London, 1898); D. Stone, *A history of the doctrine of the holy eucharist*, 2 vols. (London, 1909); F. J. Dölger, *Das Sakrament der Firmung* (Vienna, 1906); O. D. Watkins, *A history of penance*, 2 vols. (London, 1920); H. C. Lea, *History of auricular confession and indulgences in the Latin Church*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1896); and T. W. Drury, *Confession and absolution* (London, 1904).

On Catholic symbolism and sacramentals see: J. A. Moehler, *Symbolism*, trans. by J. B. Robertson (London, 1906); G. Durand, *The symbolism of the churches and church ornaments*, trans. by J. M. Neale (New York, 1893); A. A. Lambing, *Sacramentals of the Holy Catholic Church* (New York, 1892); W. W. Seymour, *The cross in tradition, history and art* (New York, 1898); and R. P. Thurston, *The stations of the cross: an account of their history and devotional purposes* (London, 1906).

C. WESTERN MONASTICISM. For general accounts of monasticism, in addition to those mentioned above, see C. F. R. Montalambert, *The monks of the West from St. Benedict to St. Bernard*, 6 vols. (London, 1896); I. C. Hannah, *Christian monasticism* (New York, 1925); and A. W. Wishart, *A short history of monks and monasteries* (Trenton, 1902). The life of nuns is described in Lina Eckenstein, *Woman under monasticism* (Cambridge, 1896); and Eileen E. Power, *Medieval English nunneries*,

1275-1555 (Cambridge, 1922). P. Helyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux* (Paris, 1847-63); and M. L. Badiche, ed., *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1858-9) are comprehensive reference works for monastic orders.

Ascetic doctrine is expounded in O. Hardman, *The ideals of asceticism* (New York, 1924); and its relation to clerical celibacy is told in H. C. Lea, *History of sacerdotal celibacy in the Christian church*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907). Interesting evidence of the general cultural influence of monastic ideas is given in A. B. Jameson, *Legends of the monastic orders as represented in the fine arts* (New York, 1898).

For lives of some of the most famous of the early monks see P. Monceaux, *St. Martin* (Paris, 1926); Louis Foley, *The greatest saint of France* [St. Martin of Tours] (Milwaukee, 1931); J. B. Bury, *Life of St. Patrick and his place in history* (New York, 1905); and G. W. Robinson, trans., *The life of St. Boniface by Willibald* (Cambridge, 1916), and Eugippius, *the life of St. Severinus* (Cambridge, 1914).

On particular monasteries see F. M. Steele, *Monasteries and religious houses of Great Britain and Ireland* (New York, 1903), and *The convents of Great Britain* (London, 1902); Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum or a history of the abbeys, priories and other religious houses in Ireland, 1786* (Dublin, 1873-6); E. C. Butler, *Benedictine monachism* (London, 1919); E. L. Taunton, *The English black monks of St. Benedict* (London, 1897); L. M. Smith, *The early history of the monastery of Cluny* (London, 1920), and *Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth centuries* (London, 1930); L. Chaumont, *Histoire de Cluny depuis les origines jusqu'à la ruine de l'abbaye* (Paris, 1911); F. A. Lefebvre, *St. Bruno et l'ordre des Chartreux*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1884); and E. Scott and C. C. A. Bland, translators, *The dialogue of Casarius of Heisterbach*, 2 vols. (London, 1929).

D. THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD. On the kingdoms of the northern peoples and their conversion see: C. H. Robinson, *The conversion of Europe* (New York, 1917); T. Hodgkin, *Italy and her invaders*, 8 vols. (Oxford, 1880-99); O. M. Dalton, trans., *Gregory of Tours: the history of the Franks*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1927); C. L. Wells, *The age of Charlemagne* (New York, 1898); S. Dill, *Roman society in Gaul in the Merovingian age* (London, 1926); G. J. F. Kurth, *Glovis*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1901); C. Robinson, trans., Rimbart's *St. Anskar the apostle of the north 801-876* (London, 1921), and *The life of Otto the apostle of Pomerania 1060-1139* by Ebo and Herbordus (London, 1921); and A. F. Hope, *Conversion of the Teutonic races* (London, 1872).

The various ways in which religion entered into medieval life are described admirably in several works by G. G. Coulton, *Five centuries of religion* (Cambridge, 1923), *Life in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1930), *The medieval village* (Cambridge, 1925), and *The medieval scene* (Cambridge, 1930). Other books dealing with the religious aspects of medieval culture are: P. Boissonnade, *Life and work in medieval Europe*, trans. by E. Power (London, 1927); E. L. Cutts, *Parish priests and their people in the Middle Ages in England* (London, 1914); F. A. Gasquet, *Parish life in medieval England* (London, 1907); J. J. Jusserand, *English wayfaring life in the Middle Ages*, trans. by Smith (London, 1920); A. K. Porter, *Romanesque sculpture of the pilgrimage roads*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1923); F. V. Duval, *De la paix de Dieu à la paix le fer* (Paris, 1923); Hutton, *The coming of the friars* (London, 1931); and P. Dubois, *Les asserments au XIII siècle* (Paris, 1900).

On the crusades and military orders see: E. Barker, *The crusades*, reprint of article in 13th ed. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (London, 1923 and 1925); L. Bréhier, *L'Église et l'Orient au moyen âge: les croisades* (Paris, 1907); T. A. Archer and C. L. Kingsford, *The crusades: the story of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (New York, 1900); J. M. Ludlow, *The age of the crusades* (New York, 1896); F. C. Woodhouse, *The military religious orders of the Middle Ages* (London, 1879); and H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden* (Berlin, 1908).

For papal control see E. B. Krehbiel, *The interdict, its history and operation, with special attention to the time of Innocent III 1198-1216* (Washington, 1909) and its bibliography.

On medieval heresies and the Inquisition see: J. H. Warner, *The Albigensian heresy*, 2 vols. (London 1922-8); Enrico Comba, *History of the Waldenses in Italy*, trans. by T. E. Comba (London, 1889); J. Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1890); A. S. Turberville, *Medieval heresy and the Inquisition* (London, 1920); H. C. Lea, *A history of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (New York, 1906); E. Vacandard, *The Inquisition*, trans. by B. L. Conway (London and New York, 1918); and A. L. Maycock, *The Inquisition from its establishment to the Great Schism* (New York, 1927).

The life of St. Dominic is described in Bede Jarrett, *The English Dominicans* (London, 1921); and A. T. Drane, *The history of St. Dominic* (New York, 1891). On the Dominican order see Ernest Barker, *The Dominican order and convocation* (Oxford, 1913); G. R. Galbraith, *The constitution of the Dominican order* (Manchester, 1925); and J. Herkless, *Francis and Dominic and the mendicant orders* (New York, 1901).

Among the various accounts of the life of St. Francis see especially: L. Salvatorelli, *The life of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. by E. Sutton (New York, 1928); J. Jörgensen, *St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. by T. O. Sloane (New York, 1926); P. Sabatier, *Life of Francis of Assisi*, trans. by L. S. Houghton (New York, 1917); G. Tamassia, *St. Francis of Assisi and his legend*, trans. by L. Raggs (London, 1910); and Brother Thomas of Celano, *Lives of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. by A. G. F. Howell (Rome, 1906). There are convenient editions in English of the following writings of St. Francis: *The mirror of perfection*, J. Okey, trans. (New York, 1919); S. Evans, trans., *The mirror of perfection* (London, 1899); Everyman Library edition of *The little flowers and the life of St. Francis, with the mirror of perfection* (London, 1927).

On St. Clare and her order see P. Robinson, *The life of St. Clare ascribed to Friar Thomas of Celano* (Philadelphia, 1910).

Accounts of the activities of the Franciscans and other friars are contained in V. D. Scudder, *The Franciscan Adventure, a study in the first hundred years of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi* (New York, 1931); H. E. Goad, *Franciscan Italy* (London, 1926); A. Jessopp, *The coming of the friars* (New York, 1889); E. Gurney Salter, trans., *The coming of the friars to England and Germany*, the journal of Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano (London, 1926); and A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan history* (Manchester, 1917). There are several series of *Franciscan studies* to which a *Guide* was prepared by A. G. Little (New York, 1921). Among the notable studies which have appeared in these series since the publication of this guide are: D. Dobbins, *Franciscan mysticism* (1927); A. Zawart, *The history of Franciscan preaching* (1928); and D. Devas, trans., *A Franciscan view of the spiritual and religious life, being three treatises from the writings of St. Bonaventure* (London, 1922).

On the growth of popular pietism see: A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance, a history of the devotio moderna* (New York, 1925); S. Kettlewell, *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life* (London, 1885); A. Hyma, ed., *Thomas à Kempis, Imitation of Christ* (New York, 1927); and F. Vernet, *La spiritualité médiévale* (Paris, 1929).

E. THE SAINTS AND THE CALENDAR. There is a monumental collection in Latin of the lives and deeds of the saints and their relics, compiled by the Bollandists and entitled, *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur*, 65 vols. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-); and also *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882-). A lesser collection in English is S. Baring-Gould, *The lives of the saints*, 17 vols. (Edinburgh, 1914). For general reading, however, the best book of saints' lives is the famous *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine, freely translated into English by William Caxton (convenient ed. London, 1900). Recent French, German and Italian editions are preferable to the English. Other works on the subject are: A. Butler, *The lives of the saints* (London, 1926); and S. Baring-Gould, *Curious myths of the Middle Ages* (Boston, 1904). For early collections and martyrologies see: H. Delehaye, *The legends of the saints*, trans. by V. M. Crawford (London, 1907); H. Lietzmann, *The three oldest martyrologies* (Cambridge, 1904); and Gustav Krüger, *Ausgewählte Märtyrerakten* (Tübingen, 1929). F. G. Holweck, *Biographical dictionary of the saints* (St. Louis, 1924); and A. B. C. Dunbar, *A*

dictionary of saintly women, 2 vols. (London, 1904-5) are useful reference works.

For the cult of the Virgin see: J. Pohle, *Mariology, a dogmatic treatise on the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God* (St. Louis, 1926); T. E. Bridgett, *Dowry of Mary* (London, 1886); G. Herzog, *La sainte Vierge dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1908); A. F. Lecanu, *Histoire de la sainte Vierge* (Paris, 1860); Émile Neubert, *Marie dans l'église antenicéenne* (Paris, 1909); S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland während des Mittelalters*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1907-10); A. T. Robertson, *The Mother of Jesus, her problems and her glory* (New York, 1925); Sir J. Marchant, *The Madonna: an anthology* (London, 1928); and H. P. J. M. Ahsmann, *Le culte de la sainte Vierge* (Utrecht, 1930).

The ecclesiastical calendar is treated in K. A. H. Kellner, *Heortology: a history of the Christian festivals from their origin to the present day* (London, 1908); J. Dowden, *The church year and calendar* (Cambridge, 1910); W. Gwynne, *The Christian year: its purpose and its history* (London, 1915); C. A. Miles, *Christmas in ritual Christian and pagan* (London, 1913); Wilhelm Thomas, *Der Sonntag im frühen Mittelalter* (Göttingen, 1929); and P. Guéranger, *The liturgical year*, 15 vols. (Stanbrook Abbey).

F. CATHEDRAL ART AND THE EPIC OF THE CHURCH. For general treatments of medieval art see: P. G. Crump and E. F. Jacob, *The legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1926); L. Bréhier, *L'art chrétien* (Paris, 1928); F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, 2 vols. (Freiburg, 1896-1908); Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux en France*, 3 vols. (Paris, last ed. 1922-3), vol. I, *du XI^e siècle*, vol. II, *du XIII^e siècle*, vol. III, *de la fin du moyen âge*; of which vol. II was translated into English by Dora Nussey (New York, 1913); and also L. J. Guénebrault, *Dictionnaire iconographique* (Paris, 1850). For one of the best examples of illuminated books of hours see Sir Edward Sullivan, *The Book of Kells* (London, 1920). Another example is reproduced in *Œuvre de Jehan Foucquet Heures de Maître Estienne Chevalier. Text restitué par M. l'abbé Delaunay*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1866-7).

For church architecture see: A. K. Porter, *Medieval architecture, its origins and development* (New York, 1909); Henry Adams, *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* (Boston and New York, 1913); Ernest Marriage, *The sculptures of Chartres cathedral* (Cambridge, 1909); C. A. Cummings, *A history of architecture in Italy, from the time of Constantine to the dawn of the Renaissance* (Boston and New York, 1901); T. G. Jackson, *Gothic architecture in France, England and Italy* (Cambridge, 1915); Leader Scott, *The cathedral builders: the story of a great masonic guild* (London, 1899); Elizabeth Pennell, *French cathedrals* (New York, 1910); Mariana van Renselaer, *English cathedrals* (New York, 1892); and P. Crostarosa, *Le basiliche cristiane* (Rome, 1892).

On the miracle and mystery plays see: E. K. Chambers, *The medieval stage*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1903); G. R. Coffman, *A new theory concerning the origin of the miracle play* (Menasha, 1914); P. E. Kretzmann, *The liturgical element in the earliest forms of the medieval drama* (Minneapolis, 1916); Oscar Cargill, *Drama and liturgy* (New York, 1930); A. W. Pollard, *English miracle plays* (Oxford, 1890); and S. Evans, trans., *The high history of the Holy Grail* (London, 1910).

Dante's use of Christian theology and cosmology is discussed in G. Santayana, *Three philosophical poets* (Cambridge, 1910), ch. II; R. W. Church, *Dante and other essays* (London, 1897); Edmund G. Gardner, *Dante and the mystics* (New York, 1913), and *Dante's ten heavens* (Westminster, 1900); H. D. Sedgwick, *Dante* (New Haven, 1918); K. Kohler, *Heaven and Hell in comparative religion, with special reference to Dante's Divine Comedy* (New York, 1923); H. F. Dunbar, *Symbolism in medieval thought and its consummation in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven, 1929); J. B. Fletcher, *Symbolism of the Divine Comedy* (New York, 1921) and his translation of the *Divine Comedy* (New York, 1931); A. J. Butler, ed., *The Paradise*, with notes (London, 1885); and P. Gauthiez, *Danté le Chrétien* (Paris, 1930).

See also Y. Hirn, *The sacred shrine: a study of poetry and art in the Catholic Church* (London, 1912); C. Carra, *Giotto* (Paris, 1924).

G. RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE, SCHOLASTICISM AND MYSTICISM. General introductions to

medieval thought and education can be found in H. O. Taylor, *The medieval mind*, 2 vols. (London and New York, 1914); E. K. Rand, *Founders of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1928); Hastings Rashdall, *The universities of Europe in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1895); M. de Wulf, *History of medieval philosophy*, 2 vols., trans. by E. C. Messenger (New York, 1925-6); F. Sartiaux, *Foi et science au moyen âge* (Paris, 1926); Paul Abelson, *The seven liberal arts, a study in medieval culture* (New York, 1906); P. J. Marique, *History of Christian education*, 2 vols. (New York, 1924-6); and F. W. Bussell, *Religious thought and heresy in the Middle Ages* (London, 1918).

A useful anthology of medieval philosophy, with critical introductions, is R. P. McKeon, *Selections from medieval philosophers*, vol. I, *Augustine to Albert the Great* (New York, 1929), and vol. II, *Roger Bacon to William of Ockham* (New York, 1930). The following treatments of medieval philosophers throw light on their relation to the religious currents of the time: C. J. B. Gaskoin, *Alcuin, his life and his work* (London, 1904); A. F. West, *Alcuin and the rise of the Christian schools* (New York, 1912); H. Bett, *John Scotus Erigena* (Cambridge, 1925); R. W. Church, *St. Anselm* (London, 1888); C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1927); de L. E. O'Leary, *Arabic thought and its place in history* (New York, 1922); E. A. Peers, *Ramon Lull, a biography* (London, 1929); M. Grabmann, *Thomas Aquinas, his personality and thought*, trans. by V. Michel (New York, 1928); D. E. Sharp, *Franciscan philosophy at Oxford in the thirteenth century*, vol. XVI of *British Society of Franciscan Studies* (Oxford, 1930); and A. G. Little, *Roger Bacon: essays contributed by various writers* (Oxford, 1914).

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H. CATHOLIC REFORM. The religious movements leading up to the Reformation are described in E. M. Hulme, *The Renaissance, the Protestant revolution and the Catholic reformation* (New York, 1914); K. Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation, principally in Germany and Netherlands*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1863); A. Renaudet, *Préforme et humanisme à Paris, 1494-1517* (Paris, 1916); P. S. Allen, *The age of Erasmus* (Oxford, 1914); H. P. Smith, *Erasmus: a study in his life, ideals and place in history* (New York, 1923).

On Wycliffe see G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the age of Wycliffe* (London, 1904); H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif* (Oxford, 1926); and *John Wycliffe select English writings*, H. E. Winn, ed. (London, 1929).

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outlined in A. C. Flick, *The decline of the medieval church*, 2 vols. (New York, 1930); E. H. Landon, *A manual of the councils of the holy Catholic Church*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1909); *The canons and decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. by T. A. Buckley (London, 1851); J. Haller and others, *Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Konzils von Basel*, 7 vols. (Basel, 1896-1926); Mandell Creighton, *A history of the papacy during the period of the Reformation*, 5 vols. (New York, 1887-94); L. von Ranke, *History of the popes during the last four centuries*, 3 vols. (London, 1908); Ludwig Pastor, *History of the popes from the close of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols. (London, 1891-1912); H. E. Watts, *The Christian recovery of Spain* (New York, 1894).

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There is a *Life of St. Vincent de Paul* by Henry Bedford (London, 1856).

I. ROMAN CATHOLIC RENEWAL. A recent, well-considered statement of the Catholic position is found in Karl Adam, *The spirit of Catholicism*, trans. by J. McCann (New York, 1931). An authoritative, analytical exposition of Catholic doctrine is provided by the new catechism drawn up by Cardinal Gasparri, *The Catholic catechism*, authorized English translation for the United States (New York, 1932). The recent encyclicals of Pius XI on Christian education, marriage, social reconstruction and other topics are published in English by the National Catholic Welfare Conference (Washington, D. C.).

For the history of the Catholic Church in the United States see: J. G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York, 1886); T. O'Gorman, *A history of the Roman Catholic Church*, vol. IX of American Church History series (New York, 1895).

Of great value for the appreciation of modern literary Catholicism is the work of Henri Bremond, *A literary history of religious thought in France from the wars of religion down to our own times*, trans. by K. L. Montgomery, 2 vols. (New York, 1928). See also J. Calvet, *Le renouveau catholique dans la littérature contemporaine* (Paris, 1927). Among the classics of modern Catholic literature, besides those mentioned in the text, are: J. de Maistre, *Du Pape* (Paris, 1841); and V. Gioberti, *Del primato morale e civile degli Italiani* (1845).

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On devotion to the Sacred Heart see: P. J. Chandlery, *Friends and apostles of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, IV-XIX C.* (London, 1915); J. J. C. Petrovits, *Devotion to the Sacred Heart, its theology, history and philosophy* (St. Louis, 1918); J. V. Bainvel, *La dévotion au sacre-cœur de Jesus* (Paris, 1917); A. Goodier, *The love of the Sacred Heart illustrated by St. Gertrude* (London, 1921); and K. Richstätter, *Herz-Jesu Verehrung des deutschen Mittelalters* (1924).

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Some of the general traits of Protestantism are discussed in W. R. Inge, *Protes-*

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A good introduction to the theological issues and creeds of Protestantism is A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant thought before Kant* (New York, 1911). See also L. P. Jacks, *The faiths, varieties of Christian expression* (New York, 1926).

The chief works on the Reformation are T. M. Lindsay, *A history of the Reformation*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1906-7); C. Beard, *The Reformation of the sixteenth century in its relations to modern thought and knowledge* (the Hibbert lectures for 1883, new edition, London, 1927); H. P. Smith, *The age of the Reformation* (New York, 1920), and *A history of modern culture*, vol. I, *The great renewal, 1543-1687* (New York, 1930); *Cambridge modern history*, vol. II, *The Reformation*, and vol. III, *The wars of religion* (New York, 1904-5); H. B. Workman, *The dawn of the Reformation* (London, 1901-2); M. Creighton, *A history of the papacy during the Reformation*, 5 vols. (New York, 1897); and D. Ogg, *The Reformation* (London, 1927). An able statement from the Catholic point of view is F. A. Gasquet, *The eve of the Reformation* (London, 1905). Selected source materials are to be found in B. J. Kidd, *Documents illustrative of the continental Reformation* (Oxford, 1911).

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The Anabaptist uprisings are described in E. B. Bax, *The rise and fall of the Anabaptists* (London, 1903); H. S. Burrage, *History of the Anabaptists in Switzerland* (Philadelphia, 1881); H. E. Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists* (Philadelphia, 1921); J. Horsch, *Menno Simons* (Scottsdale, Pa., 1916); and in an article by H. S. Schaff, "The Anabaptists, the reformers and the civil government," in *Church History*, vol. II, pp. 27-46 (1932).

Among the general works on the evangelical revivals are: J. S. Simon, *The revival of religion in England in the eighteenth century* (London, 1907); G. W. E. Russell, *Short history of the evangelical movement* (London, 1915); A. Harrison, *The beginnings of Arminianism* (London, 1924); R. M. Jones, *Spiritual reformers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (London, 1914); Umphrey Lee, *The historical backgrounds of early Methodist enthusiasm* (New York, 1931); Joseph Tracy, *The Great Awakening* (Boston, 1842); Jonathan Edwards, *Thoughts on the revival of religion in New England* (New York, 1845), and *Treatise concerning religious affections* (Boston, 1746); C. H. Maxson, *The Great Awakening in the middle colonies* (Chicago, 1920); W. M. Guehr, *The Great Awakening in Virginia 1740-1790* (Durham, N. C., 1930).

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Early American church architecture is described in C. A. Wight, *Some old meeting houses of the Connecticut valley* (Chicopee Falls, Mass., 1911); P. P. Wallace, *Colonial churches and meeting houses, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware* (New York, 1931); H. I. Brock, *Colonial churches in Virginia* (Richmond, 1930); and Aymar Embury II, *Early American churches* (Garden City, 1914). Ch. I of S. C. Elson, *The history of American music* (New York, 1915) gives an account of early church music.

B. THE ANGLICAN OR EPISCOPAL CHURCH. For the history of the Church of England see: M. W. Patterson, *A history of the Church of England* (New York, 1909); W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt and others, *A history of the English Church*, 8 vols. (London, 1899-1910); G. M. Trevelyan, *England in the age of Wycliffe* (London, 1899); R. W. Arrowsmith, *The prelude to the Reformation* (London, 1923); C. S. Carter, *The English Church and the Reformation* (New York, 1925); R. G. Usher, *The reconstruction of the English Church* (London, 1910); J. Gairdner, *The English Church in the sixteenth century* (London, 1902); G. R. Balleine, *A history of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (New York, 1909); and D. O. Wagner, *The Church of England and social reform since 1854* (New York, 1930).

For the Anglican rite and liturgy see: F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, 2 vols. (London, 1921); W. H. Frere, *Principles of religious ceremonial* (London, 1906); T. E. Bridgett, *A history of the holy eucharist in Great Britain* (London, 1908); W. Maskell, *Ancient liturgy of the Church of England* (Oxford, 1882); J. Wordsworth, *The ornaments of the Church and its ministers* (London, 1908); F. Bond, *Dedications and patron saints of the English Churches, ecclesiastical symbolism, saints and their emblems* (Oxford, 1914); and F. Proctor and W. H. Frere, *A new history of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1902). A well-annotated edition of the Book of Common Prayer is *The Tutorial Prayer Book*, edited by C. Neil and W. Willoughby (London, 1913), and this should be compared with the new prayer book, of which both English and American editions are now available.

For English Church music see: J. S. Bumpus, *History of English cathedral music*, 2 vols. (London, 1908); L. F. Benson, *The English hymn* (New York, 1915); Isaac Watts, *Hymns and spiritual songs* (London, 1707); also an article by S. Royal Shore, "The choral eucharist since the Reformation," in *Cathedral Quarterly*, April 1913.

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On the Oxford Movement see: R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement* (London, 1932); C. C. J. Webb, *Religious thought in the Oxford Movement* (London, 1928); *Tracts for the times*, by Newman, Keble, Pusey and others, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1834-42); *Essays critical and historical* (London, 1872); E. B. Pusey, *The Church of England, a portion of Christ's one holy catholic church* (London, 1866); John Keble, *The Christian year* (last ed. London, 1900); J. H. Newman, *Certain difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic teaching considered*, 2 vols. (London, 1876-9), and *Apologia pro vita sua* (last ed. London, 1913).

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Anglo-Catholic Congress (London, 1920), and of the second Congress (Milwaukee, 1927). Also the series of booklets called the *Anglo-Catholic Congress books* (London, 1923-).

Representative expression of the Oxford tradition of "high-church" theology is found in two books by William Temple, *Christus Veritas* (London, 1924), and *Christian faith and life* (New York, 1931). For Anglican modernism see H. D. A. Major, *English modernism, its origins, methods, aims* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927). Current issues are discussed in Alfred Fawkes, *The genius of the English Church* (London, 1918); H. H. Henson, *Anglicanism* (London, 1921); H. A. Wilson, ed., *The Anglican communion, past, present and future: being the report of the Church Congress at Cheltenham 1928* (London, 1929); pamphlets in the Lambeth series (Milwaukee, 1931-) containing reports on the 1930 Lambeth Conference.

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C. THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES. On Luther and the Reformation in Germany see: J. Mackinnon, *Luther and the Reformation*, 4 vols. (London, 1925-30); H. C. Nedder, *The Reformation in Germany* (New York, 1914); L. Ranke, *History of the Reformation in Germany* (New York, 1920); H. Boehmer, *Luther in the light of recent research* (London, 1930); H. P. Smith, *Life and letters of Martin Luther* (Boston, 1911); A. C. McGiffert, *Martin Luther* (New York, 1911); R. H. Fife, *Young Luther* (New York, 1928); and J. W. Richard, *Philip Melancthon* (New York, 1898). For a Catholic interpretation see H. Grisar, *Luther*, 6 vols. (London, 1913-7; abbreviated ed. London, 1930). A convenient edition of Luther's *Works* is that of H. E. Jacobs, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1915-30).

The confessions and rites of the Lutheran Church can be studied in: S. Fritschel, *The Lutheran Church, her communion and her service* (Philadelphia, 1906); T. E. Schmauk and C. T. Benze, *The confessional principle and the confessions of the Lutheran Church* (Philadelphia, 1911); H. E. Jacobs, *The Book of Concord, containing an English translation of Symbolical Books* (Philadelphia, 1893); and C. P. Krauth, *The conservative reformation and its theology* (Philadelphia, 1899). These should be supplemented by works on Lutheran music such as Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach* (London, 1923); and T. B. Hewitt, *Paul Gerhardt as a hymn writer* (New Haven, 1918). On church architecture see P. E. Kretzmann, *A short introduction to church architecture and ecclesiastical art, especially from the standpoint of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis, 1912).

On the Church of Sweden see: John Wordsworth, *The national Church of Sweden* (London, 1911); and C. Bergendorff, *Olavus Petri and the ecclesiastical transformation in Sweden* (New York, 1928).

On American Lutheranism see: A. R. Wentz, *The Lutheran Church in American history* (Philadelphia, 1923); F. Bente, *American Lutheranism*, 2 vols. (St. Louis, 1919); and H. E. Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, vol. IV, American Church History series (New York, 1893).

D. THE PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED CHURCHES. In the Heroes of the Reformation series are biographies of *Huldreich Zwingli*, by S. M. Jackson (New York, 1907); of *Theodore Beza*, by H. M. Baird (New York, 1899); and of *John Calvin*, by W. Walker (New York, 1906). Among other studies of Calvin are E. Doumerge, *Jean Calvin*, 7 vols. (Lausanne, 1899-1928); Georgia Harkness, *John Calvin, the man and his ethics* (New York, 1931); and Quirinus Breen, *John Calvin, a study in French humanism* (Grand Rapids, 1931).

The memorial edition by John Allen of *Calvin's Institutes* (Philadelphia, 1908) should be supplemented by H. Beveridge's three-volume edition (Edinburgh, 1869) both for the sake of the editor's "Introduction" and for its indications of how Calvin

developed the text from the first edition. There is a German translation of the first edition by Bernard Speiss (Wiesbaden, 1887).

On the Reformation in France see: H. M. Baird, *The rise of the Huguenots*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907); J. W. Thompson, *The wars of religion in France, 1559-1576* (Chicago, 1909); A. H. Galton, *Church and state in France, 1494-1715* (London, 1926); and C. Durand, *Histoire du Protestantisme française pendant la révolution et l'empire* (Paris, 1902).

On the Dutch Reformed Church see E. T. Corwin, *A history of the Reformed Church, Dutch*, vol. VIII, American Church History series (New York, 1895); and the *Manual of the Reformed Church in America*.

On the Church of Scotland see: A. R. MacEwan, *A history of the Church of Scotland*, vol. II, 1546-1569 (New York, 1918); A. Mitchell, *A short history of the Church in Scotland* (London, 1907); E. Muir, *John Knox* (London, 1929); J. R. Fleming, *A history of the church in Scotland, 1843-1874* (New York, 1927), and *The story of church union in Scotland, 1560-1929* (London, 1930).

On non-conformity and Puritanism in England see, in addition to works listed in secs. A. and E., A. H. Drysdale, *A history of the Presbyterians in England* (London, 1889); H. W. Clark, *History of English nonconformity*, 2 vols. (London, 1911-3); W. B. Selbie, *Nonconformity, its origin and progress* (London, 1912); H. H. Henson, *Puritanism in England* (New York, 1912); C. Burrage, *The early English Dissenters in the light of recent research*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1912); W. H. Frere and C. C. Douglas, *Puritan manifestoes* (London, 1907); B. Blaxland, *The struggle with Puritanism* (London, 1910); and J. S. Flynn, *The influence of Puritanism on the political and religious thought of the English* (London, 1920). The Westminster Confession and Catechisms are to be found in Schaff's *History of the creeds of Christendom*, vol. I, pp. 265 ff. and 325 ff., vol. III, pp. 598 ff.

On nonconformist church architecture see: R. P. Jones, *Nonconformist church architecture* (London, 1914); George Bidlake, *Sketches of churches designed for the use of non-conformists* (London, 1865); and R. W. Fraser, *Parish kirks and manses in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1857).

On Presbyterianism in America see: R. E. Thompson, *A history of the Presbyterian Church in the United States*, vol. VI, American Church History series (New York, 1895); A. Alexander, *Biographical sketches of the founder and the principal alumni of the log college, together with an account of the revivals of religion under their ministry* (Princeton, 1851); J. Smith, *Old redstone or historical sketches of western Presbyterianism* (Philadelphia, 1854); and B. W. McDonnald, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church* (Nashville, 1888). For other aspects of American Calvinism see the section immediately following.

E. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS. For the history of Congregationalism see: W. B. Selbie, *Congregationalism* (New York, 1927); R. W. Dale, *History of Congregationalism* (London, 1907); H. M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the last three hundred years* (New York, 1880); and W. A. Walker, *History of the Congregational churches in the United States*, vol. III, American Church History series (New York, 1894).

Among the classics of American Congregational literature are Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702); and the works of Jonathan Edwards, of which there are several editions.

Special studies of American Puritans include: Brooks Adams, *The emancipation of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1887); K. B. Murdock, *Increase Mather* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925); A. C. McGiffert, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1932); S. B. Parks, *Jonathan Edwards* (New York, 1930); W. D. Love, *The fast and thanksgiving days of New England* (Boston, 1895); J. Crouch, *Puritanism and art* (London, 1910); and W. S. Pratt, *The music of the Pilgrims* (Boston, 1921).

For the history of Puritan thought and theology in America see: H. W. Schneider, *The Puritan mind* (New York, 1930); J. Haroutunian, *Piety vs. moralism* (New York, 1932); and F. H. Foster, *A genetic history of New England theology* (Chicago, 1907).

F. THE BAPTISTS. The rise of the Baptist churches is described in W. T. Whitley, *A history of the British Baptists* (London, 1923); and a picture of the separatist environment from which the early Baptists came can be obtained from H. E. B. Spaight, *The life and writings of John Bunyan* (New York, 1928).

For the American history see: W. W. Sweet, *Religion on the American frontier*, vol. I, *The Baptists* (New York, 1931); H. C. Vedder, *A short history of the Baptists* (Philadelphia, 1907); A. H. Newman, *A history of the Baptist churches in the United States* (New York, 1898); and Isaac Backus, *A history of New England, with particular reference to the denomination of Christians called Baptists*, 2 vols. (Newton, Mass., 1871).

G. THE METHODISTS. For the environment and characteristics of early Methodism see: W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1892-3); Umphrey Lee, *The historical background of early Methodist enthusiasm* (New York, 1931); W. J. Warner, *The Wesleyan movement in the industrial revolution* (New York, 1930); J. H. Colligan, *Eighteenth-century nonconformity* (New York, 1915); G. C. Loud, *Evangelized America* (New York, 1928); S. G. Dimond, *The psychology of the Methodist revival* (New York, 1926); and W. W. Sweet, *The rise of Methodism in the west* (New York, 1920).

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C. HUMANITARIANISM AND UNITARIANISM. On the growth of humanitarianism see the references to the period of the Enlightenment under B.; also W. Wilberforce, *Practical view of the prevailing religious system of professed Christians in the higher and middle classes in this country contrasted with real Christianity* (London, 1797); William Booth, *In darkest England and the way out* (London, 1890); G. A. Koch, *Republican religion* (New York, prob. 1933); Horace Bushnell, *Christian nurture* (1st ed. 1860, last ed. New York, 1904); M. B. Cheney, *Life and letters of Horace Bushnell* (New York, 1903); and C. Beecher, ed., *Autobiography, correspondence, etc., of Lyman Beecher*, 2 vols. (New York, 1866).

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E. PHILANTHROPIC AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANITY. A survey of the institutional status and activities of the Christian churches was made at the beginning of the twentieth century and the results edited by W. D. Grant under the title, *Christendom Anno Domini MDCCCCI* (New York, 1902). With this volume might be compared a recent collection of essays, *Christianity and the present moral unrest* (London, 1926); also W. A. Brown, *The church in America* (New York, 1922); C. A. Ellwood, *Christianity and social science* (New York, 1923); Kirsopp Lake, *The religion of yesterday and tomorrow* (Boston, 1926); and Paul Hutchinson, *World revolution and religion* (New York, 1931). From different points of view these volumes give a general picture of the church in modern society.

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F. CHURCH FEDERATION AND MODERN CATHOLICITY. On church federation see: Shailer Mathews, "Protestantism, democracy and church unity," in *Journal of Religion*, 1929, pp. 169-83; Adolf Keller and George Stewart, *Protestant Europe: its crisis and its outlook* (New York, 1927); C. Girstentreu, *Der deutsche evangelische Kirchenbund; sein Werden, Wesen, Wachsen und Werken* (Würzburg, 1931); N. Smyth, *A story of church unity* (New Haven, 1923); G. J. Slosser, *Christian unity, its history and challenge* (London, 1929); J. T. McNeill, *Unitive Protestantism* (New York, 1930); A. B. Bass, *Protestantism in the United States* (New York, 1929); E. B. Sanford, *Origin and history of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America* (Hartford, 1916); C. S. Macfarland, *The progress of church federation to 1922* (New York, 1921), and *International Christian movements* (New York, 1924); *Federal Council Bulletin* (monthly) and other publications of the Federal Council of Churches; and G. K. A. Bell, *Documents on Christian unity, 1920-1924* (London, 1924).

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INDEX

Compiled by MARIAN W. SMITH

The following key may serve to indicate the pronunciation of some of the foreign words in common use. The words are marked accordingly in the index.

- a in Sanskrit is probably as in *at*, but in modern Hindu is very short,
almost as u in *but*
- ā as in *father*
- ai as in *aisle*
- au = ou in *out*
- bh in Hebrew = v; in Sanskrit and Pali = b + h in a single utterance
- c = k, except in Italian, when it is as in *church*
- ch in Sanskrit, Pali and Japanese as in *church*; in Italian = k; in Greek =
χ, pronounced as ch in the Scottish and German *loch*, *noch*
- dh in Sanskrit and Pali = d + h in a single utterance as in *mud-hen*
- o = e in *the man*
- ē as in *pray*
- g in Sanskrit, Pali and Japanese is always hard, as in *go*; in Italian it is
soft, as in *gem*, before e and i
- h = emphatic h
- ī as in *machine*
- j as in *judge*
- ñ and ñ as the French nasal vowels in *empire*, *onde*
- o in Sanskrit and Pali is always long, as in *Rome*
- r = er in *otherwise*
- ś = emphatic s
- ś = sh in *shun*, but more accurately, probably, palatalized s. The actual
ancient pronunciation in Sanskrit and Pali is unknown.
- ṭ = emphatic t
- th = t + h in a single utterance, as in *pot-hook*; except in Greek where
it represents θ, pronounced as in *thin*
- ū as in *rule*
- χ = Scottish and German ch, as in *loch*, *noch*.

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